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THE
ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY
AND OTHER
WORKS
OF
RICHARD HOOKER:

WITH
HIS LIFE BY IZAAK WALTON,
AND STRYPE'S INTERPOLATIONS:

TO WHICH ARE NOW FIRST ADDED,
THE "CHRISTIAN LETTER" TO MR. HOOKER;
AND
DR. COVEL'S "JUST & TEMPERATE DEFENCE" IN REPLY TO IT;
ACCOMPANIED BY
AN INTRODUCTION,
A LIFE OF THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, B. D.
AND
NUMEROUS NOTES,
BY BENJAMIN HANBURY.

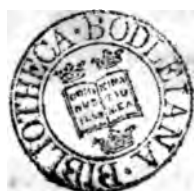
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CONTENTS TO VOL. II.

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY:—

PAGE

Book V.—Of their Fourth Assertion, That touching the several public Duties of Christian Religion, there is amongst us much Superstition retained in them; and concerning Persons, which for performance of those Duties are indued with the power of Ecclesiastical Order, our Laws and proceedings according thereunto are many ways herein also corrupt 1

A CHRISTIAN LETTER, 73, 164, 168, 183, 204, 209, 215, 289, 372, 401, 444, 445

Dr. COVEL's Defence of Hooker's First Five Books..... 449

The EDITOR's Preliminary Remarks 451

Covel's Dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury 453

His Address, To the Reader *ibid*

The Author's Preface 455

Art. I.—Of the Deity of the Son of God 465

II.—The Co-eternity of the Son, and the Proceeding of the Holy Ghost 468

III.—Whether the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to Salvation? 472

IV.—Holy Scriptures above the Church 476

V.—Of Freewill 480

VI.—Of Faith and Works..... 484

VII.—The Virtue of Works 488

VIII.—Works of Supererogation 492

IX.—None free from all Sin 495

X.—Of Predestination 499

XI.—The Visible Church, and the Church of Rome 503

XII.—Of Preaching 513

XIII.—Of the Minister's office..... 519

XIV.—Of the Sacraments 525

XV.—Of Christ's Institution 530

XVI.—Of the necessity of Baptism 535

XVII.—Of Transubstantiation 539

XVIII.—Of Speculative Doctrine 545

XIX.—Of Calvin and the Reformed Churches 551

XX.—Of Schoolmen, Philosophy, and Popery 558

XXI.—The Style and manner of Writing 563

OF
THE LAWS
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK V.

OF THEIR FOURTH ASSERTION, THAT TOUCHING THE SEVERAL PUBLIC DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, THERE IS AMONGST US MUCH SUPERSTITION RETAINED IN THEM; AND CONCERNING PERSONS, WHICH FOR PERFORMANCE OF THOSE DUTIES ARE INDUED WITH THE POWER OF ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER, OUR LAWS AND PROCEEDINGS ACCORDING THEREUNTO ARE MANY WAYS HEREIN ALSO CORRUPT.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FIFTH BOOK.

1. True Religion is the root of all true virtues, and the stay of all well-ordered Commonwealths.
2. The most extreme opposite to true Religion is affected Atheism.
3. Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory.
4. Of the redress of Superstition in God's Church, and concerning the question of this Book.
5. Four general propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted concerning matters of outward form in the exercise of true Religion. And, fifthly, Of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.
6. The first proposition, touching judgment, What things are convenient in the outward public ordering of Church-affairs.
7. The second proposition.
8. The third proposition.
9. The fourth proposition.
10. The rule of men's private spirits, not safe in these cases to be followed.
11. Places for the Public service of God.
12. The solemnity of erecting Churches condemned, the hallowing and dedicating of them scorned by the adversary.
13. Of the Names whereby we distinguish our Churches.
14. Of the Fashion of our Churches.
15. The Sumptuousness of Churches.
16. What holiness and virtue we ascribe to the Church more than other places.
17. Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.
18. Of public Teaching or Preaching, and the first kind thereof, Catechizing.
19. Of Preaching, by reading publicly the Books of Holy Scripture; and concerning supposed untruths in those translations of Scripture which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.

20. Of Preaching by the public reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning Books Apocryphal.
21. Of Preaching by Sermons; and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching whereby men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's truth.
22. What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading also.
23. Of Prayer.
24. Of public Prayer.
25. Of the Form of Common Prayer.
26. Of them which like not to have any set Form of Common Prayer.
27. Of them, who allowing a set Form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.
28. The Form of our Liturgy too near the Papists'; too far different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.
29. Attire belonging to the service of God.
30. Of gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose.
31. Easiness of Praying after our Form.
32. The length of our Service.
33. Instead of such Prayers as the primitive Churches have used, and those that be reformed now use, we have (they say) divers short cuts or shreadings, rather wishes than Prayers.
34. Lessons intermingled with our Prayers.
35. The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.
36. The people's saying after the Minister.
37. Our manner of reading the Psalms otherwise than the rest of the Scripture.
38. Of music with Psalms.
39. Of singing or saying Psalms and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the people and the Minister answer one another by course.
40. Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*.
41. Of the Litany.
42. Of *Athanasius' Creed*, and *Gloria Patri*.
43. Our want of particular thanksgiving.
44. In some things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirm, is unsound.
45. "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven unto all believers."
46. Touching Prayer for deliverance from sudden death.
47. Prayer that those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask, God for the worthiness of his Son would vouchsafe to grant.
48. Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adversity.
49. Prayer that all men may find mercy.
50. Of the name, the author, and the force of Sacraments, which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.
51. That God is in Christ by the personal Incarnation of the Son, who is very God.
52. The misinterpretations which heresy hath made of the manner how God and man are united in one Christ.
53. That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either.
54. What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his flesh with Deity.
55. Of the personal presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted he is every where present according to the flesh.
56. The union or mutual participation which is between Christ and the Church of Christ in this present world.
57. The Necessity of Sacraments unto the participation of Christ.
58. The substance of Baptism, the Rites or Solemnities thereunto belonging, and that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.
59. The ground in Scripture whereupon a Necessity of outward Baptism hath been built.
60. What kind of Necessity in outward Baptism hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ; and what the true necessity thereof indeed is.
61. What things in Baptism have been dispensed with by the Fathers respecting Necessity.

62. Whether Baptism by Women be true Baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.
63. Of interrogatories in Baptism, touching faith and the purpose of a Christian life.
64. Interrogatories proposed unto infants in Baptism, and answered, as in their names, by Godfathers.
65. Of the Cross in Baptism.
66. Of Confirmation after Baptism.
67. Of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
68. Of Faults noted in the Form of administering that holy Sacrament.
69. Of Festival-days, and the natural causes of their convenient institution.
70. The manner of celebrating Festival-days.
71. Exceptions against our keeping of other Festival-days besides the Sabbath.
72. Of days appointed, as well for ordinary as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.
73. The Celebration of Matrimony.
74. The Churching of Women.
75. The Rites of Burial.
76. Of the nature of that Ministry which serveth for performance of divine Duties in the Church of God, and how happiness, not eternal only, but also temporal, doth depend upon it.
77. Of Power given unto men, to execute that heavenly office; of the gift of the Holy Ghost in Ordination; and whether conveniently the power of Order may be sought or sued for.
78. Of Degrees whereby the power of Order is distinguished, and concerning the attire of Ministers.
79. Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of Religion; which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergy's certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of Church-livings be made frustrate.
80. Of Ordinations lawful without Title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their quality is that enter into Holy Orders.
81. Of the Learning that should be in Ministers, their Residence, and the number of their Livings.

1. FEW there are of so weak capacity but public evils they easily espy; fewer so patient, as not to complain when the grievous inconveniences thereof work sensible smart. Howbeit to see wherein the harm which they feel consisteth, the seeds from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the study whereof is so full of toil, and the practice so beset with difficulties, that wary and respective men had rather seek quietly their own, and wish that the world may go well, so it be not long of them, than with pain and hazard make themselves advisers for the common good. We which thought it at the very first a sign of cold affection towards the Church of God, to prefer private ease before the labour of appeasing public disturbance, must now of necessity refer events to the gracious providence of Almighty God, and, in discharge of our duty towards him, proceed with the plain and impartial defence of a common cause. Wherein our endeavour is, not so much to overthrow them with

True Religion is the root of all true virtues, and the stay of all well-ordered Commonwealths.

whom we contend, as to yield them just and reasonable causes of those things, which, for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceived; accusing Laws for men's oversights, imputing evils grown through personal defects unto that which is not evil, framing to some sores unwholesome plasters, and applying other some where no sore is. To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is most acceptable, *We agree*, that pure and unstained Religion ought to be the highest of all cares appertaining to public Regiment; as well in regard of that aid and protection which they who faithfully serve God confess they receive at his merciful hands, as also for the force which Religion hath to qualify all sorts of men, and to make them in public affairs the more serviceable;* governors the apter to rule with conscience, inferiors for conscience' sake the willing to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of sound consequence, that all duties are by so much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious from whose abilities the same proceed. For if the course of politic affairs cannot in any good sort go forward without fit instruments, and that which fitteth them be their virtues,† let Polity acknowledge itself indebted to Religion; godliness being the chiefest top and well-spring of all true virtues, even as God is of all good things.‡ So natural is the union of Religion with Justice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how should they be unfeignedly just, whom Religion doth not cause to be such; or they religious, which are not found such by the proof of their just actions? If they which employ their labour and travail about the public administration of Justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart persuaded that Justice is God's own work, and themselves his agents in this business, the sentence of Right God's own verdict, and themselves his Priests to deliver it; formalities of Justice do but serve to smother Right, and that which was necessarily ordained for the

Psal.
cxliv. 2.

2 Chron.
xix. 6, 7.

* C. Th. lib. xvi. tit. 2. "Gaudere et gloriari ex fide semper volumus, scientes magis religionibus quam officiis et labore corporis vel sudore nostram Rempublicam contineri."

† "Ἔστι δ' οὐθεν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατόν πράξει ἀνευ τοῦ ποιῶν τινα εἶναι, λέγω δὲ οὐκ σπουδαῖον. Τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἔστι τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. Arist. Magn. Moral. lib. i. cap. 1.

‡ 'Ἀρχὴ δ' ἀριστὴ πάντων τῶν ὄντων Θεός, ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσέβεια. Philo de Dec. Præcept.

common good is through shameful abuse made the cause of common misery. The same piety, which maketh them that are in Authority desirous to please and resemble God by Justice, inflameth every way men of action with zeal to do good (as far as their place will permit) unto all: for that, they know, is most noble and divine.* Whereby if no natural or casual inability cross their desires, they, always delighting to inure themselves with actions most beneficial to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wisdom; because conscience and the fear of swerving from that which is right, maketh them diligent observers of circumstances, the loose regard whereof is the nurse of vulgar folly, no less than Solomon's attention thereunto was of natural furtherances the most effectual to make him eminent above others. For he gave good heed, and pierced every thing to the very ground, and by that mean became the author of many parables. Concerning Fortitude, sith evils great and unexpected (the true touchstone of constant minds) do cause oftentimes even them to think upon divine power with fearfullest suspicions, which have been otherwise the most secure despisers thereof; how should we look for any constant resolution of mind in such cases, saving only where unfeigned affection to God-ward hath bred the most assured confidence to be assisted by his hand? For proof whereof, let but the acts of the ancient Jews be indifferently weighed, from whose magnanimity, in causes of most extreme hazard, those strange and unwonted resolutions have grown, which, for all circumstances, no people under the roof of Heaven did ever hitherto match. And that which did always animate them was their mere Religion. Without which, if so be it were possible that all other ornaments of mind might be had in their full perfection, nevertheless the mind that should possess them divorced from piety, could be but a spectacle of commiseration; even as that body is, which adorned with sundry other admirable beauties, wanteth eye-sight, the chiefest grace that Nature hath in that kind to bestow. They which commend so much the felicity of that innocent world, wherein it is said that men of their own accord did embrace fidelity and honesty, not for fear of the Magistrate, or because revenge was

Eccles.
xii. 9.

Wisd.
xvii.
13.

* Ἀγαπήτῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐνὶ μόνῳ, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θεϊότερον ἔθνεϊ καὶ πόλει. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 2.

Psal.
i. 3.

before their eyes, if at any time they should do otherwise, but that which held the people in awe was the shame of ill-doing, the love of equity and right itself a bar against all oppressions which greatness of power causeth; they which describe unto us any such estate of happiness amongst men, though they speak not of Religion, do notwithstanding declare that which is in truth her only working. For, if Religion did possess sincerely and sufficiently the hearts of all men, there would need no other restraint from evil. This doth not only give life and perfection to all endeavours wherewith it concurrereth; but what event soever ensue, it breedeth, if not joy and gladness always, yet always patience, satisfaction, and reasonable contentment of mind. Whereupon it hath been set down as an axiom of good experience, that all things religiously taken in hand are prosperously ended; because, whether men in the end have that which Religion did allow them to desire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to suffer, they are in neither event unfortunate.* But lest any man should here conceive, that it greatly skilleth not of what sort our Religion be, inasmuch as Heathens, Turks, and Infidels, impute to Religion a great part of the same effects which ourselves ascribe thereunto, they having ours in the same detestation that we theirs; it shall be requisite to observe well, how far forth there may be agreement in the effects of different Religions. First, by the bitter strife which riseth oftentimes from small differences in this behalf, and is by so much always greater as the matter is of more importance; we see a general agreement in the secret opinion of men, that every man ought to embrace the Religion which is true, and to shun, as hurtful, whatsoever dissenteth from it, but that most, which doth farthest dissent. The generality of which persuasion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by Nature, to the end it might be a spur to our industry in searching and maintaining that Religion, from which as to swerve in the least points is error, so the capital enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly foes; aliens, and, without repentance, children of endless perdition. Such, therefore, touching man's immortal state after this life, are not likely to reap benefit by their

* Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πᾶσας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας εὐσχημόνως φέρειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 10.

Religion, but to look for the clean contrary, in regard of so important contrariety between it and the true Religion. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the errors of the most seduced this way have been mixed with some truths, we are not to marvel, that although the one did turn to their endless woe and confusion, yet the other had many notable effects as touching the affairs of this present life. There were in these quarters of the world, sixteen hundred years ago, certain speculative men whose authority disposed the whole Religion of those times. By their means it became a received opinion, that the souls of men departing this life do flit out of one body into some other. Which opinion, though false, yet entwined with a true, that the souls of men do never perish, abated the fear of death in them which were so resolved, and gave them courage unto all adventures. The Romans had a vain superstitious custom, in most of their enterprises, to conjecture beforehand of the event by certain tokens which they noted in birds, or in the entrails of beasts, or by other the like frivolous divinations. From whence notwithstanding, as oft as they could receive any sign which they took to be favourable, it gave them such hope, as if their gods had made them more than half a promise of prosperous success. Which many times was the greatest cause that they did prevail, especially being men, of their own natural inclination, hopeful and strongly conceited, whatsoever they took in hand. But could their fond Superstition have furthered so great attempts without the mixture of a true persuasion concerning the irresistible force of divine power? Upon the wilful violation of oaths, execrable blasphemies, and like contempts, offered by deriders of Religion, even unto false gods, fearful tokens of divine revenge have been known to follow. Which occurents the devouter sort did take for manifest arguments, that the gods whom they worshipped were of power to reward such as sought unto them, and would plague those that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the Wise man rightly noteth concerning such) it was not the power of them by whom they swore, but the vengeance of them that sinned, which punished the offences of the ungodly. It was their hurt untruly to attribute so great power unto false gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to perjury vengeance is due,

Cam. de
Bell.
Gall.
lib. vi.

Wisd.
xiv. 31.

was not without good effect as touching the course of their lives, who feared the wilful violation of oaths in that respect. And whereas we read so many of them so much commended, some for their mild and merciful disposition, some for their virtuous severity, some for integrity of life, all these were the fruits of true and infallible principles delivered unto us in the Word of God, as the axioms of our Religion, which being imprinted by the God of Nature in their hearts also, and taking better root in some than in most others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidst, the heaps of manifold repugnant errors; which errors of corrupt Religion had also their suitable effects in the lives of the self-same parties.* Without all controversy, the purer and perfecter our Religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them who stedfastly and sincerely embrace it, in others not. They that love the Religion which they profess, may have failed in choice, but yet they are sure to reap what benefit the same is able to afford; whereas the best and soundest professed by them that bear it not the like affection, yieldeth them retaining it in that sort no benefit. David was a "man after God's own heart," so termed because his affection was hearty towards God. Beholding the like disposition in them which lived under him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, "O keep this for ever in the purpose and thoughts of the heart of this people." But when, after that David had ended his days in peace, they, who succeeded him in place, for the most part followed him not in quality; when their [*those*] Kings (some few excepted), to better their worldly estate (as they thought), left their own and their people's ghostly condition uncared for, by woful experience they both did learn, that to forsake the true God of Heaven, is to fall into all such evils upon the face of the earth, as men either destitute of grace divine may commit, or unprotected from above endure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appear that the safety of all estates dependeth upon Religion; that Religion

1 Chr.
xxix. 18.

* ["Though the system of Paganism is justly condemned by reason and Scripture, yet it assumed as true several principles of the first importance to the preservation of public manners; such as a persuasion of invisible power, of the folly of incurring the Divine vengeance for the attainment of any present advantage, and the divine approbation of virtue; so that strictly speaking, it was the mixture of truth in it which gave it all its utility, which is well stated by the great and judicious Hooker in treating on this subject."—*Modern Infidelity*, by ROBERT HALL, A.M. 1811. 8vo. Edit. 7. p. 66.]

unfeignedly loved perfecteth men's abilities unto all kinds of virtuous services in the Commonwealth; that men's desire is in general to hold no Religion but the true; and that whatsoever good effects do grow out of their Religion, who embrace instead of the true a false, the root thereof are certain sparks of the light of truth intermingled with the darkness of error, because no Religion can wholly and only consist of untruths; we have reason to think, that all true virtues are to honour true Religion as their parent, and all well-ordered Commonweals to love her as their chiefest stay.

2. They of whom God is altogether unapprehended are but few in number, and for grossness of wit such, that they hardly and scarcely seem to hold the place of human being. These we should judge to be of all others most miserable, but that a wretcheder sort there are, on whom whereas Nature hath bestowed riper capacity, their evil disposition seriously goeth about therewith to apprehend God as being not God. Whereby it cometh to pass, that of these two sorts of men, both godless, the one having utterly no knowledge of God, the other study how to persuade themselves that there is no such thing to be known. The fountain and well-spring of which impiety is, a resolved purpose of mind to reap in this world what sensual profit or pleasure soever the world yieldeth, and not to be barred from any whatsoever means available thereunto.* And that this is the very radical cause of their Atheism no man (I think) will doubt, which considereth what pains they take to destroy those principal spurs and motives unto all virtue, the Creation of the World, the Providence of God, the Resurrection of the Dead, the Joys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the endless Pains of the Wicked, yea, above all things, the Authority of Scripture, because on these points it evermore beateth; and the Soul's Immortality, which granted, draweth easily after it the rest as a voluntary train. Is it not wonderful, that base desires should so extinguish in men the sense of their own excellency, as to make them willing that their Souls should be like to the souls of beasts, mortal and corruptible with their bodies? Till some admirable or unusual accident happen (as it hath in some) to work the beginning of a better alteration in their minds, disputation about the

The most extreme opposite to true Religion, is affected Atheism.

* Wisd. ii. 21. "Such things they imagine and go astray, because their own wickedness hath blinded them." *Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἀρχή.* Arist. Eth. lib. vi. cap. 5.

knowledge of God with such kind of persons commonly prevaileth little. For how should the brightness of Wisdom shine, where the windows of the Soul are of very set purpose closed? * True Religion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof galleth and troubleth their minds. Being therefore loth that inquiry into such matters should breed a persuasion in the end contrary unto that they embrace, it is their endeavour to banish, as much as in them lieth, quite and clean from their cogitation, whatsoever may sound that way. But it cometh many times to pass (which is their torment) that the thing they shun doth follow them; truth, as it were, even obtruding itself into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be so ignorant as they would be. Whereupon, inasmuch as the nature of man is unwilling to continue doing that wherein it shall always condemn itself, they continuing still obstinate to follow the course which they have begun, are driven to devise all the shifts that wit can invent for the smothering of this light; all that may but with any the least show of possibility, stay their minds from thinking that true, which they heartily wish were false, but cannot think it so without some scruple and fear of the contrary. † Now because that judicious learning, for which we commend most worthily the ancient sages of the world, doth not in this case serve the turn, these trenchermates (for such the most of them be) frame to themselves a way more pleasant; a new method they have of turning things that are serious into mockery, an art of contradiction by way of scorn, a learning wherewith we were long sithence forewarned that the miserable times whereinto we are fallen should abound. This they study, this they practise, this they grace with a wanton superfluity of wit, too much insulting over the patience of more virtuously disposed minds. For towards these so forlorn creatures we are (it must be confest) too patient. In zeal to the glory of God, Babylon hath excelled Sion. We want that decree of Nabuchodonosor; the fury of this wicked brood hath the reins too much at liberty; their tongues walk at large; the spit-venom of their poisoned hearts breaketh out to the

2 Pet.
iii. 3.
Jude 18.

Dan.
iii. 29.

* Susan. ver. 9. "They turned away their mind, and cast down their eyes, that they might not see Heaven, nor remember just judgments."

† "Hæc est summa delicti, nolle agnoscere quem ignorare non possis." Cypr. de Idol. Vanit.

annoyance of others; what their untamed lust suggesteth, the same their licentious mouths do every where set abroad. With our contentions their irreligious humour also is much strengthened. Nothing pleaseth them better than these manifold oppositions about the matter of Religion, as well for that they have hereby the more opportunity to learn on one side how another may be oppugned, and so to weaken the credit of all unto themselves; as also because by this hot pursuit of lower controversies amongst men professing Religion, and agreeing in the principal foundations thereof, they conceive hope that about the higher principles themselves time will cause altercation to grow. For which purpose, when they see occasion, they stick not sometime, in other men's persons, yea, sometime without any vizard at all, directly to try what the most religious are able to say in defence of the highest points whereupon all Religion dependeth. Now for the most part it so falleth out, touching things which generally are received, that although in themselves they be most certain, yet because men presume them granted of all, we are hardliest able to bring such proof of their certainty as may satisfy gainsayers, when suddenly and besides expectation they require the same at our hands. Which imprecation and unreadiness when then they find in us, they turn it to the soothing up of themselves in that cursed fancy, whereby they would fain believe that the hearty devotion of such as indeed fear God is nothing else but a kind of harmless error, bred and confirmed in them by the sleights of wiser men. For a politic use of Religion they see there is, and by it they would also gather that Religion itself is a mere politic device, forged purposely to serve for that use. Men fearing God are thereby a great deal more effectually, than by positive Laws, restrained from doing evil; inasmuch as those Laws have no farther power than over our outward actions only, whereas unto men's inward cogitations, unto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, Religion serveth for a bridle.* What more savage, wild, and cruel than man, if he see himself able either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to over-bear, the

* "Vos scelera admissa punitis, apud nos et cogitare peccare est; vos consocios timetis, nos etiam conscientiam solam, sine qua esse non possumus." Minuc. Fel. in Octav. "Summum presidium regni est justitia ob apertos tumultus, et religio ob occultos." Carda. de Sapient. lib. iii.

Mach.
Disc.
lib. 1.
c. 11-14.

Laws whereunto he should be subject? Wherefore in so great boldness to offend, it behoveth that the world should be held in awe, not by a vain surmise, but a true apprehension of somewhat, which no man may think himself able to withstand. This is the politic use of Religion. In which respect there are, of these wise malignants, some who have vouchsafed it their marvellous favourable countenance and speech, very gravely affirming, That Religion honoured, addeth greatness, and contemned, bringeth ruin unto Commonweals; that Princes and States which will continue, are above all things to uphold the reverend regard of Religion, and to provide for the same by all means in the making of their Laws. But when they should define what means are best for that purpose, behold they extol the wisdom of Paganism; they give it out as a mystical precept of great importance, that Princes, and such as are under them in most authority or credit with the people, should take all occasions of rare events, and from what cause soever the same do proceed, yet wrest them to the strength'ning of their Religion, and not make it nice for so good a purpose to use, if need be, plain forgeries. Thus while they study how to bring to pass that Religion may seem but a matter made, they lose themselves in the very maze of their own Discourses, as if Reason did even purposely forsake them, who of purpose forsake God the author thereof. For, surely, a strange kind of madness it is, that those men, who, though they be void of piety, yet, because they have wit, cannot choose but know that treachery, guile, and deceit are things which may for a while, but do not use long to go unespied, should teach that the greatest honour to a State is perpetuity; and grant that alterations in the service of God, for that they impair the credit of Religion, are therefore perilous in Commonweals, which have no continuance longer than Religion hath all reverence done unto it; and withal acknowledge (for so they do) that when people began to espy the falsehood of Oracles, whereupon all Gentility* was built, their hearts were utterly averted from it; and notwithstanding, counsel Princes in sober earnest, for the strength'ning of their States, to maintain Religion, and for the maintenance of Religion, not to make choice of that which is true, but to authorize that they make choice of

* [Gentile-ity.]

by those false and fraudulent means which in the end must needs overthrow it. Such are the counsels of men godless, when they would shew themselves politic devisers, able to create God in man by art.

3. Wherefore to let go this execrable crew, and to come to extremities on the contrary hand; two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they bear the greater or lesser sway in man's heart, frame accordingly the stamp and character of his Religion, the one Zeal, the other Fear. Zeal, unless it be rightly guided, when it endeavoureth most busily to please God, forceth upon him those unseasonable offices which please him not. For which cause, if they who this way swerve be compared with such sincere, sound, and discreet, as Abraham was in matter of Religion; the service of the one is like unto flattery, the other like the faithful sedulity of friendship. Zeal, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth itself unto conflict with things either in deed, or but imagined to be opposite unto Religion, useth the razor many times with such eagerness, that the very life of Religion itself is thereby hazarded; through hatred of tares the corn in the field of God is pluckt up. So that Zeal needeth both ways a sober guide. Fear, on the other side, if it have not the light of true understanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewise Superstition. It is therefore dangerous, that in things divine we should work too much upon the spur either of Zeal or Fear. Fear is a good solicitor to devotion. Howbeit, sith Fear in this kind doth grow from an apprehension of Deity indued with irresistible power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the unaptest to admit any conference with Reason; for which cause the Wise man doth say of Fear, that it is a betrayer of the forces of reasonable understanding; therefore, except men know beforehand what manner of service pleaseth God, while they are fearful they try all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who never think on God but when they are in extremity of Fear; and then, because what to think or what to do they are uncertain, perplexity not suffering them to be idle, they think and do, as it were in a phrensy, they know not what. Superstition neither knoweth the right kind, nor observeth the due measure, of actions belonging to the service of God, but is always joined with a wrong opinion

Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory.

2 Chron. xx. 7.
"Abraham thy friend."

Wisd. xvii. 12.

touching things divine. Superstition is, when things are either abhorred or observed with a zealous or fearful, but erroneous, relation to God. By means whereof, the superstitious do sometimes serve, though the true God, yet with needless offices, and defraud him of duties necessary; sometime load others than him with such honours as properly are his. The one, their oversight who miss in the choice of that wherewith; the other, theirs who fail in the election of him towards whom, they shew devotion: this, the crime of Idolatry; that, the fault of voluntary either niceness or superfluity in Religion. The Christian world itself being divided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the general view of both, that with matter of heresy the West hath been often and much troubled; but the East part never quiet till the deluge of misery, wherein now they are, overwhelmed them. The chiefest cause whereof doth seem to have lien in the restless wits of the Grecians, evermore proud of their own curious and subtile inventions; which, when at any time they had contrived, the great facility of their language served them readily to make all things fair and plausible to men's understanding. Those grand heretical impieties therefore, which most highly and immediately touched God and the glorious Trinity, were all in a manner the monsters of the East. The West bred fewer a great deal, and those commonly of a lower nature, such as more nearly and directly concerned rather men than God; the Latins being always to capital heresies less inclined, yet unto gross Superstition more. Superstition, such as that of the Pharisees was, by whom divine things indeed were less, because other things were more divinely esteemed of than Reason would,—the Superstition that riseth voluntarily, and by degrees which are hardly discerned mingleth itself with the Rites even of very divine service done to the only true God,—must be considered of as a creeping and encroaching evil; an evil, the first beginnings whereof are commonly harmless, so that it proveth only then to be an evil, when some farther accident doth grow unto it, or itself come unto farther growth. For in the Church of God, sometimes it cometh to pass, as in over-battle grounds, the fertile disposition whereof is good; yet because it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankness, things less profitable; whereby that which principally it should yield,

Mark
vii. 9.

being either prevented in place, or defrauded of nourishment, faileth. This (if so large a discourse were necessary) might be exemplified even by heaps of Rites and Customs, now superstitious in the greatest part of the Christian world; which in their first original beginnings, when the strength of virtuous, devout, or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could justly have condemned as evil.

4. But howsoever Superstition do grow; that wherein unsouder times have done amiss, the better ages ensuing must rectify as they may. I now come therefore to those accusations brought against us by pretenders of Reformation. The first in the rank whereof, is such, that if so be the Church of England did at this day therewith as justly deserve to be touched, as they in this cause have imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all sorts to seek pardon even with tears at the hands of God, than meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end that men might think favourably of them. For as the case of this world, especially now, doth stand, what other stay or succour have we to lean unto, saving the testimony of our conscience, and the comfort we take in this, that we serve the living God (as near as our wits can reach unto the knowledge thereof) even according to his own will, and do therefore trust that his mercy shall be our safeguard against those enraged powers abroad, which principally in that respect are become our enemies? But sith no man can do ill with a good conscience, the consolation which we herein seem to find is but a mere deceitful pleasing of ourselves in error, which at the length must needs turn to our greater grief, if that which we do to please God most be for the manifold defects thereof offensive unto him. For so it is judged, our Prayers, our Sacraments, our Fasts, our times and places of public meeting together for the worship and service of God, our Marriages, our Burials, our Functions, Elections, and Ordinations Ecclesiastical, almost whatsoever we do in the exercise of our Religion according to Laws for that purpose established, all things are some way or other thought faulty, all things stained with Superstition. Now, although, it may be, the wiser sort of men are not greatly moved hereat, considering how subject the very best things have been always unto cavil, when wits possessed either with disdain or dislike thereof have set them up as their

Of the redress of Superstition in God's Church, and concerning the question of this Book.

mark to shoot at; safe notwithstanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that especially in regard of them, who desiring to serve God as they ought, but being not so skilful as in every point to unwind themselves where the snares of glosing speech do lie to entangle them, are in mind not a little troubled, when they hear so bitter invectives against that which this Church hath taught them to reverence as holy, to approve as lawful, and to observe as behooveful for the exercise of Christian duty. It seemeth therefore, at the least for their sakes, very meet, that such as blame us in this behalf be directly answered; and they which follow us, informed plainly in the reasons of that we do. On both sides, the end intended between us is to have Laws and Ordinances such as may rightly serve to abolish Superstition, and to establish the Service of God with all things thereunto appertaining in some perfect Form. There is an inward reasonable, and there is a solemn outward serviceable, worship belonging unto God. Of the former kind are all manner [of] virtuous duties, that each man in reason and conscience to God-ward oweth. Solemn and serviceable worship we name for distinction' sake, whatsoever belongeth to the Church or public Society of God by way of external adoration. It is the latter of these two whereupon our present question groweth. Again, this latter being ordered partly, and as touching principal matters, by none but Precepts divine only; partly, and as concerning things of inferior regard, by Ordinances as well human as divine; about the Substance of Religion, wherein God's only Law must be kept, there is here no controversy: the crime now intended against us, is, that our Laws have not ordered those inferior things as behoveth, and that our Customs are either superstitious, or otherwise amiss, whether we respect the exercise of public duties in Religion, or the functions of persons authorized thereunto.

Rom.
xii. 1.
Luke
ix. 22.

Four
general
proposi-
tions de-
manding
that
which
may rea-
sonably
be grant-
ed con-
cerning

5. It is with teachers of mathematical sciences usual, for us in this present question necessary, to lay down first certain reasonable demands, which in most particulars following are to serve as principles whereby to work, and therefore must be beforehand considered. The men whom we labour to inform in the truth, perceive that so to proceed is requisite. For to this end they also propose,

touching Customs and Rites indifferent, their general axioms; some of them subject unto just exceptions, and, as we think, more meet by them to be farther considered, than assented unto by us. As that, "In outward things belonging to the service of God, reformed Churches ought by all means to shun conformity with the Church of Rome;" that, "The first reformed should be a pattern, whereunto all that come after ought to conform themselves;" that, "Sound Religion may not use the things which being not commanded of God, have been either devised or abused unto Superstition." These and the rest of the same consort we have in the Book going before examined. Other Canons they allege, and Rules, not unworthy of approbation; as that, "In all such things the glory of God, and the edification or ghostly good of his people, must be sought;" "That nothing should be undecently or unorderly done." But forasmuch as all the difficulty is, in discerning what things do glorify God and edify his Church, what not; when we should think them decent and fit, when otherwise;—because these Rules being too general, come not near enough unto the matter which we have in hand; and the former principles being nearer the purpose, are too far from truth; we must propose unto all men certain petitions incident and very material in causes of this nature, such as no man of moderate judgment hath cause to think unjust or unreasonable.

6. The first thing, therefore, which is of force to cause approbation with good conscience towards such Customs or Rites as publicly are established, is, when there riseth from the due consideration of those Customs and Rites in themselves apparent Reason, although not always to prove them better than any other that might possibly be devised (for who did ever require this in man's Ordinances?); yet competent to shew their conveniency and fitness, in regard of the use for which they should serve. Now, touching the nature of religious services, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be most clear; that, whereas the greatness and dignity of all manner [of] actions is measured by the worthiness of the subject from which they proceed, and of the object whereabout they are conversant; we must of necessity in both respects acknowledge, that this present world

matters of outward form in the exercise of true Religion. And, finally, Of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.

The first proposition touching judgment, What things are convenient in the outward public ordering of Church-affairs.

John
iv. 24.
Wisd.
vi. 10.
1 Chron.
xxix. 17

2 Chron.
ii. 5.

affordeth not any thing comparable unto the Public duties of Religion. For if the best things have the perfectest and best operations, it will follow, that seeing man is the worthiest creature upon earth, and every Society of men more worthy than any man, and of Societies that most excellent which we call the Church; there can be in this world no work performed equal to the exercise of true Religion, the proper operation of the Church of God. Again, forasmuch as Religion worketh upon him who in majesty and power is infinite, as we ought we accompt not of it, unless we esteem it even according to that very height of excellency which our hearts conceive when divine sublimity itself is rightly considered. In the powers and faculties of our souls God requireth the uttermost which our unfeigned affection towards him is able to yield: so that if we affect him not far above and before all things, our Religion hath not that inward perfection which it should have, neither do we indeed worship him as our God. That which inwardly each man should be, the Church outwardly ought to testify. And therefore the duties of our Religion which are seen, must be such as that affection which is unseen ought to be. Signs must resemble the things they signify. If Religion bear the greatest sway in our hearts, our outward religious duties must shew it as far as the Church hath outward ability. Duties of Religion, performed by whole Societies of men, ought to have in them, according to our power, a sensible excellency, correspondent to the majesty of him whom we worship. Yea, then are the public duties of Religion best ordered, when the militant Church doth resemble, by sensible means,* as it may in such cases, that hidden dignity and glory wherewith the Church triumphant in Heaven is beautified. Howbeit, even as the very heat of the sun itself, which is the life of the whole world, was to the people of God in the desert a grievous annoyance, for ease whereof his extraordinary providence ordained a cloudy pillar to overshadow them; so things of general use and benefit (for in this world, what is so perfect that no inconvenience doth ever follow it?) may by some accident be incommodious to a few. In which case, for such private evils, remedies there

* Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. Germa. *περὶ τῶν ἱερουργουμένων*. "Delectatio Domini in Ecclesia est; Ecclesia vero est imago cœlestium." Ambros. de interpel. Dav. "Facit in terris opera cœlorum." Sidon. Apol. Epist. lib. vi.

are of like condition, though public Ordinances, wherein the common good is respected, be not stir'd. Let our first demand be therefore, That in the external Form of Religion, such things as are apparently, or can be sufficiently proved effectual and generally fit to set forward godliness, either as betokening the greatness of God, or as beseeming the dignity of Religion, or as concurring with celestial impressions in the minds of men, may be reverently thought of; some few, rare, casual, and tolerable, or otherwise curable, inconveniences notwithstanding.

7. Neither may we in this case lightly esteem what hath been allowed as fit in the judgment of Antiquity, and by the long continued practice of the whole Church; from which unnecessarily to swerve, experience hath never as yet found it safe. For wisdom's sake we reverence them no less that are young, or not much less, than if they were stricken in years. And therefore of such it is rightly said, that their ripeness of understanding is "grey hair," and their virtues "old age." But because wisdom and youth are seldom joined in one, and the ordinary course of the world is more according to Job's observation, who giveth men advice to seek "*wisdom amongst the ancient, and in the length of days, understanding;*" therefore, if the comparison do stand between man and man, which shall hearken unto other, sith the aged for the most part are best experienced, least subject to rash and unadvised passions, it hath been ever judged reasonable, that their sentence in matter of counsel should be better trusted and more relied upon than other men's. The goodness of God having furnished man with two chief instruments, both necessary for this life, hands to execute, and a mind to devise great things; the one is not profitable longer than the vigour of youth doth strengthen it; nor the other greatly, till age and experience have brought it to perfection. In whom therefore time hath not perfected knowledge, such must be contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this cause none is more attentively heard, than they whose speeches are, as David's were, "I have been young, and now am old," much I have seen and observed in the world. Sharp and subtile discourses of wit procure many times very great applause; but being laid in the balance with that which the habit of sound experience plainly delivereth, they are overweighed. God

The
second
proposi-
tion.

Wisd.
iv. 9.

Job
xii. 12.

[Psal.
xxxvii.
25.]

may indue men extraordinarily with understanding as it pleaseth him : but let no man presuming thereupon neglect the instructions, or despise the ordinances of his elders, sith He, whose gift wisdom is, hath said, “ Ask thy father, and he will shew thee ; thine ancients, and they shall tell thee.” It is therefore the voice, both of God and Nature, not of learning only, that especially in matters of action and policy, “ The sentences and judgments of men experienced, aged and wise, yea, though they speak without any proof or demonstration, are no less to be hearkened unto, than as being demonstrations in themselves ; because such men’s long observation is as an eye, wherewith they presently and plainly behold those principles which sway over all actions.” Whereby we are taught both the cause wherefore wise men’s judgments should be credited, and the mean how to use their judgments to the increase of our own wisdom. That which sheweth them to be wise, is the gathering of principles out of their own particular experiments. And the framing of our particular experiments, according to the rule of their principles, shall make us such as they are. If, therefore, even at the first, so great accompt should be made of wise men’s counsels touching things that are publicly done ; as time shall add thereunto continuance and approbation of succeeding ages, their credit and authority must needs be greater. They which do nothing but that which men of accompt did before them, are, although they do amiss, yet the less faulty, because they are not the authors of harm : and doing well, their actions are freed from prejudice and novelty. To the best and wisest while they live, the world is continually a froward opposite, a curious observer of their defects and imperfections ; their virtues it afterwards as much admireth.* And for this cause many times that which most deserveth approbation, would hardly be able to find favour, if they which propose it were not content to profess themselves therein scholars and followers of the Ancient. For the world will not endure to hear that we are wiser than any have been which went before. In which consideration there is cause why we should be slow and unwilling to change, without very urgent necessity, the

* Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ ποδῶν φθόνος οἰδεὶς φέρεται. Philo. Πᾶσα δυσμέμεια τῇ βίῃ τούτῳ συναποτίθεται. Synes. Τὸ ἐκ ποδῶν οὐτ’ ἀντικρίπτεται καὶ τετίμηται ἀφθόνως. Greg. Naz. ἐν Στιχ.

ancient Ordinances, Rites, and long approved Customs, of our venerable predecessors. The love of things ancient doth argue stayedness; but levity and want of experience maketh apt unto innovations.* That which wisdom did first begin, and hath been with good men long continued, challengeth allowance of them that succeed, although it plead for itself nothing. That which is new,† if it promise not much, doth fear condemnation before trial; till trial, no man doth acquit or trust it, what good soever it pretend and promise. So that in this kind, there are few things known to be good, till such time as they grow to be ancient. The vain pretence of those glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reason ought to have been so much alleged, hath wrought such a prejudice against them in the minds of the common sort, as if they had utterly no force at all; whereas (especially for these observances which concern our present question) antiquity, custom,‡ and consent in the Church of God, making with that which Law doth establish, are themselves most sufficient reasons to uphold the same, unless some notable public inconvenience enforce the contrary. For a small thing in the eye of Law is as nothing.§ We are therefore bold to make our second petition this, That in things, the fitness whereof is not of itself apparent, nor easy to be made sufficiently manifest unto all, yet the judgment of antiquity concurring with that which is received, may induce them to think it not unfit, who are not able to allege any known weighty inconvenience which it hath, or to take any strong exception against.||

* "Ὅσοι δι' εὐστάθειαν τρέπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τοῦ καινοπρεποῦς προετίμῃαν καὶ ἀπαρμπούητον τῶν πατέρων διεφύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν κατὰ τε χρέαν καὶ πόλιν, ταύτῃ κέχρηται τῇ φωνῇ. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. vii.

† [Suetonius, in Vit. Nero. cap. 16, calls the Christians, "a sort of men of a new and magical superstition." On this, Dr. Lardner, edit. 4to. Vol. III. p. 619, remarks that "in the word 'new,' undoubtedly there is a sting: for, as Tacitus says of the Jews, 'Whatever might be the origin of their religion, it has the advantage of Antiquity! Hi ritus, quoque modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur.'—Hist. lib. v. cap. 5."]

‡ ["Antiquity without Truth, is a cypher without a figure." Lord BACON. "Consuetudo sine veritate est vetustas erroris: Custom without Truth, is a mouldy error."—CYPRIAN.]

§ "Ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τοῦ εἰ παρεκβαίνων οὐ ψέγεται. Arist. Ethic. lib. 2. c. 9. "Modici nulla fere ratio haberi solet." Tiraquel. de jud. in reb. exig. cap. 10.

|| ["The mortallest enemy unto knowledge, and that which hath done the greatest execution upon Truth, hath been a peremptory adhesion unto Authority; and, more especially, the establishing of our belief upon the dictates of Antiquity. For (as every capacity may observe) most men of ages present, so superstitiously do look on ages past, that the authorities of the one exceed the reasons of the other. . . . Nor is only a resolved prostration unto Antiquity a powerful enemy unto knowledge, but any confident adherence unto Authority,

The
third
propo-
sition.

T. C.
lib. iii.
p. 181.

8. All things cannot be of ancient continuance, which are expedient and needful for the ordering of spiritual affairs: but the Church, being a body which dieth not, hath always power, as occasion requireth, no less to ordain that which never was, 'than to ratify what hath been before. To prescribe the Order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogative which Wisdom hath,* as Queen or sovereign Commandress over other virtues. This in every several man's actions of common life appertaineth unto Moral; in public and politic secular affairs, unto Civil wisdom. In like manner, to devise any certain Form for the outward administration of public duties in the service of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to find out the most convenient for that use, is a point of wisdom Ecclesiastical. It is not for a man, which doth know or should know what Order is, and what peaceable government requireth, to ask, "Why we should hang our judgment upon the Church's sleeve;" and "Why in matters of Order, more than in matters of Doctrine." The Church hath authority to establish that for an Order at one time, which at another time it may abolish, and in both may do well. But that which in Doctrine the Church doth now deliver rightly as a truth, no man will say that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly avouch the contrary. Laws touching matter of Order are changeable by the power of the Church; Articles concerning Doctrine, not so. We read often in the writings of catholic and holy men, touching matters of Doctrine, This we believe, This we hold, This the Prophets and Evangelists have declared, This the Apostles have delivered, This Martyrs have sealed with their blood, and confessed in the midst of torments; To this we cleave, as to the anchor of our souls; Against this, though an Angel from Heaven should preach unto us, we would not believe. But did we ever in any of them read, touching matters of mere comeliness, order, and decency, neither commanded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Evangelist, any Apostle, Although the Church wherein we live do ordain them to be kept, Although they be never so generally observed, Though all the Churches in the world should command

or resignation of our judgments upon the testimony of age or author whatsoever."—*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, or *Enquiries into many received Tenets, and commonly preserved Truths*; &c. By T. BROWN, M. D. 1659. Fo. Book I. chap. vi. p. 15, and chap. vii. p. 18.]

* Ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς τίθεισα. Philo. p. 35.

them, Though Angels from Heaven should require our subjection thereunto, I would hold him *accursed* that doth obey? Be it in matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainly deliver, to that the first place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is, whatsoever any man can necessarily conclude by force of Reason; after these, the voice of the Church succeedeth. That which the Church by her Ecclesiastical authority shall probably think and define to be true or good, must in congruity of Reason over-rule all other inferior judgments whatsoever. To them which ask, why we thus hang our judgment on the Church's sleeve, I answer with Solomon, because "two are better than one." "Yea simply (saith Basil) and universally, whether it be in works of Nature, or of voluntary choice and counsel, I see not any thing done as it should be, if it be wrought by an agent singling itself from consorts."* The Jews have a sentence of good advice, "Take not upon thee to be a judge alone; there is no sole judge but one only; say not to others, Receive my sentence, when their authority is above thine." The bare consent of the whole Church should itself in these things stop their mouths, who living under it, dare presume to bark against it. "There is (saith Cassianus) no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yielded to that which all have agreed upon." Might we not think it more than wonderful, that Nature should in all communities appoint a predominant judgment to sway and over-rule in so many things; or that God himself should allow so much authority and power unto every poor family for the ordering of all which are in it; and the City of the living God, which is his Church, be able neither to command, nor yet to forbid any thing which the meanest shall in that respect, and for her sole authority's sake, be bound to obey? We cannot hide or dissemble that evil, the grievous inconvenience whereof we feel. Our dislike of them, by whom too much heretofore hath been attributed unto the Church, is grown to an error on the contrary hand; so that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which removal of one extremity with another, the world, seeking to procure a remedy, hath purchased a mere exchange of the evil which before was felt. Suppose we, that the sacred Word of God can at

Eccles.
iv. 9.

R. Is-
mael
in cap.
Patr.

Cassian.
de In-
carn.
lib. i.
c. 6.

* Basil. Ep. 68. d. 8. c. Quæ contra. "Turpis est omnis pars universo suo non congruens."

their hands receive due honour, by whose incitement the holy Ordinances of the Church endure every where open contempt? No; it is not possible they should observe as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw unnecessarily their own or their brethren's obedience. Surely the Church of God in this business is neither of capacity, I trust, so weak; nor so unstrengthened, I know, with authority from above; but that her Laws may exact obedience at the hands of her own children, and injoin gainsayers silence, giving them roundly to understand, That where our duty is submission, weak oppositions betoken pride. We therefore crave, thirdly, to have it granted, That where neither the evidence of any Law divine, nor the strength of any invincible argument otherwise found out by the light of Reason, nor any notable public inconvenience doth make against that which our own Laws Ecclesiastical have, although but newly instituted, for the ordering of these affairs,—the very authority of the Church itself, at the least in such cases, may give so much credit to her own Laws, as to make their sentence touching fitness and conveniency, weightier than any bare or naked conceit to the contrary; especially in them, who can owe no less than child-like obedience to her that hath more than motherly power.

The
fourth
propo-
sition.

9. There are ancient Ordinances (Laws which on all sides are allowed to be just and good, yea, Divine and Apostolic Constitutions) which the Church, it may be, doth not always keep, nor always justly deserve blame in that respect. For in evils that cannot be removed without the manifest danger of greater to succeed in their rooms, wisdom, of necessity, must give place to necessity. All it can do in those cases is, to devise how that which must be endured may be mitigated, and the inconveniences thereof countervailed as near as may be; that when the best things are not possible, the best may be made of those that are. Nature, than which there is nothing more constant, nothing more uniform in all her ways, doth notwithstanding stay her hand, yea, and change her course, when that which God by creation did command, he doth at any time by necessity countermand. It hath therefore pleased himself sometime to unloose the very tongues even of dumb creatures, and to teach them to plead this in their own defence, lest the cruelty of man should persist to afflict them for not

Numb.
xxii. 28.

keeping their wonted course, when some invincible impediment hath hindered. If we leave Nature, and look into Art, the workman hath in his heart a purpose, he carrieth in mind the whole form which his work should have ; there wanteth not in him skill and desire to bring his labour to the best effect, only the matter which he hath to work on is unframable. This necessity excuseth him ; so that nothing is derogated from his credit although much of his work's perfection be found wanting. Touching actions of common life, there is not any defence more favourably heard than theirs, who allege sincerely for themselves, that they did as necessity constrained them. For, when the mind is rightly ordered and affected as it should be, in case some external impediment crossing well advised desires shall potently draw men to leave what they principally wish, and to take a course which they would not if their choice were free ; what necessity forceth men unto, the same in this case it maintaineth,* as long as nothing is committed simply in itself evil, nothing absolutely sinful or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable Law, whereby whatsoever is condemned as evil, can never any way be made good. The casting away of things profitable for the sustenance of man's life, is an unthankful abuse of the fruits of God's good providence towards mankind. Which consideration, for all that, did not hinder St. ^{Acts} Paul from throwing corn into the sea, when care of saving ^{xxvii.} ^{38.} men's lives made it necessary to lose that which else had been better saved. Neither was this to do evil, to the end that good might come of it : for of two such evils, being not both evitable, the choice of the less is not evil. And evils must be in our construction judged inevitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to avoid them ; because where counsel and advice bear rule, of God's extraordinary power without extraordinary warrant we cannot presume. In civil affairs, to declare what sway necessity hath ever been accustomed to bear, were labour infinite. The Laws of all states and kingdoms in the world have scarcely of any thing more common use. Should then only the Church shew itself inhuman and stern, absolutely urging a rigorous observation of spiritual Ordinances without relaxation or exception, what necessity soever happen ? We know the contrary practice to have been commended ^{Luke} ^{vi. 4.}

* "Necessitas, quicquid coegit, defendit." Senec. Controv. lib. 9.

by him, upon the warrant of whose judgment the Church, most of all delighted with merciful and moderate courses, doth the oft'ner condescend unto like equity, permitting in cases, of necessity, that which otherwise it disalloweth and forbiddeth. Cases of necessity being sometime but urgent, sometime extreme, the consideration of public utility is with very good advice judged at the least equivalent with the easier kind of necessity.* Now, that which causeth numbers to storm against some necessary tolerations, which they should rather let pass with silence, considering that in Polity, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, there are and will be always evils which no art of man can cure, breaches and leaks moe [*more*] than man's wit hath hands to stop; that which maketh odious unto them many things, wherein notwithstanding the truth is that very just regard hath been had of the public good; that which in a great part of the weightiest causes belonging to this present controversy, hath insnared the judgments both of sundry good, and of some well learned men, is the manifest truth of certain general principles, whereupon the Ordinances that serve for usual practice in the Church of God are grounded. Which principles men knowing to be most sound, and that the ordinary practice accordingly framed is good, whatsoever is over and besides that ordinary, the same they judge repugnant to those true principles. The cause of which error is, ignorance what restraints and limitations all such principles have, in regard of so manifold varieties as the matter whereunto they are appliable doth commonly afford.† These varieties are not known but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all principles, to discern how far forth they take effect, to see where and why they fail, to apprehend by what degrees and means they lead to the practice of things in show, though not indeed repugnant and contrary one to another, requireth more sharpness of wit, more intricate circutions of discourse, more industry and depth of judgment, than common ability doth yield. So that general Rules, till their limits be fully known (especially in matter of Public and

* "*Causa necessitatis et utilitatis æquiparantur in jure.*" Ab Panor. ad c. ut super, nu. 15. de Reb. Eccles. non alien.

† *Ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις, οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι· περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις.* Arist. Eth. lib. i. c. 7.

Ecclesiastical affairs), are, by reason of the manifold secret exceptions which lie hidden in them, no other to the eye of man's understanding than cloudy mists cast before the eye of common sense. They that walk in darkness know not whither they go: and even as little is their certainty, whose opinions generalities only do guide. With gross and popular capacities nothing doth more prevail than unlimited generalities, because of their plainness at the first sight; nothing less with men of exact judgment, because such Rules are not safe to be trusted over far. General Laws are like general rules of physic, according whereunto as no wise man will desire himself to be cured, if there be joined with his disease some special accident, in regard whereof that whereby others in the same infirmity, but without the like accident, recover health, would be to him either hurtful, or at the least unprofitable; so we must not, under a colourable commendation of holy Ordinances in the Church, and of reasonable causes whereupon they have been grounded for the common good, imagine that all men's cases ought to have one measure. Not without singular wisdom therefore it hath been provided, that as the ordinary course of common affairs is disposed of by general Laws, so likewise men's rarer incident necessities and utilities should be with special equity considered. From hence it is, that so many privileges, immunities, exceptions, and dispensations, have been always with great equity and reason granted, not to turn the edge of justice, or to make void at certain times, and in certain men, through mere voluntary grace or benevolence, that which continually and universally should be of force (as some understand it), but in very truth to practise general Laws according to their right meaning. We see in contracts and other dealings which daily pass between man and man, that, to the utter undoing of some, many things by strictness of Law may be done, which equity and honest meaning forbiddeth. Not that the Law is unjust, but imperfect; nor equity against, but above, the Law, binding men's consciences in things which Law cannot reach unto. Will any man say, that the virtue of private equity is opposite and repugnant to that Law, the silence whereof it supplieth in all such private dealing? No more is public equity against the Law of public affairs; albeit the one permit unto some, in special

considerations, that which the other, agreeably with general rules of justice, doth in general sort forbid. For, sith all good Laws are the voices of right Reason, which is the instrument wherewith God will have the world guided; and impossible it is that right should withstand right; it must follow, that principles and rules of justice, be they never so generally uttered, do no less effectually intend, than if they did plainly express, an exception of all particulars, wherein their literal practice might any way prejudice equity. And because it is natural unto all men to wish their own extraordinary benefit, when they think they have reasonable inducements so to do; and no man can be presumed a competent judge what equity doth require in his own case; the likeliest mean whereby the wit of man can provide, that he which useth the benefit of any special benignity above the common course of others, may enjoy it with good conscience, and not against the true purpose of Laws, which in outward show are contrary, must needs be to arm with authority some fit both for quality and place to administer that which in every such particular shall appear agreeable with equity. Wherein, as it cannot be denied, but that sometimes the practice of such jurisdiction may swerve through error even in the very best, and for other respects where less integrity is; so the watchfullest observers of inconveniences that way growing, and the readiest to urge them in disgrace of authorized proceedings, do very well know, that the disposition of these things resteth not now in the hands of Popes, who live in no worldly awe or subjection, but is committed to them whom Law may at all times bridle, and superior power control; yea, to them also in such sort, that Law itself hath set down to what persons, in what causes, with what circumstances, almost every faculty or favour shall be granted, leaving in a manner nothing unto them more than only to deliver what is already given by Law. Which maketh it by many degrees less reasonable, that under pretence of inconveniences so easily stopped, if any did grow, and so well prevented that none may, men should be altogether barred of the liberty that Law with equity and reason granteth. These things therefore considered, we lastly require, That it may not seem hard, if in cases of necessity, or for common utility's sake, certain profitable Ordinances sometime be released, rather

than all men always strictly bound to the general rigour thereof.

10. Now, where the Word of God leaveth the Church to make choice of her own Ordinances, if against those things which have been received with great reason, or against that which the ancient practice of the Church hath continued time out of mind, or against such Ordinances as the power and authority of that Church under which we live hath itself devised for the public good, or against the discretion of the Church in mitigating sometimes with favourable equity that rigour which otherwise the literal generality of Ecclesiastical Laws hath judged to be more convenient and meet; if against all this it should be free for men to reprove, to disgrace, to reject, at their own liberty, what they see done and practised according to order set down; if in so great variety of ways as the wit of man is easily able to find out towards any purpose, and in so great liking as all men especially have unto those inventions whereby some one shall seem to have been more enlightened from above than many thousands, the Church did give every man licence to follow what himself imagineth that *God's Spirit doth reveal* unto him, or what he supposeth that God is likely to have revealed to some special person whose virtues deserve to be highly esteemed; what other effect could hereupon ensue, but the utter confusion of his Church under pretence of being taught, led, and guided by his Spirit? the gifts and graces whereof do so naturally all tend unto common peace, that where such singularity is, they whose hearts it possesseth ought to suspect it the more; inasmuch as if it did come of God, and should for that cause prevail with others, the same God which revealeth it to them, would also give them power of confirming it unto others, either with miraculous operation, or with strong and invincible remonstrance of sound Reason, such as whereby it might appear that God would indeed have all men's judgments give place unto it; whereas now the error and unsufficiency of their arguments doth make it on the contrary side against them a strong presumption, that God hath not moved their hearts to think such things as he hath not enabled them to prove.* And so from Rules of general direction, it resteth

The rule
of men's
Private
spirits
not safe
in these
cases to
be fol-
lowed.

* [May 24, 1689, The Toleration Act was passed, "Forasmuch as *some ease* to scrupulous consciences, in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their Majesties' Protestant subjects in interest and affection."]

that now we descend to a more distinct explication of particulars, wherein those Rules have their special efficacy.

Places
for the
public
service
of God,
Gen.
iii. 8.
Gen.
iv. 3.

Gen.
xiii. 4.
xxii. 2.
xxi. 33.

Exod.
xxvi.

Deut.
xii. 5—7.

2 Chron.
iii. 1.

2 Chron.
vi. 7.
Psalm.
cxxxii.
3—5.

1 Chron.
xxii. 14.

1 Chron.
xxix. 3, 4.

Ezra
iii. 12.
Hag.
ii. 3.

11. Solemn duties of public service to be done unto God, must have their Places set and prepared in such sort as be seemeth actions of that regard. Adam, even during the space of his small continuance in Paradise, had where to present himself before the Lord. Adam's sons had out of Paradise in like sort whither to bring their sacrifices. The Patriarchs used altars, and mountains, and groves, to the self-same purpose. In the vast Wilderness, when the people of God had themselves no settled habitation, yet a moveable Tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like charge was given them against the time they should come to settle themselves in the land which had been promised unto their fathers, "Ye shall seek that place which the Lord your God shall choose." When God had chosen Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem Mount Moriah, there to have his standing habitation made, it was in the chiefest of David's desires to have performed so good a work. His grief was no less that he could not have the honour to build God a Temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite asunder their own tongues with very wrath, that they have not as yet the power to pull down the Temples which they never built, and to level them with the ground. It was no mean thing which he purposed. To perform a work so majestic and stately was no small charge. Therefore he incited all men unto bountiful contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, precious stones, in great abundance. Yea, moreover, "Because I have (saith David) a joy in the House of my God, I have of mine own gold and silver, besides all that I have prepared for the House of the Sanctuary, given to the House of my God three thousand talents of gold, even gold of Ophir, [and] seven thousand talents of fined silver." After the overthrow of this first House of God, a second was instead thereof erected; but with so great odds, that they wept which had seen the former, and beheld how much this latter came behind it, the beauty whereof notwithstanding was such, that even this was also the wonder of the whole world. Besides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the land, and even in Jerusalem, by process of time, no small number of Synagogues for men to resort unto.

Our Saviour himself, and after him the Apostles, frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Christ which was in Jerusalem, and held that profession which had not the public allowance and countenance of authority, could not so long use the exercise of Christian Religion but in private only. ^{Acts i. 12, ii. 1, 46.} So that as Jews they had access to the Temple and Synagogues, where God was served after the custom of the Law; but for that which they did as Christians, they were of necessity forced other where to assemble themselves. And as God gave increase to his Church, they sought out both there and abroad for that purpose not the fittest (for so the times would not suffer them to do), but the safest places they could. In process of time some whiles by sufferance, some whiles by special leave and favour, they began to erect to themselves Oratories; not in any sumptuous or stately manner, which neither was possible by reason of the poor estate of the Church, and had been perilous in regard of the world's envy towards them. At length, when it pleased God to raise up Kings and Emperors favouring sincerely the Christian truth, that which the Church before either could not or durst not do, was with all alacrity performed.* Temples were in all places erected: no cost was spared, nothing judged too dear which that way should be spent. The whole world did seem to exult, that it had occasion of pouring out gifts to so blessed a purpose. That cheerful devotion which David this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and wish that the same in the Jewish people might be perpetual, was then in Christian people every where to be seen. Their actions, till this day always accustomed to be spoken of with great honour, are now called openly into question. They, and as many as have been followers of their example in that thing, we especially that worship God, either in Temples which their hands made, or which other men sithence have framed by the like pattern, are in that respect charged no less than with the very sin of idolatry. Our Churches, in the foam of that good spirit which directeth such fiery tongues, they term spitefully the Temples of Baal, idol Synagogues, abominable Styes.

* [Tillemont has remarked that the first Church which history gives any certain information of, was built by Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocæsaria, about A. D. 245. GREG. NYSS. *de Vit. Greg. Thaum.* Vol. III. p. 554. and TILL. in *Greg. Thaum.* Tom. IV. p. 679.]

The solemnity of erecting Churches condemned by Bar. p. 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them scorned, p. 141.

Vide Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. 41, 42—45.

Athana. Apol. ad Constantium.

12. Wherein the first thing which moveth them thus to cast up their poison, are certain solemnities usual at the first erection of Churches. Now, although the same should be blame-worthy, yet this age (thanks be to God) hath reasonably well forborne to incur the danger of any such blame. It cannot be laid unto many men's charge at this day living, either that they have been so curious as to trouble Bishops with placing the first stone in the Churches they built, or so scrupulous as after the erection of them to make any great ado for their Dedication. In which kind notwithstanding, as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpose the stiff defence of, any unnecessary custom heretofore received;* so we know no reason wherefore Churches should be the worse, if at the first erecting of them, at the making of them public, at the time when they are delivered, as it were, into God's own possession, and when the use whereunto they shall ever serve is established, Ceremonies, fit to betoken such intents, and to accompany such actions, be usual, as in the purest times they have been.† When Constantine had finished an House for the service of God at Jerusalem, the Dedication he judged a matter not unworthy, about the solemn performance whereof the greatest part of the Bishops in Christendom should meet together. Which thing they did at the Emperor's motion, each most willingly setting forth that action to their power, some with orations, some with sermons, some with the sacrifice of prayers unto God for the peace of the world, for the Church's safety, for the Emperor's and his children's good. By Athanasius the like is recorded concerning a Bishop of Alexandria, in a work of the like devout magnificence. So that whether Emperors or Bishops in those days were Church-founders, the solemn Dedication of Churches they thought not to be a work in itself either vain or superstitious. Can we judge it a thing seemly for any man to go about the building of an House to the God of Heaven with no other appearance, than if his end were to rear up a kitchen, or a parlour, for his own use? Or when a work of

* Durand. rational. lib. i. cap. 6. et de Consecra. d. 1. c. tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib. x. ep. 12. et lib. vii. ep. 71. et lib. 8. ep. 63.

† Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἑγκαίνιον. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ἐκδότης τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περικοπῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαγούσης, ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλά. Greg. Nazian. Orat. eis τὴν κυριακὴν.

such nature is finished, remaineth there nothing but presently to use it, and so an end? It behooveth that the place where God shall be served by the whole Church, be a public place, for the avoiding of privy conventicles, which covered with pretence of Religion may serve unto dangerous practices. Yea, although such assemblies be had indeed for Religion's sake, hurtful nevertheless they may easily prove, as well in regard of their fitness to serve the turn of Heretics, and such as privily will soonest adventure to instil their poison into men's minds; as also for the occasion which thereby is given to malicious persons, both of suspecting and of traducing with more colourable shew those actions, which in themselves being holy, should be so ordered that no man might probably otherwise think of them. Which considerations have by so much the greater weight, for that of these inconveniences the Church heretofore had so plain experience, when Christian men were driven to use secret meetings, because the liberty of public places was not granted them. There are which hold, that the presence of a Christian multitude, and the duties of Religion performed amongst them, do make the place of their assembly public; even as the presence of the King and his retinue maketh any man's house a Court.* But this I take to be an error, inasmuch as the only thing which maketh any place public, is the public assignment thereof unto such duties. As for the multitude there assembled, or the duties which they perform, it doth not appear how either should be of force to infuse any such prerogative. Nor doth the solemn Dedication of Churches serve only to make them public, but farther also to surrender up that right, which otherwise their founders might have in them, and to make God himself their owner. For which cause, at the erection and consecration as well of the Tabernacle as of the Temple, it pleased the Almighty to give a manifest sign that he took possession of both. Finally, it notifieth in solemn manner the holy and religious use whereunto it is intended such Houses shall be put. These things the wisdom of Solomon did not accompt superfluous. He knew how easily that which was meant should be holy and sacred, might be drawn from the use whereunto it was first provided; he knew how bold men are to take even from

Exod.
xl. 34.
1 Reg.
viii. 11.

Exod.
xl. 9.

1 Reg.
viii.

* [See Sect. 16, Note *, p. 41.]

God himself; how hardly that House would be kept from impious profanation he knew; and right wisely therefore endeavoured by such solemnities to leave in the minds of men that impression, which might somewhat restrain their boldness, and nourish a reverend affection towards the House of God. For which cause when the first House was destroyed, and a new in the stead thereof erected by the children of Israel after their return from captivity, they kept the Dedication even of this house also with joy. The argument which our Saviour useth against profaners of the Temple, he taketh from the use whereunto it was with solemnity consecrated. And as the prophet Jeremy forbiddeth the carrying of burthens on the Sabbath, because that was a sanctified day; so because the Temple was a place sanctified, our Lord would not suffer no not the carriage of a vessel through the Temple. These two commandments therefore are in the Law conjoined, "Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary." Out of those the Apostle's words, "Have ye not houses to eat and drink [in]?" albeit Temples, such as now, were not then erected for the exercise of Christian Religion, it hath been nevertheless not absurdly conceived, that he teacheth what difference should be made between house and house; that what is fit for the dwelling-place of God, and what for man's habitation he sheweth; he requireth that Christian men at their own home take common food, and in the House of the Lord none but that food which is heavenly; he instructeth them, that as in the one place they use to refresh their bodies, so they may in the other learn to seek the nourishment of their souls; and as there they sustain temporal life, so here they would learn to make provision for eternal. Christ could not suffer that the Temple should serve for a place of mart, nor the Apostle of Christ that the Church should be made an inn. When therefore we sanctify or hallow Churches, that which we do is only to testify, that we make them places of public resort, that we invest God himself with them, that we sever them from common uses. In which action, other solemnities than such as are decent and fit for that purpose we approve none. Indeed, we condemn not all as unmeet, the like whereunto have been either devised or used haply amongst Idolaters. For why should conformity with them in matter of opinion be lawful, when

Lev.
xvi. 2.
The
place
named
"holy."

Ezra
vi. 16.

Matt.
xxi. 13.

Jer.
xvii. 24.

Mark
xi. 16.

Levit.
xxvi. 2.

1 Cor.
xi. 22.

Petr.
Cluniac.

they think that which is true, if in action, when they do that which is meet, it be not lawful to be like unto them? Are we to forsake any true opinion because Idolaters have maintained it; nor [*sic*] to shun any requisite action only because we have in the practice thereof been prevented by Idolaters? It is no impossible thing, but that sometimes they may judge as rightly what is decent about such external affairs of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatsoever Idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatsoever they have either thought or done *idolatrously, be so far forth* abhorred. For of that which is good, even in evil things, God is author.

13. Touching the Names of Angels and Saints whereby the most of our Churches are called; as the custom of so naming them is very ancient, so neither was the cause thereof at the first, nor is the use and continuance with us at this present, hurtful. That Churches were consecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very general name itself doth sufficiently shew, inasmuch as by plain grammatical construction, Church doth signify no other thing than The Lord's House.* And because the multitude, as of persons, so of things particular, causeth variety of proper names to be devised for distinction' sake, founders of Churches did herein that which best liked their own conceit at the present time; yet each intending, that as oft as those buildings came to be mentioned, the name should put men in mind of some memorable thing or person. Thus therefore it cometh to pass, that all Churches have had their names, some as memorials of peace, some of wisdom, some in memory of the Trinity itself, some of Christ under sundry titles, of the Blessed Virgin not a few, many of one Apostle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all. In which respect their commendable purpose being not of every one understood, they have been in later ages construed as though they had superstitiously meant, either that those places which were denominated of Angels and Saints, should serve for the worship of so glorious creatures; or else those glorified creatures, for defence, protection, and patronage of such places. A thing which the Ancient do utterly disclaim. "To them (saith St. Augustine) we appoint no Churches, because they are not to us as gods." Again, "The nations

Of the
Names
whereby
we dis-
tinguish
our
Churches.

Vid.
Socr.
l. i. c. 10.
Evang.
lib. iv.
c. 31.
Hist.
Trip.
lib. iv.
c. 18.

Vid.
Aug.
lib. viii.

* From *Κυριακή, Kyrc*, and by adding letters of aspiration, *Chyrch*.

de Civ.
Del,
c. 27.
lib. xxii.
c. 10.
Epist.
49.
ad Deo.
gra.

to their gods erected temples, we not temples unto our Martyrs as unto gods, but memorials as unto dead men, whose spirits with God are still living.* Divers considerations there are, for which Christian Churches might first take their names of Saints: as either because by the ministry of Saints it pleased God there to shew some rare effect of his power; or else in regard of death, which those Saints having suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ, did thereby make the places where they died venerable; or, thirdly, for that it liked good and virtuous men to give such occasion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their persons might cause inquiry to be made, and meditation to be had of their virtues.† Wherefore, seeing that we cannot justly accompt it superstition, to give unto Churches those fore-rehearsed names, as memorials either of holy persons or things; if it be plain, that their founders did with such meaning name them, shall not we, in otherwise taking them, offer them injury? Or if it be obscure or uncertain what they meant, yet this construction being more favourable, charity (I hope) constraineth no man which standeth doubtful of their minds, to lean to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carry. Yea, although it were clear, that they all (for the error of some is manifest in this behalf) had therein a superstitious intent, wherefore should their fault prejudice us, who (as all men know) do use but by way of mere distinction the names which they of superstition gave? In the use of those names whereby we distinguish both days and months, are we culpable of superstition, because they were who first invented them? The sign of Castor and Pollux, superstitiously given unto that ship wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Evangelist's pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that ship from others. If to Daniel there had been given no other name but only Belshazzar, given him in honour of the Babylonian idol Belti, should their idolatry which were authors of that name, cleave unto every man which had so termed him by way of personal difference only? Were it not to satisfy the minds of the simpler sort of men,

Acts
xxviii.
11.

Dan. iv.
8. Vide
Scal. de
emendat.
temp.
lib. vi.
p. 277.

* The duty which Christian men performed in keeping Festival-dedications, St. Basil termeth *λατρείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, acknowledging the same to have been withal *τιμὴν εἰς τοὺς Μόρτυρας*.—Basil. in Psal. cxiv.

† ["Then there's hope, a great man's memory may outlive his life half a-year: but, by'r lady, he must build Churches then; or else shall he suffer not thinking on."]—SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, Act III. sc. 2.]

these nice curiosities are not worthy the labour which we bestow to answer them.

14. The like unto this, is a fancy which they have against the Fashion of our Churches, as being framed according to the pattern of the Jewish Temple. A fault no less grievous, if so be it were true, than if some King should build his mansion-house by the model of Solomon's palace. So far forth as our Churches and their Temple have one end, what should let but that they may lawfully have one form? The Temple was for sacrifice, and therefore had rooms to that purpose, such as ours have none. Our Churches are places provided, that the people might there assemble themselves, in due and decent manner, according to their several degrees and orders. Which thing being common unto us with Jews, we have in this respect our Churches divided by certain partitions, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their several for Heathen nations, their several for the people of their own nation, their several for men, their several for women, their several for the priests, and for the High-Priest alone their several. There being in ours for local distinction between the Clergy and the rest (which yet we do not with any great strictness or curiosity observe neither) but one partition, the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy mysteries, might there assemble themselves, and no other creep in amongst them; this is now made a matter so heinous, as if our Religion thereby were become even plain Judaism; and as though we retained a most holy place, whereinto there might not any but the High-Priest alone enter, according to the custom of the Jews.

15. Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expenses this way are employed: "The mother of such magnificence (they think) is but only a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of far and wide. Suppose we that God himself delighteth to dwell sumptuously? or taketh pleasure in chargeable pomp? No; then was the Lord most acceptably served, when his Temples were rooms borrowed within the houses of poor men. This was suitable unto the nakedness of Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of his Gospel." What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of those things, the use and benefit whereof hath descended unto ourselves, as we do not know, so we need not search. It cometh (we grant)

many times to pass, that the works of men being the same, their drifts and purposes therein are divers. The charge of Herod about the Temple of God was ambitious; yet Solomon's virtuous, Constantine's holy.* But howsoever their hearts are disposed, by whom any such thing is done in the world, shall we think that it baneth the work which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the use and benefit thereof? Touching God himself, hath he any where revealed, that it is his delight to dwell beggarly? And, that he taketh no pleasure to be worshipped, saving only in poor cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his people as ever, when the stateliest places and things in the whole world were sought out to adorn his Temple. This, most suitable, decent, and fit for the greatness† of Jesus Christ, for the sublimity of his Gospel, except we think of Christ and his Gospel as the officers of Julian did.‡ As therefore the son of Syrac giveth verdict concerning those things which God hath wrought, "A man need not say, this is worse than that, this more acceptable to God, that less; for in their season they are all worthy praise:" the like we may also conclude, as touching these two so contrary ways of providing, in meaner or in costlier sort, for the honour of Almighty God, A man need not say, this is worse than that, this more acceptable to God, that less; for with him they are in their season both allowable: the one, when the state of the Church is poor; the other, when God hath enriched it with plenty. When they which had seen the beauty of the first Temple built by Solomon in the days of his great prosperity and peace, beheld how far it excelled the second,

Eccles.
xxxix.
34.

* [The relation of the manner of Constantine's alleged conversion is delivered by Eusebius on the sole credit of Constantine. If it had been seen by the whole army with astonishment, other witnesses would have been able to vouch for its truth. But Eusebius does not even intimate that he had heard the same account from others who were either present or who had received it from the relation of such.—The oath or oaths of Constantine on this occasion, rather bring his relation into suspicion: this a man of virtue and reputation would not do when speaking to a friend who, if it were true, *must* have known it long before from other sources.—And Eusebius renders the whole account suspicious by not mentioning the *place* of this wonderful sight; his phrase is, "in a certain march." It hence appears probable that Eusebius himself did not believe this story, nor intend to vouch for its truth. And in the matter of the miraculous preservation of the *standard*, Eusebius concludes by disclaiming the account as his own, but the Emperor's! It therefore is not reasonable to believe the relation of any one man concerning a public appearance unattested by others.—See LARDNER, Part II. chap. 70. edit. 4to. Vol. II. pp. 329—331.]

† "Εργον τὸ μέγα καὶ καλὸν τοῦ γὰρ τοιοῦτου ἡ θεωρία θαυμαστή. Arist. Eth. lib. iv. c. 4. Τὰ αἰσθησεὶ καλὰ καὶ νοήσεὶ καλῶν εἰκόνας. Philo Jud.

‡ "Felix, thesauri imperialis quæstor, conspicatus sacrorum vasorum pretia; En, inquit, qualibus vasis ministratur Mariæ filio!" Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 12.

which had not builders of like ability, the tears of their grieved eyes the Prophets endeavoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas, if the House of God were by so much the more perfect, by how much the glory thereof is less, they should have done better to rejoice than weep, their Prophets better to reprove than comfort. It being objected against the Church, in the times of universal persecution, that her service done to God was not solemnly performed in Temples fit for the honour of Divine Majesty, their most convenient answer was, that "The best Temples which we can dedicate to God, are our sanctified souls and bodies." Whereby it plainly appeareth how the Fathers, when they were upbraided with that defect, comforted themselves with the meditation of God's most gracious and merciful nature, who did not therefore the less accept of their hearty affection and zeal, rather than took any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in such their want of external ornaments, which when they wanted, the cause was their only lack of ability; ability serving, they wanted them not. Before the Emperor Constantine's time, under Severus, Gordian, Philip, and Galienus, the state of Christian affairs being tolerable, the former buildings, which were but of mean and small estate, contented them not; spacious and ample Churches they erected throughout every city. No envy was able to be their hinderance, no practice of Satan, or fraud of men, available against their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feel the aid of the arm of God extended over them for their safety. These Churches Dioclesian caused by solemn edict to be afterwards overthrown.* Maximinus with like authority giving leave to erect them, the hearts of all men were even rapt with divine joy, to see those places which tyrannous impiety had laid waste, recovered, as it were out of mortal calamity, Churches "reared up to an height immeasurable, and adorned with far more beauty in their restoration, than their founders before had given them." Whereby we see, how most Christian minds then stood affected; we see how joyful they were to behold the sumptuous stateliness of Houses built unto God's glory. If we should, over and besides this, allege the care which was had that all things

Hag.
ii. 5, 9.Minac.
Fel. in
Octav.Euseb.
l. viii.
c. 1, 2.Ibid.
c. 2.Ibid.
l. x. c. 2.

* [The picture Eusebius has drawn of the internal state of the Church at this time; "their mutual dissensions and folly;" is, though painful, worthy of the attentive examination of every Christian moralist and historian.]

about the Tabernacle of Moses might be as beautiful, gorgeous, and rich, as art could make them; or what travail and cost was bestowed, that the goodliness of the Temple might be a spectacle of admiration to all the world; this, they will say, was figurative, and served by God's appointment but for a time, to shadow out the true everlasting glory of a more divine sanctuary, whereinto Christ being long sithence entered, it seemeth that all those curious exornations should rather cease. Which thing we also ourselves would grant, if the use thereof had been merely and only mystical. But sith the Prophet David doth mention a natural conveniency which such kind of bounteous expenses have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a testimony of our cheerful affection, which thinketh nothing too dear to be bestowed about the furniture of his service, as also because it serveth to the world for a witness of his Almightyness, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefest of outward things, as being of all things himself incomparably the greatest. Besides, were it not also strange, if God should have made such store of glorious creatures on earth, and leave them all to be consumed in secular vanity, allowing none but the baser sort to be employed in his own service? To set forth the majesty of Kings, his vicegerents in this world, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the world hath are procured. We think, belike, that he will accept what the meanest of them would disdain. If there be great care to build and beautify these corruptible sanctuaries, little or none that the living temples of the Holy Ghost, the dearly redeemed souls of the people of God, may be edified; huge expenses upon timber and stone, but towards the relief of the poor small devotion; cost this way infinite, and in the meanwhile charity cold; we have in such case just occasion to make complaint as St. Jerome did, "The walls of the Church there are enow contented to build, and to under-set it with goodly pillars, the marbles are polished, the roofs shine with gold, the altar hath precious stones to adorn it; and of Christ's Ministers no choice at all." The same Jerome, both in that place and elsewhere, debaseth with like intent the glory of such magnificence (a thing whereunto men's affection in those times needed no spur), thereby to extol the necessity sometimes of charity and alms, sometimes of other the most principal duties belonging unto Christian men; which duties

1 Chron.
xxviii.
14.

2 Chron.
ii. 5.

Matt.
vi. 29.

Malac.
i. 8.

Ad Nepo-
titan,
de vita
Cleric.

Ad De-
metr. et
Epist. 12,
ad Gau-
dentium.

were, neither, so highly esteemed as they ought, and, being compared with that in question, the directest sentence we can give of them both, as unto me it seemeth, is this—God, who requireth the one as *necessary*, accepteth the other also as being an *honourable* work.

16. Our opinion concerning the Force and Virtue which such places have, is, I trust, without any blemish or stain of heresy. Churches receive, as every thing else, their chief perfection from the end whereunto they serve. Which end, being the public worship of God, they are, in this consideration, houses of greater dignity than any provided for meaner purposes. For which cause they seem after a sort even to mourn, as being injured and defrauded of their right, when places not sanctified, as they are, prevent them *unnecessarily* in that pre-eminence and honour. Whereby also it doth come to pass, that the service of God hath not then itself *such perfection of grace and comeliness*, as when the dignity of place which it wisheth for doth concur.* Again, albeit the true worship of God be to God in itself, acceptable, who respecteth not so much in what place, as with what affection he is served;† and therefore Moses in the midst of the sea, Job on the dunghill, Ezekias in bed, Jeremy in mire, Jonas in the whale, Daniel in the den, the Children in the furnace, the Thief on the cross, Peter and Paul in prison, calling unto God were heard, as St. Basil noteth; manifest, notwithstanding, it is, that the very majesty and holiness of the place where‡ God is worshipped, hath in *regard of us* great virtue, force, and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion; and in that respect, no doubt, *bettereth* even our holiest and best actions in this kind. As therefore we every where exhort all men to worship God; even so, for performance of

What holiness and virtue we ascribe to the Church more than other places.

Exhort. ad bap. et penitent.

* ["How much more soundly do we hold with J. Rainolds, That unto us Christians no land is strange, no ground unholy; every coast is Jewry, every town Jerusalem, every house Sion; and every faithful company, yea every faithful body, a Temple to serve God in. (Conf. with Hart, 1585; ch. viii. div. 4. p. 491.) The contrary opinion Hospinian rejecteth as favouring Judaism, alligat enim religionem ad certa loca. (De orig. Temp. lib. iv. cap. 2.) Whereas the presence of Christ among two or three gathered together in his Name (Matt. xviii. 20), maketh any place a Church, even as the presence of a king with his attendants maketh any place a Court."—GILLESPIE'S *Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies*, Edit. 1660. 4to. Part III. ch. i. sect. 3. p. 123.]

† [Isai. lvii. 15.]

‡ [For the words "place where," substitute *object before which*; then wherein does Hooker's argument differ from that of the Papists respecting Images?]

Psal.
xcvi. 9.

this service by the people of God assembled, we think not any place *so good* as the Church, neither any exhortation so fit as that of David, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness."

Their
pre-
tence,
that
would
have
Churches
utterly
razed.

17. For of our Churches thus it becometh us to esteem, howsoever others, rapt with the pang of a furious zeal, do pour out against them devout blasphemies, crying, "Down with them, down with them, even to the very ground:* for to Idolatry they have been abused. And the places where idols have been worshipped, are by the Law of God devote to utter destruction.† For execution of which Law, the Kings that were godly, as Asa, Jehoshaphat,‡ Ezekias,§ Josiah,|| destroyed all the high places, altars, groves, which had been erected in Judah and Israel. He that said, Thou shalt have no other gods before my face, hath likewise said, Thou shalt utterly deface and destroy all these synagogues and places where such idols have been worshipped. This Law containeth the temporal punishment which God hath set down, and will that¶ men execute for the breach of the other Law. They which spare them, therefore, do but reserve, as the hypocrite Saül did, execrable things, to worship God withal." The truth is, that as no man serveth God, and loveth him not; so neither can any man sincerely love God, and not extremely abhor that sin which is the highest degree of treason against the Supreme Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whose divine authority and power it investeth others. By means whereof the state of Idolaters is two ways miserable. First, in that which they worship they find no succour: and, secondly, at his hands whom they ought to serve, there is no other thing to be looked for, but the effects of most just displeasure, the withdrawing of grace,** dereliction in this world,†† and in the world to come confusion.‡‡ Paul and Barnabas, when infidels admiring their virtues, went about to sacrifice unto them, rent their garments in token of horror, and as frightened persons ran crying through the press of the people, "O men, wherefore do ye these things?"§§ They knew the force of that dreadful curse||| whereunto Idolatry maketh

Isa.
viii. 21.
xlv. 20.
Hos.
xiv. 4.
[g. viii.
4.]
Isa. xli.
24.

* Psal. cxxxvii. 7.

† Deut. xii. 2.

‡ 2 Chron. xvii. 6.

§ 2 Chron. xxix.

|| 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.

¶ [Query? *Willeth that, or will have.*]

** Psalm cxv. 8. lxxxi. 13. Rom. i. 24.

†† Judic. vi. 13.

‡‡ Apoc. xxi. 8. Isa. ii. ii. 21.

§§ Acts xiv. 14.

||| Deut. xxviii. 20.

subject. Nor is there cause why the guilty, sustaining the same, should grudge or complain of injustice. For, whatsoever evil befalleth in that respect, themselves have made themselves worthy to suffer it. As for those things, ^{Jer. ii. 17.} either whereon, or else wherewith, Superstition worketh, polluted they are by such abuse, and deprived of that dignity which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieve, and, as it were, even loathe itself, whensoever iniquity causeth it to serve unto vile purposes. Idolatry therefore maketh whatsoever it toucheth the worse. Howbeit, sith creatures which have no understanding can shew no will; and where no will is, there is no sin; and only that which sinneth, is subject to punishment; which way should any such creature be punishable by the Law of God? There may be cause sometimes to abolish or to extinguish them: but surely, never by way of punishment to the *things* themselves. Yea, farther, howsoever the Law of Moses did punish Idolaters, we find not that God hath appointed for us any definite or certain temporal judgment, which the Christian Magistrate is of necessity for ever bound to execute upon offenders in that kind, much less upon *things* that way abused as mere instruments. For what God did command touching Canaan, the same concerneth not us any otherwise than only as a fearful pattern of his just displeasure and wrath against sinful nations. It teacheth us, how God thought good to plague and afflict them: it doth not appoint in what form and manner we ought to punish the sin of Idolatry in all others. Unless they will say, that because the Israelites were commanded to make no covenant with the people of that land, therefore leagues and truces made between superstitious persons and such as serve God aright, are unlawful altogether; or, because God commanded the Israelites to smite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to root them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword. Now whereas commandment was also given ^{Dent. xii. 2.} to destroy "all places" where the Canaanites had served their gods, and not to convert any one of them to the honour of the true God; this precept had reference unto a *special* intent and purpose, which was, that there should be but one only place in the whole land whereunto the ^[ver. 11.] people might bring such offerings, gifts, and sacrifices, as

their *Levitical* Law did require. By which Law, severe charge was given them in that respect, not to convert *those places* to the worship of the living God, where nations before them had served idols, “but to seek *the place* which the Lord their God should choose out of all their tribes.” Besides, it is reason we should likewise consider, how great a difference there is between their proceedings, who erect a new Commonwealth, which is to have neither People nor Law, neither Regiment nor Religion the same that was; and theirs, who only reform a decayed estate by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swerved. In this case we are to retain as much, in the other as little, of former things as we may. Sith therefore examples have not generally the force of Laws which all men ought to keep, but of counsels only and persuasions not amiss to be followed by them whose case is the like; surely where cases are so unlike as theirs and ours, I see not how that which they did should induce, much less any way enforce us to the same practice, especially considering that groves and hill-altars were, while they did remain, both dangerous in regard of the secret access which people superstitiously given might have always thereunto with ease, neither could they, remaining, serve with any fitness unto better purpose: whereas our Temples (their former abuse being by order of Law removed) are not only free from such peril, but withal so conveniently framed for the people of God to serve and honour him therein, that no man beholding them can choose but think it exceeding great pity they should be ever any otherwise employed. Yea, but the cattle of Amalek (you will say) were fit for sacrifice; and this was the very conceit which sometime deceived Saul. It was so. Nor do I any thing doubt, but that Saul, upon this conceit, might even lawfully have offered to God those reserved spoils, had not the Lord in that particular case given special charge to the contrary. As therefore, notwithstanding the commandment of Israel to destroy Canaanites, Idolaters may be converted and live; so the temples which have served Idolatry as instruments may be sanctified again and continue, albeit to Israel commandment have been given that *they* should destroy all idolatrous places *in their* land; and to the good Kings of Israel, commendation for fulfilling, to the evil, for disobeying, the same commandment, sometimes punishment,

Dent.
xii. 4, 5.

[1 Sam.
xv. 21.]

[ver. 3.]

always sharp and severe reproof, hath even from the Lord himself befallen. Thus much it may suffice to have written in defence of those Christian Oratories, the overthrow and ruin whereof is desired, not now by Infidels, Pagans, or Turks, but by a special refined sect of Christian believers; pretending themselves exceedingly grieved at our solemnities in erecting Churches, at the names which we suffer them to hold, at their form and fashion, at the stateliness of them and costliness, at the opinion which we have of them, and at the manifold superstitious abuses whereunto they have been put.

18. Places of public resort being thus provided for, our repair thither is especially for mutual conference, and, as it were, commerce to be had between God and us. Because therefore want of the knowledge of God is the cause of all iniquity amongst men,* as contrariwise the very ground of all our happiness, and the seed of whatsoever perfect virtue groweth from us, is a right opinion touching things divine; this kind of knowledge, we may justly set down for the first and chiefest thing which God imparteth unto his people, and our duty of receiving this at his merciful hands, for the first of those religious offices wherewith we publicly honour him on earth. For the instruction therefore of all sorts of men to eternal life it is necessary, that the sacred and saving truth of God be openly published unto them. Which open publication of heavenly mysteries, is by an excellency termed Preaching. For otherwise there is not any thing publicly notified, but we may in that respect, rightly and properly say it is preached. So that when the school of God doth use it as a word of art, we are accordingly to understand it with restraint to such special matter as that school is accustomed to publish. We find not in the world any people that hath lived altogether without Religion. And yet this duty of Religion, which provideth that publicly all sorts of men may be instructed in the fear of God, is to the Church of God, and hath been always so peculiar, that none of the Heathens, how curious soever in searching out all kinds of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could ever once so much

Of public Teaching, or Preaching, and the first kind thereof, Catechizing.

Luke viii. 30. xii. 3.

Vide Tertul. de præ-

* "Contraria fortia, in quibus homines sibi invicem opponantur secundum exercitia et desideria et opiniones, omnia proveniunt ex ignorantia: sicut cæcus ex privatione sui visus vagatur ubique et læditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam et odium. Hoc promissit sancta Theologia dicens, *Habitabit agnus cum lupo*. Et assignat rationem, *Repleta est terra sapientia Domini*." Moses *Ægypt*. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. iii. cap. 12.

scr. ad-
vera.
Hær.

as endeavour to resemble herein the Church's care for the endless good of her children. Ways of teaching there have been sundry always usual in God's Church. For the first introduction of youth to the knowledge of God, the Jews even till this day have their Catechisms.* With Religion it fareth as with other sciences: the first delivery of the elements thereof must, for like consideration,† be framed according to the weak and slender capacity of young beginners: unto which manner of teaching principles in Christianity, the Apostle in the sixth to the Hebrews is himself understood to allude. For this cause therefore, as the Decalogue of Moses declareth summarily those things which we ought to do; the Prayer of our Lord, whatsoever we should request or desire; so either by the Apostles, or at the leastwise out of their writings, we have the substance of Christian Belief compendiously drawn into few and short Articles, to the end that the weakness of no man's wit might either hinder altogether the knowledge, or excuse the utter ignorance of needful things. Such as were trained up in these rudiments, and were so made fit to be afterwards by Baptism received into the Church, the Fathers usually in their writings do term Hearers;‡ as having no farther communion or fellowship with the Church, than only this, that they were admitted to hear the principles of Christian Faith made plain unto them. Catechising may be in schools, it may be in private families; but when we make it a kind of Preaching, we mean always the public performance thereof in the open hearing of men; because things are preacht, not in that they are taught, but in that they are publisht.§

Vide
Ruff.
inSymb.

* The Jews' Catechism, called Lekach Tob.

† "Incipientibus brevius ac simplicius tradi præcepta magis convenit. Aut enim difficultate institutionis tam numerosæ atque perplexæ deterri solent, aut eo tempore, quo præcipue alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda sunt, asperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur." Fab. lib. viii. præcæ. "Incipientibus nobis exponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur posse tradi commodissime, si primo levi ac simplici via, post deinde diligentissima atque exactissima interpretatione singula tradantur. Alioqui si statim ab initio rudem adhuc et infirmum animum studiosi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraverimus, duorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorum efficiemus, aut cum magno labore ejus, sæpe etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque juvenes avertit) serius ad id perducemus, ad quod leviori via ductus sine magno labore et sine ulla diffidentia maturius perducipotuisset." Institut. Imper. lib. i. tit. 1.

‡ "An alius est tinctis Christus? alius audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præsumere oportet." Tertull. de pœnitent. "Audientibus vigilantia vestra non desit." Cyprian. Epist. xvii. lib. 3. "Audiens quisque regulam fidei, Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur." Rupert. de divin. Offic. lib. iv. cap. 18.

§ [No better place offering itself, the following testimony against the Church of England Catechism will not be intrusive. Without the necessity of alluding to the forcible but in some respects to be lamented work of Jeremy Bentham, "The Church of England Cate-

19. Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, ^{Or} were in their times all Preachers of God's truth ; some by ^{Preach- ing, by} word, some by writing, some by both. This they did partly ^{reading publicly} as faithful witnesses, making mere relation what God himself ^{the} had revealed unto them ; and partly as careful expounders, ^{Books of Holy} teachers, persuaders thereof. The Church in like case ^{Scripture, and} preacheth still, first publishing, by way of *testimony* or ^{concern- ing sup- posed untruths} relation, the truth which from them she hath received, even ^{in those transla- tions of} in such sort as it was received, written in the sacred volumes ^{Scripture} of Scripture ; secondly, by way of *explication*, discovering the mysteries which lie hid therein. The Church as a witness preacheth his mere revealed truth by reading publicly the sacred Scripture : so that a second kind of ^{which we allow to be read ; as also of the choice which we make in read- ing.} Preaching is the Reading of Holy Writ. For thus we may the boldlier speak, being strength'ned with the example of so reverend a Prelate, as saith, That Moses, from the time of ancient generations and ages long since past, had amongst the cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, in that he was *read* every Sabbath-day. For so of necessity it must be meant, inasmuch as we know, that the Jews have ^{Acts xv. 21.} always had their weekly Readings of the Law of Moses ; but that they always had in like manner their weekly Sermons upon some part of the Law of Moses, we no where find. Howbeit still we must here remember, that the Church, by her public reading of the Book of God, preacheth only as a *witness*. Now the principal thing required in a witness is fidelity. Wherefore, as we cannot excuse that Church, which either, through corrupt translations of Scripture, delivereth instead of divine speeches any thing repugnant unto that which God speaketh ; or, through falsified additions, proposeth that to the people of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture ; so the blame which in both these respects hath been laid upon the Church of England, is surely altogether without cause. Touching translations of Holy Scripture, albeit we may not disallow of their painful travails herein who strictly have tied themselves to the very original letter ; yet the judgment of the Church, as we see by the practice of all nations, Greeks, Latins,

chism examined," 1817, 8vo. we are told by an authority that will not be questioned, that "There are *many* expressions in the Catechism which require explanation ; without which they are liable to make either *no impression*, or a *wrong one*."—*A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese, by BOWYER EDWARD, Lord Bishop of Ely (Dr. SPARKE). 1817. 4to. p. 11.]*

Persians, Syrians, Ethiopians, Arabians, hath been ever, That the fittest for public audience are such, as following a middle course between the rigour of literal translators and the liberty of paraphrasts, do with greatest shortness and plainness deliver the meaning of the Holy Ghost. Which being a labour of so great difficulty, the exact performance thereof we may rather wish than look for. So that except between the words of translation and the mind of the Scripture itself there be contradiction, every little difference should not seem an intolerable blemish necessarily to be sponged out. Whereas therefore the Prophet David in a certain Psalm doth say concerning Moses and Aaron, that they *were* obedient to the Word of God, and in the self-same place our allowed translation saith, "they were not obedient," we are for this cause challenged as manifest gainsayers of Scripture, even in that which we read for Scripture unto the people. But forasmuch as words are resemblances of that which the mind of the speaker conceiveth, and conceits are images representing that which is spoken of; it followeth, that they who will judge of words, should have recourse to the things themselves from whence they rise. In setting down that miracle, at the sight whereof Peter fell down astonished* before the feet of Jesus, and cried, "Depart, Lord, I am a sinner;" the Evangelist St. Luke saith, the store of the fish which they took was such, that the net which they took it in "brake," and the ships which they loaded therewith sunk: St. John, recording the like miracle saith, that albeit the fishes in number were so many, yet the net with so great a weight was "not broken." Suppose they had written both of one miracle; although there be in their words a manifest shew of jar; yet none, if we look upon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both have spoken even of one miracle, the very same which they spake of divers; the one intending thereby to signify, that the greatness of the burthen exceeded the natural ability of the instruments which they had to bear it; the other, that the weakness thereof was supported by a supernatural and miraculous addition of strength. The nets, as touching themselves, brake, but through the power of God they held. Are not the words of the Prophet Micheas touching Bethlehem, "Thou Bethlehem the least?"

Psalm.
cv. 28

Luke
v. 6, 7.

John
xvi. 11.

Micheas.
v. 2.

* [See Isai. lvi. 14.]

And doth not the very Evangelist translate these words, "Thou Bethlehem not the least?" The one regarding the quantity of the place, the other the dignity. Micheas attributeth unto it smallness, in respect of circuit; Matthew greatness, in regard of honour and estimation, by being the native soil of our Lord and Saviour Christ. Sith therefore speeches which gainsay one another, must of necessity be applied both unto one and the self-same subject; sith they must also the one affirm, the other deny, the self-same thing; what necessity of contradiction can there be between the letter of the Prophet David, and our authorized translation thereof, if he understanding Moses and Aaron do say, "They were not disobedient;" we applying our speech to Pharaoh and the Egyptians, do say of them, "They were not obedient?" Or (which the matter itself will easily enough likewise suffer) if the Egyptians being meant by both, it be said that they, in regard of their offer to let go the people when they saw the fearful darkness, disobeyed not the Word of the Lord; and yet that they did not obey his Word, inasmuch as the sheep and cattle at the self-same time they withheld. Of both translations the better I willingly acknowledge that which cometh nearer to the very letter of the original verity; yet so, that the other may likewise safely enough be read, without any peril at all of gainsaying as much as the least jot or syllable of God's most sacred and precious truth.* Which truth, as in this we do not violate, so neither is the same gainsayed or crost, no, not in those very preambles placed before certain readings, wherein the steps of the Latin Service-book have been somewhat too nearly followed. As when we say, Christ spake to *his Disciples*,† that which the Gospel declareth he spake *unto the Pharisees*.‡ For doth the Gospel affirm he spake to the Pharisees only? Doth it mean that they, and besides them no man else was at that time spoken unto by our Saviour Christ? If not, then is there in this diversity no contrariety. I suppose it somewhat probable, that St. John and St. Matthew, which have recorded those Sermons, heard them, and being hearers did think themselves as well respected as the Pharisees, in that which their

* [The old translation followed the Septuagint, which differs from the Hebrew in this clause of Psalm cv. 28.]

† The Gospel on the second Sunday after Easter, and on the twentieth after Trinity.

‡ John x. 11. Matt. xxii. 1, 2.

Lord and Master taught concerning the pastoral care he had over his own flock, and his offer of grace made to the whole world; which things are the matter whereof he treateth in those Sermons. Wherefore as yet there is nothing found wherein we read for the Word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant unto his Word.* Furthermore, somewhat they are displeased, in that we follow not the method of Reading which in their judgment is most commendable,† the method used in some foreign Churches, where Scriptures are read before the time of Divine Service,‡ and without either choice or stint appointed by any determinate order. Nevertheless, till such time as they shall vouchsafe us some just and sufficient reason to the contrary, we must by their patience, if not allowance, retain the ancient received Custom which we now observe.§ For with us the Reading of Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church Liturgy, a special portion of the Service which we do to God, and not an exercise to spend the time when one doth wait for another's coming, till the assembly of them that shall afterwards worship him be complete. Wherefore, as the Form of our public Service is not voluntary, so neither are the parts thereof left uncertain, but they are all set down in such order, and with such choice, as hath in the wisdom of the Church seemed best to concur, as well with the special occasions, as with the general purpose, which we have to glorify God.

Or
Preach-
ing by
the pub-
lic Read-
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tions;
and con-
cerning

20. Other public Readings there are of books and writings not canonical, whereby the Church doth also preach, or openly make known the doctrine of virtuous conversation; whereupon, besides those things in regard whereof we are thought to read the Scriptures of God amiss, it is thought amiss, that we read in our Churches any thing at all besides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any such pro-

* ["This hypothesis contains a principle which would tend to deprive language of its expository character."—*The Christian Observer*, Vol. XXIII. p. 682. on Psal. cv. 28.]

† T. C. lib. ii. p. 381. "Although it be very convenient which is used in some Churches, where before Preaching-time the Church assembled hath the Scriptures read; . . . yet neither is this, nor any other order of bare public Reading in the Church, necessary." h. d.

‡ [The reader will notice that T. C.'s phrase is "before Preaching-time."]

§ "Facto silentio, Scripturarum sunt lecta divina solennia." Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xxii. c. 8. That for several times several pieces of Scripture were read as parts of the Service of the Greek Church, the Fathers thereof in their sundry Homilies and other writings do all testify. The like order in the Syrian Churches is clear by the very inscriptions of chapters throughout their translation of the New Testament. See the edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerp.

fitable instruction as the Church hath devised for the better understanding of Scripture, or for the easier training up of the people in holiness and righteousness of life, they plead,* that God in the Law would have nothing brought into the Temple, neither besoms, nor flesh-hooks, nor trumpets, but those only which were sanctified; that, "for the expounding of darker places," we ought to follow the Jews' Polity,† who under Antiochus, where they had not the commodity of Sermons, appointed always at their meetings somewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the Law, and so by the one made the other plainer to be understood; that before and after our Saviour's coming, they neither read Onkelos' nor Jonathan's Paraphrase, though having both, but contented themselves with the reading only of Scriptures; that, if in the Primitive Church there had been any thing read besides the monuments of the Prophets and Apostles, Justin Martyr and Origen, who mention these, would have spoken of the other likewise; that, the most ancient and best Councils forbid any thing to be read in Churches, saving Canonical Scripture only;‡ that, when other things were afterwards permitted,§ fault was found with it, it succeeded but ill, the Bible itself was thereby in time quite and clean thrust out.|| Which arguments, if they be only brought in token of the author's good-will and meaning towards the cause which they would set forward, must accordingly be accepted of by them who already are persuaded the same way. But if their drift and purpose be to persuade others, it would be demanded, by what rule the legal hallowing of besoms and flesh-hooks must needs exclude all other readings in the Church save Scripture. Things sanctified were thereby in such sort appropriated unto God, as that they might never afterwards again be made common. For which cause, the Lord, to sign and mark them as his own, appointed oil of holy ointment, the like whereunto it was not lawful to make for

Books
Apocry-
phal.

Acts
xiii. 15.
xv. 21.

Justin.
Apol. 2.
Origen.
Hom. 1.
super
Exod. et
in Judic.

Exod.
xxx. 25,
32.

* T. C. lib. i. p. 196. "Neither the Homilies, nor the Apocrypha, are at all to be read in the Church. Wherein, first, It is good to consider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times past, when he commanded, Exod. xxx. 29, that no vessel nor no instrument, either besom or flesh-hook or pan, &c. should come into the Temple, but those only which were sanctified and set apart for that use. And in the Book of Numbers he will have no other trumpets blown to call the people together, but those only which were set apart for that purpose. Numb. x. 2."

† T. C. lib. i. p. 197. "Besides this, the Polity of the Church of God in times past is to be followed," &c.

‡ Concil. Laod. can. 59.

§ Concil. Vasens. 2

|| Concil. Colon. par. 2.

Exod. xl. 15. ordinary and daily uses. Thus the anointing of Aaron and his sons tied them to the office of the priesthood for ever; Num. x. 2. the anointing, not of those silver trumpets (which Moses as well for secular as sacred uses was commanded to make, not to sanctify), but the unction of the tabernacle, the table, the laver, the altar of God, with all the instruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for ever holy unto him, in whose service they were employed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow, that all things now in the Church, from the greatest to the *least*, are unholy, which the Lord hath not himself precisely instituted? for so those rudiments, they say do import.* Then is there nothing holy, which the Church by her authority hath appointed; and consequently all positive Ordinances that ever were made by Ecclesiastical power touching spiritual affairs, are profane, they are unholy. I would not wish them to undertake a work so desperate as to prove, that for the people's instruction no kind of reading is good, but only that which the Jews devised under Antiochus, although even that be also mistaken. For, according to Elias the Levite (out of whom it doth seem borrowed), the thing which Antiochus forbade was the public Reading of the Law, and not Sermons upon the Law. Neither did the Jews read a portion of the Prophets together with the Law to serve for an interpretation thereof, because Sermons were not permitted them; but, instead of the Law, which they might not read openly, they read of the Prophets that which in likeness of matter came nearest to each section of their Law. Whereupon, Acts xv. 21. when afterwards the liberty of reading the Law was restored, xiii. 15. the self-same custom as touching the Prophets did continue still. If neither the Jews have used publicly to read their Paraphrasts, nor the Primitive Church for a long time any other writings than Scripture,† except the cause of their not doing it were some Law of God, or Reason forbidding them

Elias
Thesh.
in verbo
Patar.

Acts
xv. 21.

xiii. 15.

* T. C. lib. i. p. 197. "The Lord would by these rudiments and pædagogic teach, that he would have nothing brought into the Church but that which he had appointed."

† T. C. lib. i. p. 197. "This practice continued still in the Churches of God after the Apostles' times, as may appear by the second Apology of Justin Martyr." Idem, p. 198. "It was decreed in the Council of Laodicea, that nothing should be read in the Church but the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament. . . . Afterward, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs' Lives was permitted. . . . But, besides the evil success thereof, that use and custom was controlled, as may appear by the Council of Colen, albeit otherwise Popish. . . . The bringing in of Homilies and Martyrs' Lives hath thrust the Bible clean out of the Church, or into a corner."

to do that which we do, why should the latter ages of the Church be deprived of the liberty the former had? Are we bound while the world standeth, to put nothing in practice but only that which was at the very first? Concerning the Council of Laodicea, as it forbiddeth the reading of those things which are not Canonical, so it maketh some things not Canonical which are. Their judgment in this we may not, <sup>The Apoc-
lypse.</sup> and in that we need not, follow. We have by thus many years' experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbered with any notable inconvenience, hath grown by the custom which we now observe. As for the harm whereof judicious men have complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read besides the Scripture, but that so evil choice was made. With us there is never any time bestowed in Divine Service without the reading of a great part of the Holy Scripture, which we accompt a thing most necessary. We dare not admit any such Form of Liturgy, as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little, to be read in the Church. And therefore the thrusting of the Bible out of the House of God, is rather there to be feared where men esteem it a matter so indifferent,* whether the same be by solemn appointment read publicly or not read, the bare text excepted which the Preacher haply chooseth out to expound. But let us here consider, what the practice of our Fathers before us hath been, and how far forth the same may be followed. We find that in ancient times there was publicly read first the Scripture,† as namely something out of the Books of the Prophets of God which were of old;‡ something out of the Apostles' writings;§ and lastly, out of the holy Evangelists some things which touched the person of our Lord Jesus Christ himself.|| The cause of their reading first the Old Testament,

* T. C. lib. ii. p. 381. "It is untrue, that simple Reading is necessary in the Church. . . . A number of Churches which have no such Order of simple Reading, cannot be in this point charged with the breach of God's commandment, which they might be, if simple Reading were necessary." By "simple Reading" he meaneth the custom of bare reading more than the Preacher at the same time expoundeth unto the people.

† "Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem." Tertull. Apol. p. 692.

‡ "Judaicarum Historiarum libri traditi sunt ab Apostolis legendi in Ecclesiis." Origen, in Jos. Hom. 15.

§ Πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἡ ἀγρῶνς μερόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγιγνώσκεται. Justin. Apol. 2. p. 162. "Factum est ut ista die Dominica, Prophetica lectione jam lecta, ante altare adstante qui lectionem S. Pauli proferret beatissimus Antistes Ambrosius, &c." Sulpit. Sever. lib. iii. de Vita S. Mart.

|| Vide Council. Vas. 2. habitum An. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. 2. p. 19. Item Synod. Laod

Just.
resp.
101.

August.
quest.
53. in
Num.

Walaf.
Strab.
de rebus
Eccle-
siast.
cap. 22.

Hieron.
in
prol.
Galeat.

Ruffinus
in Sym-
bol.
Apost.
apud
Cypr.

then the New, and always somewhat out of both, is most likely to have been that which Justin Martyr and St. Augustine observe in comparing the two Testaments. "The Apostles (saith the one) have taught us as themselves did learn, first the precepts of the Law, and then the Gospels. For what else is the Law but the Gospel foreshewed? What other the Gospel, than the Law fulfilled?" In like sort the other, "What the Old Testament hath, the very same the New containeth; but that which lieth there as under a shadow, is here brought forth into the open sun. Things there prefigured, are here performed." Again, "In the Old Testament there is a close comprehension of the New; in the New, an open discovery of the Old." To be short, the method of their public readings either purposely did tend, or at the leastwise doth fitly serve, "That from smaller things the mind of the hearers may go forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees climb up from the lowest to the highest things." Now besides the Scripture, the Books which they called Ecclesiastical were thought not unworthy sometime to be brought into public audience, and with that name they entituled the Books which we term Apocryphal. Under the self-same name they also comprised certain, no otherwise annexed unto the New than the former to the Old Testament, as a Book of Hermas, Epistles of Clement, and the like. According therefore to the phrase of antiquity, these we may term the New, and the other the Old Ecclesiastical Books or Writings. For we, being directed by a sentence (I suppose) of St. Jerome, who saith, that "all Writings not Canonical are Apocryphal," use not now the title Apocryphal as the rest of the Fathers ordinarily have done, whose custom is so to name for the most part only such as might not publicly be read or divulged. Ruffinus therefore having rehearsed the self-same Books of Canonical Scripture, which with us are held to be alone Canonical, addeth immediately, by way of caution, "We must know that other Books there are also, which our forefathers have used to name not Canonical but Ecclesiastical Books, as the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Toby, Judith, the Maccabees, in the Old Testament; in the New, the Book of Hermas, and

such others: all which Books and Writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alleged as if their authority did bind us to build upon them our faith. Other Writings they named Apocryphal, which they would not have read in Churches. These things delivered unto us from the Fathers we have in this place thought good to set down." So far Ruffinus. He which considereth notwithstanding what store of false and forged Writings, dangerous unto Christian belief, and yet bearing glorious inscriptions, began soon upon the Apostles' times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had been indeed Apostolic, shall easily perceive what cause the Provincial Synod of Laodicea might have *as then* to prevent especially the danger of Books made newly Ecclesiastical; and, for fear of the fraud of Heretics, to provide that such public Readings might be altogether taken out of Canonical Scripture. Which Ordinance respecting but that abuse which grew through the intermingling of Lessons human with sacred, at such time as the one both affected the credit and usurped the name of the other (as by the Canon of a later Council,* providing remedy for the self-same evil, and yet allowing the old Ecclesiastical Books to be read, it doth more plainly and clearly appear), neither can be construed, nor should be urged utterly to prejudice our use of those old Ecclesiastical Writings; much less of Homilies, which were a third kind of Readings usual in former times, a most commendable institution, as well then to supply the casual,† as now the necessary defect of Sermons. In the heat of general persecution, whereunto Christian belief was subject upon the first promulgation thereof throughout the world, it much confirmed the courage and constancy of weaker minds, when public relation was made unto them after what manner God had been glorified through the sufferings of Martyrs, famous amongst them for holiness during life, and at the time of their death, admirable in all men's eyes through miraculous evidence of grace divine assisting them from above. For which cause the virtues of some being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance above the rest, this brought in a fourth kind of public

Vide
Gelas.
Decret.
tom.
Concil.
2. p. 462.
Circa
An.
Dom.
360.

* Concil. Carthag. 3. c. 47. "Præter Scripturas Canonicas nihil in Ecclesiis legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum." Circa An. Dom. 401.

† Concil. Vasan. 2. habitum An. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. 2. p. 19. "Si Presbyter, aliquis infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit prædicare, Sanctorum Patrum Homiliæ à Diaconibus recitentur."

Reading, whereby the lives of such Saints and Martyrs had at the time of their yearly memorials solemn recognition in the Church of God.* The fond imitation of which laudable custom being in later ages resumed, where there was neither the like cause to do as the Fathers before had done, nor any care, conscience, or wit, in such as undertook to perform that work, some brainless men have by great labour and travail brought to pass, that the Church is now ashamed of nothing more than of Saints. If, therefore, Pope Gelasius† did so long sithence see those defects of judgment, even then, for which the reading of the Acts of Martyrs should be, and was at that time forborne in the Church of Rome; we are not to marvel, that afterwards Legends being grown in a manner to be nothing else but heaps of frivolous and scandalous vanities, they have been even with disdain thrown out, the very nests which bred them abhorring them.‡ We are not therefore to except only Scripture, and to make confusedly all the residue of one suit, as if they who abolish Legends could not without incongruity retain in the Church either Homilies or those old Ecclesiastical Books. Which Books in case myself did think, as some others do, safer and better to be left publicly unread; nevertheless as in other things of like nature, even so in this,§ my private judgment I should be loth to oppose against the force of their reverend authority, who rather considering the divine excellency of some things in all, and of all things in certain of those Apocrypha which we publicly read, have thought it better to let them stand as a list or marginal border unto the Old Testament, and though with divine, yet as human compositions, to grant at the least unto certain of them public audience in the House of God. For inasmuch as the due estimation of heavenly truth dependeth wholly upon the known and approved authority of those famous Oracles of God, it greatly behoveth the Church to have always most especial care, lest through confused mixture at any time, human usurp the room and title of divine Writings. Wherefore, albeit for the people's more plain instruction (as the ancient use hath

* Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 13. et Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca. 86. et Hadrian. epist. ad Carol. Magn.

† Gelas. circa An. Dom. 492. tom. Concil. 2. p. 461.

‡ Concil. Colon. celebrat. An. Dom. 1536. par. ii. cap. 6. Melch. Can. locor. theol. lib. xi. Viv. de trad. disc. lib. v.

§ "In errorum barathrum facilliter ruunt, qui conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus anteponunt." cap. un. de Relig. do. in extra.

been)* we read in Churches certain Books besides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture we read them not. All men know our professed opinion touching the difference whereby we sever them from the Scripture. And if any where it be suspected, that some one or other will happily mistake a thing so manifest in every man's eye, there is no let, but that as often as those Books are read, and need so requireth, the style of their difference may expressly be mentioned, to bar even all possibility of error. It being then known, that we hold not the Apocrypha for sacred (as we do the Holy Scripture), but for human compositions, the subject whereof are sundry divine matters; let there be reason shewed, why to read any part of them publicly it should be unlawful or hurtful unto the Church of God. I hear it said, that "many things" in them are very "frivolous" and unworthy of public audience; yea, many contrary, ^{T. C. lib. ii. p. 400, 401.} "plainly contrary to the Holy Scripture."† Which hitherto is neither sufficiently proved by him who saith it; and if the proofs thereof were strong, yet the very allegation itself is weak. Let us therefore suppose (for I will not demand to what purpose it is, that against our custom of reading Books not Canonical, they bring exceptions of matter in those Books which we never use to read), suppose; I say, that what faults soever they have observed throughout the passages of all those Books, the same in every respect were such as neither could be construed, nor ought to be censured otherwise than even as themselves pretend: yet as men through too much haste oftentimes forget the errand whereabout they should go; so here it appeareth, that an eager desire to rake together whatsoever might prejudice, or any way hinder the credit of Apocryphal Books, hath caused the collector's pen so to run as it were on wheels, that the mind which should guide it had no leisure to think, whether that which might happily serve to withhold from giving them the authority which belongeth unto sacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon, would as effectually

* Hieron. præf. ad libros Salom. Aug. de præd. Sanct. lib. i. c. 14. Præf. gloss. ord. et Lyr. ad prol. Hieron. in Tob.

† [Dr. Whitgift, in Def. of the Ans. p. 721, says, "They may as well be read in the Church, as counted portions of the Old and New Testament: and, forasmuch as there is nothing in them contrary to the rest of the Scripture." To this T. C. replies, lib. ii. p. 400, "Although the reason be nothing worth, considering that so a book gathered out of Cato, Theognis, and Cebes' Tables, &c. may be read in the Church; yet I answer, That there be many places *partly* plainly contrary to the Holy Scripture; *partly* frivolous; and, unworthy to be read."]

serve to shut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from granting unto them that public use wherein they are only held as profitable for instruction. Is it not acknowledged, that those Books are "holy," that they are "Ecclesiastical" and "sacred," that to term them "divine," as being for their excellency next unto them which are properly so termed, is no way to honour them above desert; yea, even that the whole Church of Christ, as well "at the first" as "sithence," hath most worthily approved their fitness for the public information of life and manners?*. Is not thus much, I say, acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithstanding receive not the same for "any part of the Canonical Scripture;" by them who deny not but that they are "faulty;" by them who are ready enough to give instances wherein they seem to contain matter "scarce agreeable with Holy Scripture?" So little doth such their supposed faultiness in moderate men's judgment enforce the removal of them out of the House of God, that still they are judged to retain worthily those very titles of commendation, than which there cannot greater be given to Writings, the authors whereof are men. As in truth, if the Scripture itself, ascribing to the persons of men righteousness in regard of their manifold virtues, may not rightly be construed as though it did thereby clear them and make them quite free from all faults, no reason we should judge it absurd to commend their Writings as reverend, holy, and sound, wherein there are so many singular perfections, only for that the exquisite wits of some few peradventure are able dispersedly here and there to find now a word and then a sentence, which may be more probably suspected than easily cleared of error by us which have but conjectural knowledge of their meaning. Against immodest invectives, therefore, whereby they are charged as being fraught with "outrageous lies,"† we doubt not but their more allowable censure will prevail, who without so passionate terms of disgrace do note a difference great enough between Apocryphal and other Writings, a difference such as Josephus and Epiphanius observe: the one declaring, that amongst the Jews, Books written after the days of Artaxerxes were not of equal credit with them which had gone before, inasmuch

Joseph.
cont.
App.
lib. i.

* Harm. Conf. sect. 1. Belg. Con. art. 6. Lubert. de Princip. Christ. Dogm. lib. i. c. 5.
† The Libel of Metaphys. Schoolp. art. 24.

as the Jews sithence that time had not the like exact succession of Prophets; the other acknowledging, that they are “profitable,”* although denying them to be “divine,” in such construction and sense as the Scripture itself is so termed. With what intent they were first published, those words of the Nephew of Jesus do plainly enough signify, “After that my Grandfather Jesus had given himself to the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and other Books of our Fathers, and had gotten therein sufficient judgment, he purposed also to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom, to the intent that they which were desirous to learn, and would give themselves to these things, *might profit* much more in living according to the Law.” Their end in writing, and ours in reading them, is the same. The Books of Judith, Toby, Baruch, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, we read, as serving most unto that end. The rest we leave unto men in private. Neither can it be reasonably thought, because upon certain solemn occasions, some Lessons are chosen out of those Books, and of Scripture itself some Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby do offer disgrace to the Word of God, or lift up the writings of men above it. For in such choice we do not think, but that fitness of speech may be more respected than worthiness. If in that which we use to read, there happen by the way any clause, sentence, or speech, that soundeth towards error, should the mixture of a little dross constrain the Church to deprive herself of so much gold, rather than to learn how by art and judgment to make separation of the one from the other?† To this effect very fitly, from the counsel that St. Jerome giveth Læta, of taking heed *how* she read the Apocrypha, as also by the help of other learned men’s judgments delivered in like case, we may take direction. But surely the arguments that should bind us not to read them, or any part of them publicly at all, must be stronger than as yet we have heard any.

21. We marvel the less that our reading of Books not Canonical is so much impugned, when so little is attributed unto the reading of Canonical Scripture itself, that now it hath grown to be a question, Whether the Word of God be any *ordinary* mean to save the souls of men, in that

Prefat.
ad lib.
Eccles.

Or
Preach-
ing by
Ser-
mons;
and whe-
ther Ser-
mons be
the only

* Epiphanius in Ancyret. Χρήσιμοι μὲν εἰσι καὶ ἀφέλιμοι, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἀριθμὸν βητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται.

† [Does not this question equally involve the Popish doctrine of Traditions?]

ordinary way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's truth.

it is either privately studied, or publicly read, and so made known; or else only as the same is preached, that is to say, *explained by lively voice*, and applied to the people's use as the speaker in *his wisdom* thinketh meet.* For this alone is it which they use to call Preaching. The public reading of the Apocrypha they condemn altogether as a thing effectual unto evil; the "bare"† reading in like sort of whatsoever, yea even of Scriptures themselves, they mislike as a thing uneffectual to do that good which we are persuaded may grow by it. Our desire is in this present controversy, as in the rest, not to be carried up and down with the waves of uncertain arguments, but rather positively to lead on the minds of the simpler sort by plain and easy degrees, till the very nature of the thing itself do make manifest what is truth. First, therefore, because whatsoever is spoken concerning the efficacy or necessity of God's Word, the same they tie and restrain only unto Sermons, howbeit not Sermons read neither (for such they also abhor in the Church), but Sermons without book, Sermons which spend their life in their birth, and may have public audience but once;‡ for this cause, to avoid ambiguities, wherewith they often entangle themselves, not marking what doth agree to the Word of God in itself, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the Word of God is his heavenly truth touching matters of eternal life revealed and uttered unto men, unto Prophets and Apostles, by immediate divine inspiration, from them to us by their Books and Writings. We, therefore, have no Word of God but the Scripture. Apostolic Sermons were, unto such as heard them, his Word, even as properly as to us their Writings are. Howbeit not so our own Sermons, the expositions which our discourse of wit doth gather and minister out of the Word of God. For which cause, in this present question we are, when we name the Word of God, always to mean the Scripture only. The end of the Word of God is to save, and therefore we term

* ["The ordinary ways whereby God regenerateth his children is by the word of God which is preached."—T. C. lib. i. p. 158.]

† ["In the old (i. e. primitive) Church the ministers were preachers, now bare readers. And if any be so well disposed to preach in their own charges, they may not without my Lord's licence."—*Adm.* quoted in *WHITGIFT'S Ans.* p. 52.]

‡ ["Homilies be read in the book; Sermons said without the book. *Some* (sic in marg.) Homilies are pithy, learned, and sound; Sermons oftentimes be words without matter, unlearned, erroneous."—Dr. WHITGIFT, *Def. of the Ans.* p. 716.]

it the Word of Life. The way for all men to be saved is, by the knowledge of that truth which the Word hath taught. And sith eternal life is a thing of itself communicable unto all, it behoveth that the Word of God, the necessary mean thereunto, be so likewise. Wherefore the Word of Life hath been always a treasure, though precious, yet easy, as well to attain, as to find; lest any man desirous of life should perish through the difficulty of the way. To this end the Word of God no otherwise serveth, than only in the nature of a doctrinal instrument. It saveth, because it maketh "wise to salvation." Wherefore the ignorant it ^{2 Tim. iii. 15.} saveth not; they which live by the Word must know it. And being itself the instrument which God hath purposely framed, thereby to work the knowledge of salvation in the hearts of men, what cause is there wherefore it should not of itself be acknowledged a most apt and a likely mean to leave an *apprehension* of things divine in our understanding, and in the mind an *assent* thereunto? For touching the *one*, sith God, who knoweth and discloseth best the rich treasures of his own wisdom, hath by delivering his Word made choice of the Scriptures as the most effectual means whereby those treasures might be imparted unto the world, it followeth, that to man's understanding the Scripture must needs be even of itself intended as a full and perfect discovery, sufficient to imprint in us the lively character of all things necessarily required for the attainment of eternal life. And concerning our *assent* to the mysteries of heavenly truth, seeing that the Word of God, for the Author's sake, hath credit with all that confess it (as we all do) to be his Word, every proposition of Holy Scripture, every sentence being to us a principle; if the principles of all kinds of knowledge else have that virtue in themselves, whereby they are able to procure our *assent* unto such conclusions as the industry of right discourse doth gather from them; we have no reason to think the principles of that truth which tendeth unto man's everlasting happiness, less forcible than any other, when we know that of all other they are for their certainty the most infallible. But as every thing of price, so this doth require travail. We bring not the knowledge of God with us into the world. And the less our own opportunity or ability is that way, the more we need the help of other men's

judgments to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man ever believe, into whom the doctrine of belief is not instilled by instruction some way received at the first from others.* Wherein whatsoever fit means there are to notify the mysteries of the Word of God, whether publicly (which we call Preaching), or in private howsoever, the Word by *every* such mean even *ordinarily* doth save, and not only by being delivered unto men in Sermons. Sermons are not the *only* Preaching which doth save souls. For, concerning the use and sense of this word Preaching, which they shut up in so close a prison, although more than enough have already been spoken to redeem the liberty thereof; yet, because they insist so much, and so proudly insult thereon, we must a little inure their ears with hearing how others, whom they more regard, are in this case accustomed to use the self-same language with us, whose manner of speech they deride. Justin Martyr doubteth not to tell the Grecians, that even in certain of their "writings" the very judgment to come is preached; nor the Council of Vaus to insinuate, that Presbyters, absent through infirmity from the Churches, might be said to preach by those deputies who in their stead did but read "Homilies;" nor the Council of Toledo, to call the usual public Reading of the "Gospels" in the Church, Preaching; nor others, long before these our days to write, that by him who but readeth "a Lesson" in the solemn assembly as part of divine Service, the very office of Preaching is so far forth executed. Such kind of speeches were then familiar, those phrases seemed not to them absurd; they would have marvelled to hear the outcries which we do,† because we think that the Apostles in writing, and others in reading to the Church those books which the Apostles wrote, are neither untruly nor unfitly said to preach. For although men's "tongues" and their "pens" differ, yet to one and the self-same general, if not particular, effect, they may both serve. It is no good argument, St. Paul could not write with his tongue, therefore neither could he preach with his pen.‡ For Preaching

Paræ-
net. ad
Gent.
p. 17.
Concil.
Vasen.
2. can. 2.

Concil.
Tol. 4.
can. 11.

Rupert.
de Di-
vin. Or.
sc. lib. i.
c. 12, 13.
Isid. de
Ecclies.
Offic.
lib. i.
c. 10.

* [Acts viii. 31, with Zech. iv. 6.]

† The Libel of Schoolp. art. 11. T. C. lib. ii. p. 388. "St. Paul's writing is no more Preaching, than his pen or his hand is his tongue: . . . seeing they cannot be the same, which cannot be made by the same instruments."

‡ ["The reason is of the efficient cause." T. C. lib. ii. p. 388.]

is a general end whereunto writing and speaking do both serve. Men speak not with the instruments of writing, neither write with the instruments of speech; and yet things recorded with the one, and uttered with the other, may be preached well enough with both.* By their patience therefore be it spoken, the Apostles preached as well when they wrote as when they spake the Gospel of Christ; and our usual public Reading of the Word of God for the people's instruction is Preaching. Nor abött words would we ever contend, were not their purpose, in so restraining the same, injurious to God's most sacred Word and Spirit. It is on both sides confest that the Word of God outwardly administered (his Spirit inwardly concurring therewith) converteth, edifieth, and saveth souls.† Now whereas the external administration of his Word is, as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaining the same when Sermons thereon be made, in the one they deny that the finger of God hath *ordinarily*‡ certain principal operations, which we most stedfastly hold and believe that it hath in both.§

22. So worthy a part of divine Service we should greatly wrong, if we did not esteem Preaching as the blessed ordinance of God, Sermons as keys to the Kingdom of Heaven, as wings to the soul, as spurs to the good affections of man, unto the sound and healthy as food, as physic unto diseased minds. Wherefore, how highly soever it may please them with words of truth to extol Sermons, they shall not herein offend us. We seek not to derogate from any thing which they can justly esteem, but our desire is to uphold the just estimation of that from which it seemeth unto us they derogate more than becometh them. That which offendeth us is, first, the great disgrace which they offer unto our custom of bare Reading the Word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the principal virtue whereof thereby manifesting itself for the endless good of men's

What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to Reading also.

* "Evangelizo manu et scriptione." Rainol. de Rom. Eccles. Idolola. præf. ad Co. Essex.

† John vi. 46. Matt. xvi. 17. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 3. Acts xvi. 14.

‡ ["I say that the Word of God is not so effectual read as preached; for St. Paul saith, (Rom. x. 17.) that Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing of the Word preached; so that the ordinary and especial means to work faith by is preaching and not reading." T. C. lib. i. p. 158.]

§ ["In granting (Def. of the Ans. p. 570) that 'preaching is the most ordinary means' to work salvation by, his opinion shaketh. . . . For if it be the most ordinary, and the most ordinary ordinarily most effectual, then it is untrue he saith (p. 577) that the Word simply read is as effectual as preached." T. C. lib. ii. p. 378.]

1 Thess.
v. 27.
Colos.
iv. 16.

souls, even the virtue which it hath to convert, to edify, to save souls; this they mightily strive to obscure: and, secondly, the shifts wherewith they maintain their opinion of Sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the *saving* power of the Holy Ghost, they separate from all *apparent* hope of life and salvation thousands whom the goodness of Almighty God doth not exclude. Touching therefore the use of Scripture, even in that it is openly read, and the inestimable good which the Church of God by that very mean hath reaped; there was, we may very well think, some cause which moved the Apostle St. Paul to require, that those things which any one Church's affairs gave particular occasion to write, might, for the instruction of all, be published, and that by Reading. 1. When the very having of the Books of God, was a matter of no small charge and difficulty, inasmuch as they could not be had otherwise than only in written copies, it was the necessity not of preaching things agreeable with the Word, but of reading the Word itself at large to the people, which caused Churches throughout the world to have public care that the sacred Oracles of God being procured by common charge, might, with great sedulity, be kept both intire and sincere. If then we admire the providence of God in the same continuance of Scripture, notwithstanding the violent endeavours of Infidels to abolish, and the fraudulent of Heretics always to deprave the same, shall we set light by that custom of Reading, from whence so precious a benefit hath grown? 2. The voice and testimony of the Church, acknowledging Scripture to be the Law of the living God, is, for the truth and certainty thereof, no mean evidence. For if with reason we may presume upon things which a few men's dispositions do testify, suppose we that the minds of men are not, both at their first access to the school of Christ exceedingly moved, yea, and for ever afterwards also confirmed much, when they consider the main consent of all the Churches in the whole world witnessing the sacred authority of Scriptures, ever sithence the first publication thereof, even till this present day and hour? And that they all have always so testified, I see not how we should possibly wish a proof more palpable, than this manifest-received and every-where-continued custom of Reading them publicly as the Scriptures. The Reading therefore

of the Word of God, as the use hath ever been, in open audience, is the plainest evidence we have of the Church's assent and acknowledgment, that it is his Word. 3. A further commodity this custom hath, which is to furnish the very simplest and rudest sort with such infallible axioms and precepts of sacred truth, delivered even in the very letter of the Law of God, as may serve them for Rules* whereby to judge the better all other doctrines and instructions which they hear. For which end and purpose, I see not how the Scripture could be possibly made familiar unto all, unless far more should be read in the people's hearing, than by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a manner the whole Book of God is by Reading every year published, a small part thereof, in comparison of the whole, may hold very well the readiest interpreter of Scripture occupied many years. 4. Besides, wherefore should any man think, but that Reading itself is one of the "ordinary" means, whereby it pleaseth God of his gracious goodness to instil that celestial verity, which being *but so* received, is nevertheless effectual to save souls? Thus much therefore we ascribe to the Reading of the Word of God, as the manner is in our Churches. And because it were odious, if they, on their part, should altogether despise the same, they yield that Reading may set forward, but not begin, the work of salvation; that faith may be *nourished* therewith, but not bred;† that herein men's attention to the Scriptures, and their speculation of the creatures of God, have like efficacy, both being of power to *augment*, but neither to effect belief without Sermons;‡ that if any believe by Reading alone, we are to accompt it a miracle, an *extraordinary* work of God.§ Wherein that which they grant, we gladly accept at their hands, and wish that patiently they would examine how little cause they have to deny that which as yet they grant not. The Scripture witnesseth, that when the Book of the Law of God had been sometime missing, and was after found, the King, which heard it but only read, tare his clothes, and with tears confessed, ^{2 Chron.} "Great is the wrath of the Lord upon us, because our ^{xxxiv.} fathers have not kept his Word, to do after all things which ^{18, 19,} are written in this Book." This doth argue, that by bare ^{21.}

* John v. 39. Isa. viii. 20.

† T. C. lib. ii. pp. 375, 377, 395. ‡ p. 378. § p. 383.

Reading (for of Sermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the hearts of such as fear God, and yet incur his displeasure, the deserved effect whereof is eternal death. So that their repentance (although it be not their first entrance) is, notwithstanding, the first step of their re-entrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the Word only read unto them. Besides, it seemeth that God would have no man stand in doubt, but that the Reading of Scripture is effectual, as well to lay even the *first foundation*, as to add degrees of farther perfection in the fear of God; and therefore the Law saith, “Thou shalt *read* this Law before all Israel, that men, women, and children, may hear, yea, even that their children which as yet *have not known* it, may hear it, and, “by hearing it so read,” may *learn to fear* the Lord.” Our Lord and Saviour was himself of opinion, that they which would not be drawn to amendment of life by the testimony which Moses and the Prophets have given concerning the miseries that follow sinners after death, were not likely to be persuaded by other means, although God from the very dead should have raised them up Preachers. Many hear the Books of God, and believe them not. Howbeit, their unbelief, in that case, we may not impute unto any weakness or unsufficiency in the mean which is used towards them, but to the wilful bent of their obstinate hearts against it. With minds obdurate nothing prevaieth. As well they that preach, as they that read unto such, shall still have cause to complain with the Prophets which were of old, “Who will give credit unto our teaching?” But with whom ordinary means will prevail, surely the power of the Word of God, even without the help of Interpreters in God’s Church, worketh mightily, not unto their confirmation alone which are converted, but also to their conversion which are not. It shall not boot them who derogate from Reading, to excuse it, when they see no other remedy, as if their intent were only to deny that *aliens* and strangers from the family of God are won, or that belief doth use to be wrought at the first in them, without Sermons. For they know it is our Custom of simple Reading, not for conversion of Infidels estranged from the House of God, but for instruction of men baptized, bred, and brought up in the bosom of the Church, which they

Deut.
xxxii.
11-13.

Luke
xvi. 31.

[Rom.
x. 16.]

[1 Cor.
xiv. 28.]

despise as a thing uneffectual to save *such* souls. In such, they imagine that God hath no ordinary mean to work Faith without Sermons. The reason why no man can attain belief by the bare contemplation of heaven and earth, is for that they neither are sufficient to give us as much as the least spark of light concerning the very principal mysteries of our Faith; and whatsoever we may learn by them, the same we can only attain to know according to the manner of natural sciences, which mere discourse of wit and reason findeth out; whereas the things which we properly believe, be only such as are received upon the credit of divine testimony. Seeing therefore, that he which considereth the creatures of God findeth therein both these defects, and neither the one nor the other in Scriptures, because he that readeth unto us the Scriptures, delivereth all the mysteries of Faith and not any thing amongst them all more than the mouth of the Lord doth warrant; it followeth in those two respects, that our consideration of creatures, and attention unto Scriptures, are not in themselves, and without Sermons, things of like disability to *breed* or beget Faith. Small cause also there is, why any man should greatly wonder as at an extraordinary work, if without Sermons Reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by some special instance, what one article of Christian Faith, or what duty required necessarily unto all men's salvation there is, which the very Reading of the Word of God is not *apt* to notify. Effects are miraculous and strange when they grow by unlikely means. But did we ever hear it accounted for a wonder, that he which doth read should believe and live according to the will of Almighty God? Reading doth convey to the mind that truth without addition Exod. xxiv. 7. or diminution, which Scripture hath derived from the Holy Ghost. And the end of all Scripture is the same which St. John xx. 31. John proposeth in the writing of that most divine Gospel, namely Faith, and through Faith Salvation. Yea, all Prov. i. 2-4. Rom. i. 16. 2 Tim. iii. 15. Scripture is to this effect *in itself* available, as they which wrote it were persuaded; unless we suppose, that the Evangelist, or others, in speaking of their own intent to instruct and to save by writing, had a secret conceit which they never opened unto any, a conceit that no man in the world should ever be that way the better for any sentence by them written, till such time as the same might chance to be

T. C.
lib. ii.
p. 375.

preached upon, or alleged at the least in a Sermon. Otherwise, if he which writeth do that which is forcible in itself, how should he which readeth be thought to do that which in itself is of no force to work belief, and to save believers? Now, although we have very just cause to stand in some jealousy and fear, lest by thus over-valuing their Sermons, they make the price and estimation of Scripture, otherwise notified, to fall; nevertheless so impatient they are, that being but requested to let us know what causes they leave for men's encouragement to attend to the Reading of the Scripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to save every one which believeth; that which we move for our better learning and instruction's sake, turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietness with it; they answer fumingly, that they are "ashamed to defile their pens with making answer to such idle questions:" yet in this their mood, they cast forth somewhat, wherewith under pain of greater displeasure we must rest contented. They tell us, the profit of Reading is singular, in that it serveth for a preparative unto Sermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nourishment of Faith which Sermons have once engendered; it is some stay to his mind which readeth the Scripture, when he findeth the same things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiveth how God doth concur in opinion with the Preacher;* besides, it keepeth Sermons in memory, and doth in that respect, although not feed the soul of man, yet help the retentive force of that stomach of the mind which receiveth ghostly food at the Preacher's hand. But the principal cause of writing the Gospel was, that it might be preached upon or interpreted by public Ministers, apt and authorized thereunto. Is it credible that a superstitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning Sermons, should in such sort both darken their eyes, and yet sharpen their wits withal, that the only true and weighty cause why Scripture was written, the cause which in Scripture is so often mentioned, the cause which all men have ever till this present day acknowledged, this they should clean exclude, as being no cause at all, and load us with so great store of strange concealed causes which did never see light till now? In which number the rest must

* [T. C.'s words are, "It confirmeth a man in the doctrine preached, when by Reading he perceiveth it to be as the Preacher taught." Lib. ii. p. 375.]

needs be of moment, when the very chiefest cause of committing the sacred Word of God unto books, is surmised to have been, lest the Preacher should want a text whereupon to scholy. Men of learning hold it for a slip in judgment, when offer is made to demonstrate that as proper to one thing, which Reason findeth common unto moe [*more*]. Whereas, therefore, they take from all kinds of Teaching, that which they attribute to Sermons, it had been their part to yield directly some strong reason why between *Sermons alone* and *Faith* there should be *ordinarily* that coherence which causes have with their usual effects, why a Christian man's belief should so naturally grow from Sermons, and not possibly from any other kind of Teaching. In belief there being but these two operations, *apprehension* and *assent*, do only Sermons cause belief, in that no other way is able to explain the mysteries of God, that the mind may rightly apprehend or conceive them as behoveth? We all know that many things are believed, although they be intricate, obscure and dark, although they exceed the reach and capacity of our wits, yea, although in this world they be no way possible to be understood. Many things believed are likewise so plain, that every common person may therein be unto himself a sufficient expounder. Finally, to explain even those things which need and admit explanation, many other usual ways there are besides Sermons. Therefore, Sermons are not the only ordinary means whereby we *first* come to *apprehend* the mysteries of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending the Gospel of Christ, we yield thereunto our unfeigned assent, as to a thing infallibly true? They which rightly consider after what sort the heart of man hereunto is framed, must of necessity acknowledge, that whoso assenteth to the words of eternal life, doth it in regard of his *authority* whose words they are. This is, in man's conversion unto God, τὸ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the first step whereat his race towards Heaven beginneth. Unless, therefore, clean contrary to our own experience, we shall think it a miracle if any man acknowledge the divine authority of the Scripture, till some Sermon have persuaded him thereunto, and that otherwise neither conversation in the bosom of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned men's books, nor information received by conference, nor whatsoever

pain and diligence in hearing, studying, meditating day and night on the Law, is so far blest of God, as to work this effect in any man; how would they have us to grant, that Faith doth not come but only by *hearing Sermons*? Fain they would have us to believe the Apostle St. Paul himself to be the author of this their paradox, only because he hath said, that "it pleaseth God by the foolishness of Preaching to save them which believe;" and again, "How shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? How shall they believe in him, of whom they have not heard? How shall they hear without a Preacher? How shall men preach except they be sent?" To answer, therefore, both allegations at once, the very substance of that they contain is in few but this: Life and salvation God will have *offered unto all*; his will is, that Gentiles should be saved as well as Jews. Salvation belongeth unto none but such "as call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." Which nations as yet unconverted neither do, nor possibly can do, till they *believe*. What they are to believe, impossible it is they should know till they *hear* it. Their hearing requireth our *preaching* unto them. Tertullian, to draw even Paynims themselves unto Christian belief, willethe the *Books* of the Old Testament to be *searched*, which were at that time in Ptolemy's library. And if men did not list to travel so far, though it were for their endless good, he addeth, that in Rome and other places, the Jews had Synagogues whereunto every one which would might resort; that this kind of liberty they purchased by payment of a standing tribute; that there they did openly *read* the Scriptures;* and "whosoever will *hear* (saith Tertullian), he shall find God; whosoever will *study to know*, shall be also fain to believe." But sith there is no likelihood that ever voluntarily they will seek instruction at our hands, it remaineth, that unless we will suffer them to perish, Salvation itself must seek them; it behoveth God to *send* them Preachers, as he did his elect Apostles throughout the world. There is a knowledge which God hath always revealed unto them in the works of Nature. This they honour

T. C.
lib. ii.
p. 375.

1 Cor.
i. 21.
Rom.
x. 14, 15.

[Rom.
x. 13.]

Apolo-
get.
c. 18.
Inc.

* This they did in a tongue, which to all learned men amongst the Heathens, and to a great part of the simplest, was familiarly known; as appeareth by a supplication offered unto the Emperor Justinian, wherein the Jews made request, that it might be lawful for them to read Greek translations of the LXX Interpreters in their Synagogues, as their custom before had been. Authent. cxlvi. col. 10. incipit., *Æquum sanc.*

and esteem highly as profound *wisdom*; howbeit this wisdom saveth them not. That which must save believers, is the knowledge of *the cross of Christ*, the *only* subject of *all* our Preaching. And in their eyes, what doth this seem as yet but *folly*? It pleaseth God by “the foolishness of Preaching” to save. These words declare how admirable force those mysteries have which the world doth deride as follies; they shew that the *foolishness of the Cross of Christ* is the *wisdom of true believers*; they concern the *object* of our faith, the *matter* preached of,* and believed in, by Christian men. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did accompt foolishness; but that they ever did think it a *fond* or unlikely *way* to seek men’s conversion by *Sermons*, we have not heard. Manifest, therefore, it is, that the Apostle, applying the name of *foolishness* in such sort as they did, must needs, “by the foolishness of Preaching,” mean the Doctrine of Christ which we learn that we may be saved; but that Sermons are the only manner of Teaching whereby it pleaseth our Lord to save, he could not mean. In like sort, where the same Apostle proveth, that as well the *sending* of the Apostles as their Preaching to the *Gentiles*, was necessary, dare we affirm it was ever his meaning, that unto their salvation who even from their *tender infancy* never knew any other Faith or Religion than only Christian, *no kind* of Teaching can be available, *saving that* which was so needful for the first universal conversion of Gentiles hating Christianity; neither the *sending* of any sort allowable in the one case, except only of such as had been in the other also most fit and worthy instruments? Belief, *in all sorts*, doth come by hearkening and *attending* to the Word of Life: which Word sometime proposeth and preacheth itself to the hearer; sometime they deliver it, whom privately zeal and piety moveth to be instructors of others by conference; sometime of them it is taught whom the Church hath called to the public either reading thereof or interpreting. All these tend unto one effect; neither doth that which St. Paul or other Apostles teach concerning the necessity of *such teaching* as theirs was, or of *sending such* as they were, for *that purpose*, unto the Gentiles, prejudice the efficacy of *any other* way of public instruction, or enforce the utter disability of any other men’s vocation thought requisite in this Church for the saving of

* The Apostle useth the word *κήρυγμα* and not *κήρυξις*.

souls, where means more effectual are wanting. Their only proper and direct proof of the thing in question had been to shew, in what sort, and how far, man's salvation doth necessarily depend upon the knowledge of the Word of God; what conditions, properties, and qualities, there are, whereby Sermons are distinguished from other kinds of administering the Word unto that purpose; and what special property or quality that is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectual to save souls, and leaveth all other doctrinal means besides destitute of vital efficacy. These pertinent instructions, whereby they might satisfy us and obtain the cause itself for which they contend, these things which only would serve, they leave; and (which needeth not) sometime they trouble themselves with fretting at the ignorance of such as withstand them in their opinion; sometime they fall upon their poor brethren which can but read, and against them* they are bitterly eloquent.† If we allege what the Scriptures themselves do usually speak for the saving force of the Word of God, not with restraint to any one certain kind of delivery, but howsoever the same shall chance to be made known, yet by one trick or other they always restrain it unto Sermons. Our Lord and Saviour hath said, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life." But they tell us he spake to the Jews, which Jews before had heard his Sermons; and that peradventure it was his mind they should search, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by attending whensoever the Scriptures should happen to be "alleged in Sermons."‡ Furthermore, having "received" Apostolic Doctrine, the Apostle St. Paul hath taught us to esteem the same as the supreme Rule whereby all other Doctrines must for ever be examined. Yea, but inasmuch as the Apostle doth there speak of that *he* had

T. C.
lib. ii.
p. 377.
John
v. 39.

Gal. I.
8, 9.

* "This tail of readers." "The Bishops' more than beggarly presents." "Those rascal Ministers." T. C. lib. ii. p. 373.

† ["If the Doctor (Whitgift) say that his men hold not their peace, because they read; it is a cavil unworthy answer. As though when the Prophet calleth the rascal ministers of his time 'dumb dogs' and such as could not 'bark,' his meaning were to charge them that they could not spell, or read in a book of their own language laid before them. And so I trust appeareth, that this tail of reading ministers ought to be cut off; and, that they are none of those princely gifts, Eph. iv. 11, which our Saviour Christ ascended into heaven sendeth into his Church, but the Bishops' (to speak no grievouslier of them) more than beggarly presents."]

‡ ["When our Saviour biddeth the Jews 'Search the Scriptures,' he referreth them by that 'search' to judge of the Doctrine he had preached before; which proveth no fruit of Reading when there is no Preaching. Beside that, it will be hard for him (Dr. W.) to refer the word 'search' to reading only; as if one could not search the Scriptures when he attendeth to them alleged in Sermons." T. C. lib. ii. p. 377.]

preached, he flatly maketh (as they strangely affirm) *his* Preachings or Sermons the Rule whereby to examine all. And then, I beseech you, what Rule have we whereby to judge or examine any? For if Sermons must be our Rule, because the Apostles' Sermons were so to their hearers; then, sith we are not as they were, hearers of the Apostles' Sermons, it resteth that either the Sermons which we hear, should be our Rule, or (that being absurd) there will (which yet hath greater absurdity) no Rule at all be remaining for trial what Doctrines now are corrupt, what consonant with heavenly truth. Again, let the same Apostle acknowledge ^{2 Tim. iii. 16.} "all Scripture profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, to instruct in righteousness;" still, notwithstanding, we err, if hereby we presume to gather, that Scripture *read* will avail unto any one of all these uses: they teach us the meaning of the words to be, that so much the Scripture can do, if the Minister that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwise not. Finally, they never hear sentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forthwith their glosses upon it are, the Word preached, the Scripture explained or delivered unto us *in Sermons*. Sermons they evermore understand to be that Word of God, which alone hath vital operation;* the dangerous sequel of which construction I wish they did more attentively weigh. For, sith speech is the very image whereby the mind and soul of the speaker conveyeth itself into the bosom of him which heareth, we cannot choose but see great reason wherefore the Word that proceedeth from God, who is himself very truth and life, should be (as the Apostle to the Hebrews noteth) lively ^{Heb. iv. 12.} and mighty in operation, "sharper than any two-edged sword." Now, if in this and the like places we did conceive that our own Sermons are that strong and forcible Word, should we not hereby impart even the most peculiar glory of the Word of God unto that which is not his Word? For, touching our Sermons, that which giveth them their very being is the wit of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taste too much of that over-corrupt fountain from which they come.† In our speech of most holy things,

* ["The Word is all one read and preached, but it pleaseth the Lord to work more effectually with the one than with the other; thereby approving and authorizing that means and way which he especially ordained for us to be saved by." T. C. lib. i. p. 158.]

† ["Our Church constantly affirmeth, that the visible Church is that Congregation of faithful people, wherein the pure Word of God is preached; Article XIX. Whereupon the Reverend Fathers of our Church publicly teach that 'the true preaching of the

our most frail affections many times are bewrayed. Wherefore, when we read or recite the Scripture, we then deliver to the people *properly* the Word of God. As for our Ser-

Word is an essential note of the Church,' Whitgift, Def. of Ans. p. 81. For which cause they interpret the parable of the seed in this sort; 'God is the husbandman, the Preachers of the Word are the seed sowers, the seed is the Word of God, the ground is the hearts of men, &c.' (Bp. of Lincoln, Sermon I. on Matt. xiii. 3). And, 'Therefore Christ did send his Apostles to preach the Gospel, that thereby they might be brought to the belief of the Church,' (Ibid. Sermon I. on Rom. i. 16). And, 'To this preaching he annexed such force of his Holy Spirit that it had greater strength and authority than all the eloquence, than all the wisdom, than all the learning, than all the policy and power of the world: and that not only in the Apostles, but also in the Preachers, who have restored the pure light of the Gospel in these latter days; even in those countries whose Princes and people were professed adversaries thereof: unto which accordeth the Holy Scriptures calling this Preaching, a 'gift of the grace of God' (Eph. iii. 7), 'to admonish every man, and to teach every man in all wisdom: that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus' (Col. i. 28). Which things maketh us much to muse what you mean where you say, 'Sith speech is the very image,' &c. (*As it shortens this Note not to insert the three successive sentences here, the Reader can peruse them in Hooker above.*) Here Master Hoo. we are hampered with your words, because they seem to us contrary to the judgment of our Church. We therefore desire you heartily to resolve us, what you mean in this place by 'Sermons.' Whether it be not all one with that our Fathers call Preaching of the Word, consisting in teaching and exhorting by the Word of God? Secondly, what you mean by the 'being' of a Sermon; Whether the logical and dialectical frame by which men contrive their matter in such and such a form! Or, that by the gift of the grace of God, 'weighing, and searching, and fitting together many sentences, they seek out pleasant words and every right writing, and faithful words' (Eccles. xii. 9, 10), and so utter 'in their doctrine, integrity, gravity, and the wholesome word which cannot be reproved' (Tit. ii. 7, 8)? If you mean the former, then every declamation and formal Oration in the Schools may be called Sermons, for these are framed of the mere 'wit of man:' if you mean this latter, then we think you teach contrary to our Church and the Holy Scriptures. You say, our Sermons are not 'that strong and forcible Word:' they say, it is 'an essential note of the true Church,' to have true Preaching of the Word; and, namely, the Preaching of 'the pure Word of God;' and that this hath such a 'force' as no 'eloquence, wisdom, learning, policy, and power of the world' can match. You say, 'the wit of man giveth our Sermons the very being:' they say, 'God sent his Apostles;' that 'the Preachers are the seed sowers,' and 'the seed is the Word of God,' and that this is done by the 'gift of the grace of God.' Here we beseech you to shew the just harmony of your words and theirs: and therein to teach us by sound demonstration, that a man can preach 'the pure Word of God' by his own natural 'wit,' without a gift supernatural of the Spirit to give him utterance, and to speak the Word as he ought to speak. If all that a man preach be 'the pure Word of God,' what derogation is it to call such a man's Sermons or Preachings the 'strong and forcible Word.' In every *being* there is (as you scholars teach) the matter and the form; and that which joineth these together, is the efficient. Unto which of these will you apply the 'wit of man?' If you say to the Matter, then our Church is against you, and saith it is 'the pure Word of God:' if to the Form, as interpretation, doctrine, and exhortation; then, the Holy Scriptures do tie unto the gift of the Spirit, saying, that we have 'divers gifts,' as the gift of 'prophecy,' 'teaching,' 'exhortation' (Rom. xii. 6—8); and, no 'Scripture is of any private interpretation' (2 Pet. i. 20). If you make it the Efficient, then the Scripture saith, 'There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all' (1 Cor. xii. 4—6): 'No man can preach, except he be sent' (Rom. x. 15): 'When he ascended, he gave gifts unto men' (Eph. iv. 8). Here we pray you to teach us how your speeches consent to these testimonies of our Church, and Holy Scripture; or, may you not mean, that the 'Sermons' of many now adays, who, instead of 'the pure Word of God,' do most curiously bring into the Pulpit, Poets, Philosophers, Rhetoricians, Physicians, Schoolmen; and whatsoever, either by fineness of wit, or help of art, they think may appear fine and smooth to their hearers, and win praise to themselves: may you not mean, I say, that such 'our Sermons, have their being of the mere wit of man;' or, do you think, that the Sermons of our Reverend Fathers and more stayed divines which are very wary, that in all their Sermons, whatsoever they speak,

mons, be they never so sound and perfect, his Word they are not as the Sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguously termed his Word, because his Word is commonly the subject whereof they treat, and must be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithstanding, by these and the like shifts, they derive unto Sermons alone, whatsoever is generally spoken concerning the Word. Again, what seemeth to have been uttered concerning Sermons and their efficacy or necessity in regard of *divine matter*; and must consequently be verified in sundry other kinds of Teaching if *the matter* be the same in all; their use is to fasten every such speech unto that one only manner of Teaching which is by Sermons, that still Sermons may be all in all. Thus, because Solomon declareth, that the people decay, or "perish" for want of knowledge, where no *prophesying* at all is, they gather, that the hope of life and salvation is cut off, where Preachers are not which *prophesy by Sermons*, how many soever they be in number that read daily the Word of God, and deliver, though in other sort, the self-same matter which Sermons do. The people which have no way to come to the knowledge of God, no Prophesying, no Teaching, perish. But that they should of necessity perish, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more than the words of Solomon import. Another usual point of their art in this present question, is to make very large and plentiful discourses how Christ is by Sermons lifted up *higher* and made *more* apparent to the eye of Faith; how the savour of the Word is *more* sweet, being brayed,* and *more* able to nourish, being divided, by Preaching, than by only Reading proposed; how Sermons

T. C.
lib. ii.
p. 281.
Prov.
xxix. 18.

T. C. lib.
ii. p. 379.
2 Cor. ii.
14-16

2 Tim.
ii. 15.

Matt.
xvi. 19.

may be the true sense of Holy Scriptures, and 'according to the proportion of Faith' (Rom. xii. 6); seeing they agree not with the Family of Jesus Christ that is at Rome, are not therefore, the 'strong and forcible Word of God.' And here we pray you to teach us, Whether that all doctrine, interpretation, and exhortation, which is truly and merely the natural meaning of Holy Scripture, be not the Word of God; or, that the Word is only in the letter of the text, as of Hebrew and Greek; or, if you will, truly translated? And, which of these hath the Word of God, he that allegeth the words, as did the Tempter, or he that allegeth the true meaning, as did our Saviour Christ, Matt. iv. 6-10? Lastly, shew us that if all 'our Sermons' be of 'the wit of man,' and none the 'strong and forcible Word of God,' Whether Romish Babylon may not challenge our Church to want one 'essential' mark, as 'Preaching the pure Word of God?' And, Whether it be possible for 'the wit of man' to give 'being' unto that which is 'an essential mark of the Church of God,' and of that which hath 'greater strength and authority than all eloquence, wisdom, learning, policy, and power of the world?' And, lastly, open unto us, Whether that Reverend Father did well, who granteth, that the Word of God 'is not only in writing but in Preaching, in counsels or doctors; because Christ saith, 'He that heareth you, heareth me,' Luke x. 16." (Fulke, Reply to Brist. rejoined. p. 99.)—*A Christian Letter*, p. 20.]

* [Vociferously iterated.]

are the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and do open* the Scriptures, which being but read, remain *in comparison* still clasped; how God giveth *richer* increase of grace to the ground that is planted and watered by Preaching, than by bare and simple Reading. Out of which premises, declaring how attainment unto life is easier where Sermons are, they conclude an impossibility† thereof where Sermons are not.‡ Alcidas the Sophister hath many arguments to prove, that voluntary and extemporal far excelleth premeditated speech. The like whereunto, and in part the same, are brought by them who commend Sermons, as having (which all men, I think, will acknowledge) sundry peculiar and proper virtues, such as no other way of Teaching besides hath. Aptness, to follow particular occasions presently growing; to put life into words by countenance, voice, and gesture; to prevail mightily in the sudden affections of men; this, Sermons may challenge. Wherein, notwithstanding so eminent properties whereof Lessons are haply destitute, yet Lessons being free from some inconveniences whereunto Sermons are more subject, they may in this respect no less take, than in other they must give, the hand which be-tokeneth pre-eminence. For there is nothing which is not some way excelled even by that which it doth excel. Sermons, therefore, and Lessons, may each excel other in some respects, without any prejudice unto either, as touching that vital force which they both have in the work of our salvation. To which effect, when we have endeavoured as much as in us doth lie, to find out the strongest causes, wherefore they should imagine that Reading is itself so unavailable, the most we can learn at their hands is, that Sermons are “the Ordinance of God,” the Scriptures *dark*, and the labour of Reading *easy*.§ First, therefore, as we

1 Cor.
iii. 6.

T. C.
lib. ii.
p. 305.

T. C.
lib. ii.
p. 383.

* [“ Luke xxiv. 27, 32.” T. C. lib. ii. p. 380.]

† “No salvation to be looked for, where no Preaching is.” T. C. lib. ii. p. 380. [Referring shortly, at this place, to the whole passage in lib. i. p. 158. See Note ‡ below.]

‡ [“As the husbandman receiveth no fruit unless he both plant, and water that which is planted; even so there is no salvation to be looked for where there is no preaching. It may be, that God doth sometimes work faith by reading only, especially where preaching cannot be, and so he doth sometimes without reading, by a wonderful work of his Spirit; but the ordinary way whereby God regenerateth his children is by the Word of God which is preached.” T. C. lib. i. p. 158.]

§ [“Where, confessing the Word preached and read all one, (lib. i. p. 158), I shew notwithstanding that as the fire stirred giveth more heat, so the Word, as it were, blown by preaching, flameth more in the hearers, than when it is read; he (Dr. W.) answereth that this is to join ‘with the Papists in condemning the Scriptures of obscurity;’ but reason he can shew none. And it is all one as if one should be charged to have said, that the sun is

know that God doth aid with his grace, and by his special providence evermore bless with happy success, those things which himself appointeth; so his Church, we persuade ourselves, he hath not in such sort given over to a reprobate sense, that whatsoever it deviseth for the good of the souls of men, the same he doth still accurse and make frustrate. Or, if he always did defeat the Ordinances of his Church, is not Reading the Ordinance of God? Wherefore then should we think, that the force of his secret grace is accustomed to bless the labour of dividing his Word according unto each man's private discretion in public Sermons, and to withdraw itself from concurring with the public delivery thereof by such selected portions of Scripture, as the whole Church hath solemnly appointed to be read for the people's good, either by ordinary course, or otherwise, according to the exigence of special occasions? Reading (saith Isidore) is to the hearers no small edifying. To them whose "delight and meditation is in the Law," seeing that happiness and bliss belongeth, it is not in us to deny them the benefit of heavenly grace. And I hope we may presume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, even for that very Word which is read, to be both presently their joy, and afterwards their study that hear it. St. Augustine, speaking of devout men, noteth how they daily frequented the Church, how attentive ear they gave unto the Lessons and Chapters read, how careful they were to remember the same, and to muse thereupon by themselves. St. Cyprian observeth, that Reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their joy and alacrity was to him an argument that there is in this Ordinance a blessing, such as ordinarily doth accompany the administration of the Word of Life.* It were much if there should be such a difference between the hearing of Sermons preached, and of Lessons read in the Church, that he which presenteth himself at the one, and maketh his prayer with the Prophet David, "Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy Statutes, direct me in the path of thy Commandments," might have the ground of usual

Dent.
xxxii.
ii.De Ec-
cles.
Offic.
lib. i.
c. 10.
Psalm
i. 2.Psalm
cxix. 16.Aug. in
Psalm
lxxvi.Psalm
cxix.
33-35.

dark, for that *he* affirmeth it lighter at noon-day than at the sun-rising. Then he must understand that *we* place not this difference of lightness in the Word, which is always in itself most lightsome, read and preached; but partly in the Ordinance of God, before noted (T. C. lib. ii. p. 380, on 1 Cor. iii. 6), making that the special means; partly the darkness of our understanding, which without the aid of Preaching cannot come to sufficient knowledge of it." T. C. lib. ii. p. 383.]

* "Lector personat verba sublimia. Evangelium Christi legis a fratribus conspiciatur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur." Cyprian. lib. ii. Epist. 5.

experience, whereupon to build his hope of prevailing with God, and obtaining the grace he seeketh; they contrariwise not so, who crave the like assistance of his Spirit when they give ear to the reading of the other. In this, therefore, Preaching and Reading are equal, that both are approved as his Ordinances, both assisted with his grace. And if his grace do assist them both to the nourishment of Faith already bred, we cannot, without some very manifest cause yielded, imagine, that in breeding or begetting Faith, his grace doth cleave to the one, and utterly forsake the other. Touching *hardness*, which is the second pretended impediment, as against Homilies being plain and popular instructions, it is no bar, so neither doth it infringe the efficacy, no, not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of Reading, how small soever they would have it, must of necessity be granted sufficient to notify that which is plain or easy to be understood. And of things necessary to all men's salvation, we have been hitherto accustomed to hold (especially sithence the publishing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, whereby the simplest having now a key unto knowledge, which the Eunuch in the Acts did want, our children may of themselves by reading understand that which he without an interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plain and easy to be understood. As for those things which at the first are obscure and dark, when memory hath laid them up for a time, judgment afterwards growing explaineth them. Scripture therefore is not so *hard*, but that the *only* Reading thereof may give life unto willing hearers. The *easy* performance of which holy labour is in like sort a very cold objection to prejudice the virtue thereof. For what though an Infidel, yea, though a child may be able to read? There is no doubt but the meanest and worst amongst the people under the Law had been as able as the Priests themselves were, to offer sacrifice: did this make sacrifice of no effect unto that purpose for which it was instituted? In Religion some duties are not commended so much by the hardness of their execution, as by the worthiness and dignity of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodness of God in Nature, when we consider how he hath provided, that

T. C.
lib. ii.
p. 383,
384, 392.

Acts
viii. 31.

* ["If it be true that 'Reading is Preaching,' . . . a child of four or five years old is able to preach, because he is able to read." T. C. lib. i. p. 159.]

things most needful to preserve this life should be most prompt and easy for all living creatures to come by. Is it not as evident a sign of his wonderful Providence over us, when that food of eternal life, upon the *utter want* whereof our endless death and destruction necessarily ensueth, is prepared and always set in such a readiness, that those very means, than which nothing is more easy, may suffice to procure the same? Surely, if we perish, it is not the lack of Scribes and Expounders that can be our just excuse. The Word which saveth our souls is near us; we need for knowledge but to read and live. The man which ^{Apoc. i. 3.} "readeth" the Word of God, the Word itself doth pronounce "blessed," if he also observe the same. Now all these things being well considered, it shall be no intricate matter for any man to judge with indifferency on which part the good of the Church is most conveniently sought; whether on ours, whose opinion is such as hath been shewed, or else on theirs, who leaving no ordinary way of salvation for them unto whom the Word of God is but only read, do ^{T. C. lib. ii. p. 363, 373.} seldom name them but with great disdain and contempt, who execute that service in the Church of Christ. By means whereof it hath come to pass, that Churches, which cannot enjoy the benefit of usual Preaching, are judged as it were even forsaken of God, forlorn, and without either hope or comfort:* contrariwise, those places which every day, for the most part, are at Sermons as the flowing sea, do, both by their emptiness at times of Reading, and by other apparent tokens, shew to the voice of the living God, this way sounding in the ears of men, a great deal less reverence than were meet. But if no other evil were known to grow thereby, who can choose but think them cruel, which doth hear them so boldly teach, that if God (as to ^{pag. 364, 375, 380, 383, 384.} Him there is nothing impossible) do happily save any such as continue where they have all other means of instruction, but are not taught by continual Preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more than the fitness of so poor instruments can give any man cause to hope for; that Sacraments are not ^{p. 391.} effectual to salvation, except men be instructed by *Preaching before* they be made partakers of them; yea, that both Sacraments and Prayers also, where Sermons are not, "do ^{p. 364.}

* ["Within seven miles of Cambridge there have been parishes where one of these Sermons was not, in four whole years." T. C. lib. ii. p. 374.]

[Luke
xxiv.
25.]

not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further condemnation: "what man's heart doth not rise at the mention of these things? It is true, that the weakness of our wits, and the dulness of our affections, do make us, for the most part, even as our Lord's own Disciples were for a certain time, hard and slow to believe what is written. For help whereof expositions and exhortations are needful, and that in the most effectual manner. The principal Churches throughout the land, and no small part of the rest, being in this respect by the goodness of God so abundantly provided for, they which want the like furtherance unto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be desired that they also did abound, are yet, we hope, not left in so extreme destitution, that justly any man should think the ordinary means of eternal life taken from them, because their Teaching is in public for the most part but by Reading. For which cause, amongst whom there are not those helps that others have, to set them forward in the way of life, such to dishearten with fearful sentences, as though their salvation could hardly be hoped for, is not, in our understanding, so consonant with Christian charity. We hold it safer a great deal, and better to give them encouragement:* to put them in mind, that it is not the deepness of their knowledge, but the singleness† of their belief, which God accepteth; that they which "hunger and thirst after righteousness, shall be satisfied;"‡ that no imbecility of means§ can prejudice the truth of the promise of God herein; that the weaker their helps are, the more their need is to sharpen the edge of their own industry;|| and that painfulness by feeble means shall be able to gain that, which in the plenty of more forcible instruments is through sloth and negligence lost.¶ As for the men, with whom we have thus far taken pains to confer about the force of the Word of God, either read by itself, or opened in Sermons, their speeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth such, as might give us very just cause to think, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howsoever they have been driven to devise some odd kinds of blind uses, whereunto they may answer that Reading doth serve, yet the Reading of the Word of God in public,

• Ecclus. li. 26, 27. Matt. xii. 20. † 1 Tim. i. 5. Rom. xiv. 1. 1 Thess. iii. 10.
 ‡ Matt. v. 6. § Phil. i. 6. 1 Pet. v. 10. Matt. iii. 19.
 ¶ 1 Thess. iv. 18. Heb. x. 24. Jude 20, 21. 1 Pet. iv. 10. ¶ Luke xi. 31.

more than their Preachers' bare text, who will not judge that they deem needless? when if we chance at any time to term it "necessary"* as being a thing which God himself did institute amongst the Jews for purposes that touch as well us as them; a thing which the Apostles commend under the Old, and ordain under the New Testament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath ever sithence the first beginning reaped singular commodity; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit; they only are the men, that ever we heard of, by whom this hath been crost and gainsayed; they only, the men which have given their peremptory sentence to the contrary, "It is untrue that simple Reading is necessary in the Church."^{T. C. lib. ii. p. 381.} And why untrue? "Because, although it be very convenient which is used in some Churches, where before Preaching-time the Church assembled hath the Scriptures read in such order, that the whole Canon thereof is oftentimes in one year run through; yet a number of Churches which have no *such* order of simple Reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of God's commandment, which they might be, if simple Reading were necessary."† A poor, a cold, and an hungry cavil! Shall we therefore, to please them, change the word "necessary," and say, that it hath been a commendable Order, a Custom very expedient, or an Ordinance "*most profitable*" (whereby they know right well that we mean exceedingly behooveful) to read the Word of God at large in the Church, whether it be as our manner is, or as theirs is whom they prefer before us? It is not this that will content or satisfy their minds. They have against it a marvellous deep and profound axiom, that two things to one and the same end cannot but very improperly be said "*most profitable*."^{T. C. lib. ii. p. 382.} And therefore, if Preaching be "*most profitable*" to man's salvation, then is not Reading; if Reading be, then Preaching is not.

* ["Both Reading and Preaching be *necessary* in the Church, and *most profitable*; the commendation of the one doth not take any thing from the other. But Preaching doth profit mo (*more*) than Reading doth, because it is more apt for the ignorant and unlearned, . . . it more plainly expresth the meaning of the Scripture and applieth the same: . . . both be means wherein God doth call to salvation. . . . jointly and severally as it pleaseth him."—WHITGIFT, *Def. of the Ans.* p. 572, 573.]

† ["Considering especially, that some of them beside their set Sermons, expounding every day paraphrastically two chapters, with the principal points thereof taken and applied unto their auditors, gain that which the Doctor (p. 570.) out of Bucer presupposeth to come only by simple Reading, that the Scripture is thereby made familiar unto the people." T. C. lib. ii. p. 381.]

Are they resolved then at the leastwise, if Preaching be the only* ordinary mean whereby it pleaseth God to save our souls, what kind of Preaching it is which doth save? Understand they, how or in what respect there is that force or virtue in Preaching? We have reason wherefore to make these demands; for that, although their pens run all upon Preaching and Sermons, yet when themselves do practise that whereof they write, they change their dialect, and those words they shun as if there were in them some secret sting. It is not their phrase to say they *preach*, or to give to their own instructions and exhortations the name of Sermons; the pain they take themselves in this kind, is either "opening," or "lecturing," or "reading," or "exercising," but in no case Preaching. And in this present question, they also warily protest, that what they ascribe to the virtue of Preaching, they still mean it of "good" Preaching. Now one of them saith, that a good Sermon "must expound and apply a large portion of the text of Scripture at one time." Another giveth us to understand, that sound Preaching "is not to do as one did at London, who spent the most of his time in invectives against good men, and told his audience how the Magistrate should have an eye to such as troubled the peace of the Church." The best of them hold it for no good Preaching, when a man "endeavoureth to make a glorious shew of eloquence and learning, rather than to apply himself to the capacity of the simple." But let them shape us out a good Preacher by what pattern soever pleaseth them best, let them exclude and inclose whom they will with their definitions, we are not desirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they have of their own ways, so that when once we are agreed what Sermons shall currently pass for good, we may at the length understand from them, what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the Word of Life unto such as hear. If substance of matter, evidence of things, strength and validity of arguments and proofs, or if any other virtue else which words and sentences may contain; of all this, what is there in the best Sermons being uttered, which they lose by being read? But they utterly deny that the Reading either

T. C.
Hb. ii.
p. 385.
Com-
plaint of
the Com-
mon-
alty.†

Dr.
Some's
Painter,
p. 21.

T. C.
lib. ii.
p. 385.

* [See Note †, p. 76.]

† ["A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty, by way of Supplication to the High Court of Parliament for a more learned Ministry: In anno 1585."]

of Scriptures, or Homilies and Sermons, can ever by the ordinary grace of God save any soul.* So that, although we had all the Sermons word for word which James, Paul, Peter, and the rest of the Apostles made, some one of which Sermons was of power to convert thousands of the hearers unto Christian Faith; yea, although we had all the instructions, exhortations, consolations, which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and should *read* them ten thousand times over, to Faith and Salvation no man could hope hereby to attain. Whereupon it must of necessity follow, that the vigour and vital efficacy of Sermons doth grow from certain accidents which are not in them, but in their maker: his virtue, his gesture, his countenance, his zeal, the motion of his body, and the inflection of his voice who first uttereth them as his own, is that which giveth them the form, the nature, the very essence of instruments available to eternal life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their final conclusion be, Sermons we know are the only ordinary means to Salvation, but why or how we cannot tell? Wherefore to end this tedious controversy, wherein the too great importunity of our over eager adversaries hath constrained us much longer to dwell, than the barrenness of so poor a cause could have seemed at the first likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and passions are accustomed to weigh all things and accordingly to give their sentence, shall here sit down to receive our audit, and to cast up the whole reckoning on both sides; the sum which truth amounteth unto will appear to be but this, That as medicines, provided of nature and applied by art for the benefit of bodily health, take effect sometimes under and sometimes above the natural proportion of their virtue, according as the mind and fancy of the patient doth more or less concur with them; so, whether we barely read unto men the Scriptures of God; or by Homilies concerning matter of belief and conversation seek to lay before them the duties which they owe unto God and man; whether we deliver them Books to read and consider of in private at their own best leisure, or call them to the hearing of Sermons publicly in the House of God; albeit every of these and the like unto these means do truly and daily effect

* [See Notes † p. 63, and ‡ p. 76.]

that in the hearts of men for which they are each and all meant, yet the operation which they have in common being most sensible and most generally noted in one kind above the rest, that one hath in some men's opinions drowned altogether the rest, and injuriously brought to pass that they have been thought not *less effectual* than the other, but without the other *uneffectual* to save souls.* Whereas the cause why Sermons only are observed to prevail so much, while all means else seem to sleep and do nothing, is in truth nothing but that singular affection and attention which the People sheweth every where towards the one, and their cold disposition to the other; the reason hereof being partly the art which our adversaries use for the credit of their Sermons,† to bring men out of conceit with all other Teaching besides; partly a custom which men have to let those things carelessly pass by their ears, which they have oftentimes heard before, or know they may hear again whensoever it pleaseth themselves;‡ partly the especial advantages which Sermons naturally have to procure attention,§ both in that they come always new, and because by the hearer it is still presumed, that if they be let slip for the present, what good soever they contain is lost, and that without all hope of recovery. This is the true cause of odds between Sermons and other kinds of wholesome instruction. As for the difference which hath been hitherto so much defended on the contrary side, making Sermons the only|| ordinary means unto Faith and eternal Life, sith this hath neither evidence of truth, nor proof sufficient to give it warrant, a cause of such quality may with far better grace

* [See Note †, p. 76.]

† [A remarkable and undesigned testimony of the superiority of the then Puritans in the faculty of Preaching!]

‡ [A powerful argument against Books of Common Prayer.]

§ [“Public and continual Preaching of God's Word, is the *ordinary* mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind. St. Paul (1 Cor. v. 18) calleth it ‘the ministry of reconciliation’ of man unto God. . . . Now when it is thought, that the Reading of the Godly Homilies may suffice, I continue of the same mind I was when I attended last upon your Majesty. The Reading of the Homilies hath his commodity; but is nothing comparable to the Office of Preaching. The Godly Preacher is termed in the Gospel, a Faithful Servant, who knoweth how to give his Lord's family their apportioned food in season; who can apply his speech according to the diversity of times, places, and hearers; which cannot be done in Homilies: exhortations, reprehensions, and persuasions, are uttered with more affection, to the moving of the Hearers, in Sermons than in Homilies. Besides, Homilies were devised by the Godly Bishops in your Brother's time, only to supply necessity, for want of Preachers; and are by Statute not to be preferred, but to give place to Sermons, whensoever they may be had.” *Archbishop GRINDAL's Letter to her Majesty, Dec. 20, 1576. Strype's Life of Grindal.*]

|| [See Notes § and †, p. 63; and †, p. 76.]

and conveniency ask that pardon which common humanity doth easily grant, than claim in challenging manner that assent which is as unwilling, when Reason guideth it, to be yielded where it is not, as withheld where it is apparently, due. All which notwithstanding, as we could greatly wish that the rigour of this their opinion were allayed and mitigated; so, because we hold it the part of religious ingenuity to honour virtue in whomsoever, therefore it is our most hearty desire, and shall be always our prayer unto Almighty God, that in the self-same fervent zeal wherewith they seem to affect the good of the souls of men and to thirst after nothing more than that all men might by all means be directed in the way of life, both they and we may constantly persist to the world's end. For in this we are not their adversaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours. [1 Cor. ix. 22.]

23. Between the throne of God in Heaven and his Church upon earth here militant, if it be so that Angels have their continual intercourse, where should we find the same more verified than in those two ghostly exercises, the one Doctrine, and the other Prayer? For what is the assembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving of Angels descended from above? What to pray, but the sending of Angels upwards? His heavenly inspirations, and our holy desires, are as so many Angels of intercourse and commerce between God and us. As Teaching bringeth us to know that God is our supreme Truth; so Prayer testifieth that we acknowledge him our sovereign Good. Besides, sith on God, as the most High, all inferior causes in the world are dependent; and the higher any cause is, the more it coveteth to impart virtue unto things beneath it, how should any kind of service we do or can do, find greater acceptance than Prayer, which sheweth our concurrence with him in desiring that wherewith his very nature doth most delight? Is not the name of Prayer usual to signify even all the service that ever we do unto God? And that for no other cause, as I suppose, but to shew that there is in Religion no acceptable duty which devout invocation of the name of God doth not either pre-suppose or infer. Prayers are those "calves of men's lips;" those most gracious and sweet "odours;" those rich presents and gifts, which, being carried up into Heaven, do best testify our dutiful affection, and are, for the purchasing of all Or Prayer.
Hosea xiv. 2.
Rev. v. 8.
Acts x. 4.

favour at the hands of God, the most undoubted means we can use. On others, what more easily, and yet what more fruitfully, bestowed than our Prayers? If we give counsel, they are the simpler only that need it; if alms, the poorer only are relieved; but by Prayer we do good to all. And whereas every other duty besides is but to shew itself as time and opportunity require, for this all times are convenient: when we are not able to do any other thing for men's behoof, when through maliciousness or unkindness they vouchsafe not to accept any other good at our hands, Prayer is that which we always have in our power to bestow, and they never in theirs to refuse. Wherefore, "God forbid," saith Samuel, speaking unto a most unthankful people, a people weary of the benefit of his most virtuous government over them, "God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, and cease to pray for you." It is the first thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the last wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is small which we have on earth concerning things that are done in Heaven. Notwithstanding, thus much we know even of Saints in Heaven, that they pray. And therefore Prayer being a work common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a work common unto men with Angels, what should we think, but that so much of our lives is celestial and divine as we spend in the exercise of Prayer? For which cause we see that the most comfortable visitations which God hath sent men from above, have taken especially the times of Prayer as their most natural opportunities.

Rom.
i. 9.
1 Thess.
v. 17.
Luke
xviii. 1.

1 Sam.
xii. 23.

Dan.
ix. 20.
Acts
x. 30.

Or
public
Prayer.

Psalm
lv. 17.
Dan.
ix. 3.
Acts
x. 9.

Matt.
xviii. 20.

2 Cor.
i. 11.

24. This holy and religious duty of service towards God concerneth us one way in that we are men, and another way in that we are joined as parts to that visible mystical body which is his Church. As men, we are at our own choice both for time and place, and form, according to the exigence of our own occasions in private: but the service, which we do as members of a public body, is public, and for that cause must needs be accompted by so much worthier than the other, as a whole society of such condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which consideration unto Christian assemblies there are most special promises made. St. Paul, though likely to prevail with God as much as [any] one, did notwithstanding think it much more, both for God's glory and his own good, if Prayers might be made

and Thanks yielded in his behalf by a number of men. The Prince and people of Nineveh assembling themselves ^{Jonah} as a main army of supplicants, it was not in the power of ^{iv. 1h.} God to withstand them. I speak no otherwise concerning the force of public Prayer in the Church of God, than before me Tertullian hath done, "We come by troops to the place of assembly, that being banded as it were together, we may be supplicants enough to besiege God with our Prayers: these forces are unto him acceptable."* When we publicly make our prayers, it cannot be but that we do it with much more comfort than in private, for that the things we ask publicly are approved as needful and good in the judgment of all, we hear them sought for and desired with common consent. Again, thus much help and furtherance is more yielded, in that, if so be our zeal and devotion to God-ward be slack, the alacrity and fervour of others serveth as a present spur. "For even Prayer itself (saith St. Basil), when it hath not the consort of many voices to strengthen it, is not itself."† Finally, the good which we do by public Prayer is more than in private can be done, for that besides the benefit which here is no less procured to ourselves, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example; and consequently, whereas secret neglect of our duty in this kind is but only our own hurt, one man's contempt of the common Prayer of the Church of God may be, and oftentimes is, most hurtful unto many.‡ In which considerations, the Prophet David ^{Psalms} so often voweth unto God the sacrifice of praise and thanks- ^{xxvi. 12.} giving in the congregation; so earnestly exhorteth others to ^{xxxv. 18.} sing praises unto the Lord in his courts, in his sanctuary, before the memorial of his holiness; and so much com- ^{xxx. 1.} plaineth of his own uncomfortable exile, wherein although ^{xcvi. 9.} he sustained many most grievous indignities, and endured the want of sundry both pleasures and honours before enjoyed, yet, as if this one were his only grief, and the

* Tert. Apol. i. 39.—Ambros. lib. de Pœn. "Multi minimi dum congregantur unanimes, sunt magni; et multorum preces impossibile est contemni."

† Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχή, μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας, ἀδρανεστέρα ἐστὶ πολλῶ ἐαυτῆς. Basil. Epist. lxxviii.

‡ [Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. Edit. Voss. p. 20. Εἰ γὰρ ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχὴ τοσούτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἦτε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας; ὁ οὖν μὴ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὗτος ἤδη ὑπερῆφανεί, καὶ ἑαυτὸν διεκρίνειν. "If the prayer of one or two hath so much efficacy, how much more hath that of the Bishop and all the Church? He therefore that cometh not into the place (of assembly, 1 Cor. xi. 20) is even now supercilious, and hath condemned himself."]

rest not felt, his speeches are all of the heavenly benefit of public assemblies, and the happiness of such as had free access thereunto.

Psalm
xxvii. 4.
xlii. 4.
lxxxiv.
1.

25. A great part of the cause wherefore religious minds are so inflamed with the love of public devotion, is that virtue, force, and efficacy, which by experience they find that the very Form and reverend Solemnity of Common Prayer duly ordered hath to help that imbecility and weakness in us, by means whereof we are otherwise of ourselves the less apt to perform unto God so heavenly a service, with such affection of heart, and disposition in the powers of our souls as is requisite. To this end, therefore, all things hereunto appertaining, have been ever thought convenient to be done with the most solemnity and majesty that the wisest could devise. It is not with public as with private Prayer. In this, rather secrecy is commended than outward shew; whereas that being the public act of a whole society, requireth accordingly more care to be had of external appearance. The very assembling of men, therefore, unto this service, hath been ever solemn. And concerning the place of assembly, although it serve for other uses as well as this, yet seeing that our Lord himself hath to this, as to the chiefest of all other, plainly sanctified his own Temple, by entituling it "the House of Prayer," what pre-eminence of dignity soever hath been, either by the Ordinance, or through the special favour and providence of God annexed unto his Sanctuary, the principal cause thereof must needs be in regard of Common Prayer. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the gravest of the ancient Fathers seriously were persuaded, and do oftentimes plainly teach, affirming, that the House of Prayer is a Court, beautified with the presence of celestial powers; that there we stand, we pray, we sound forth hymns unto God, having his Angels intermingled as our associates; and that, with reference hereunto, the Apostle doth require so great care to be had of decency for the Angels' sake; how can we come to the House of Prayer, and not be moved with the very glory* of the place itself so to frame our affections praying, as doth best beseech them whose suits the Almighty doth there sit to hear, and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in

Of the
Form of
Com-
mon
Prayer.

Matt.
vi. 5, 6.

Matt.
xxi. 13.

Chry-
sost.
Hom.
xv. ad
Hebræ.
et xxiv.
in Act.

1 Cor.
xi. 10.

* "Power and beauty are in his sanctuary." Psal. xcvi. 6.

the minds of men, there needed no penal statutes to draw them unto public Prayer. The warning sound was no sooner heard, but the Churches were presently filled; the pavements covered with bodies prostrate, and washt with their tears of devout joy.* And as the Place of public Prayer is a circumstance in the outward form thereof, which hath moment to help devotion; so the Person much more, with whom the people of God do join themselves in this action, as with him that standeth and speaketh in the presence of God for them. The authority of his place, the fervour of his zeal, the piety and gravity of his whole behaviour, must needs exceedingly both grace and set forward the service he doth. The authority of his calling is a furtherance, because, if God have so far received him into favour, as to impose upon him by the hands of men that office of blessing the people in his name, and making intercession to him in theirs; which office he hath sanctified with his own most gracious promise, and ratified that promise by manifest actual performance thereof, when others before, in like place, have done the same, is not his very Ordination a seal as it were to us, that the self-same divine love which hath chosen the instrument to work with, will by that instrument effect the thing whereto he ordained it, in blessing his people, and accepting the Prayers which his servant offereth up unto God for them? It was in this respect a comfortable title which the ancient used to give unto God's Ministers, terming them usually "God's most beloved," which were ordained to procure by their Prayers, his love and favour towards all. Again, if there be not zeal and fervency in him which proposeth for the rest those suits and supplications which they by their joyful acclamations must ratify; if he praise not God with all his might; if he pour not out his soul in Prayer; if he take not their causes to heart, and speak not as Moses, Daniel, and Ezra did for their people; how should there be but in them frozen coldness, when his affections seem benumbed from whom theirs should take fire? Virtue and godliness of life are required at the hands of the Minister of God, not only in that he is to teach and instruct the people, who for the most part are rather led away by the ill example, than

Numb.
vi. 22, 27.
2 Chron.
xxx. 27.

Cod.
lib. 1.
tit. 3. de
Episc.
et Cler.
43, et 44,
saepe.

* "Ad domos statim Dominicas currimus, corpora humi sternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudiis supplicamus." Salvian. de Prov. lib. vi.

1 Tim.
ii. 8.
John
ix. 31.
Jer.
xi. 11.
Ezech.
viii. 18.

Psalm.
cxxxii. 9.

directed aright by the wholesome instruction, of them whose life swerveth from the rule of their own doctrine; but also much more in regard of this other part of his function; whether we respect the weakness of the people, apt to loathe and abhor the Sanctuary when they which perform the service thereof are such as the sons of Eli were; or else consider the inclination of God himself, who requireth the lifting up of pure hands in Prayer, and hath given the world plainly to understand, that the wicked, although they cry, shall not be heard. They are no fit supplicants to seek his mercy in behalf of others, whose own unrepented sins provoke his just indignation. Let thy Priests, therefore, O Lord, be evermore clothed with righteousness, that thy saints may thereby with more devotion rejoice and sing! But of all helps for due performance of this service, the greatest is that very set and standing Order itself, which, framed with common advice, hath both for matter and form prescribed whatsoever is herein publicly done. No doubt, from God it hath proceeded, and by us it must be acknowledged a work of his singular care and providence, that the Church hath evermore held a prescript Form of Common Prayer,* although not in all things every where the same, yet for the most part retaining still the same analogy.† So that, if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the world be compared amongst themselves, it may be easily perceived they had all one original mould; and that the public Prayers of the people of God in Churches thoroughly settled, did never use to be voluntary dictates proceeding from any man's extemporal wit.‡ To him which

* [The antiquity of prescribed Liturgies within several centuries after A. D. is elaborately disproved in "A Discourse concerning Liturgies; by David Clarkson," 1689, 12mo. pp. 198. He had been tutor to Archbishop Tillotson who succeeded him in his Fellowship, Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1651, and who always retained a high respect for Mr. C. "not merely because he was his tutor, but because he was a man of uncommon learning and abilities, and of great reading in Church History."—BIRCH's *Life of Tillotson*, 1752, and GRANGER's *Biog. Hist. of Eng.* 1769.]

† ["Among all Sects, you will very rarely find two Churches which exactly agree in the Rite of Prayer." SOCRATES, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. cap. 22. *Secul.* iv.]

‡ ["It will be easily granted by the Zealots for prescribed administrations, that there never was any Liturgy wherein there was not a Form for Consecration; since they think any part of a Liturgy may be more tolerably omitted than this; and those that officiate had better be left at liberty any where than here; and they will shew us such a Form in all Liturgies extant, modern or ancient, or pretended to be ancient; therefore they cannot reasonably deny, while there were no such Forms in writing, there were no such Liturgies, and so none in Basil's time . . . He tells us plainly, in the latter end of the fourth age, respecting the most solemn part of public worship, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναβαλεῖ τοῦ κροῦ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἀγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῶν κατα-

considereth the grievous and scandalous inconveniences whereunto they make themselves daily subject, with whom any blind and secret corner is judged a fit house of common Prayer; the manifold confusions which they fall into, where every man's private spirit and gift (as they term it) is the only Bishop that ordaineth him to this Ministry; the irksome deformities whereby, through endless and senseless effusions of indigested Prayers, they oftentimes disgrace in most unsufferable manner the worthiest part of Christian duty towards God, who herein are subject to no certain order, but pray both what and how they list; to him, I say, which weigheth duly all these things, the reasons cannot be obscure why God doth in public Prayer so much respect the solemnity of places where,* the authority and calling of persons by whom,† and the precise appointment even with what words or sentences his name should be called on amongst his people.‡

26. No man hath hitherto been so impious, as plainly and directly to condemn Prayer. The best stratagem that Satan hath, who knoweth his kingdom to be no one way more shaken than by the public devout Prayers of God's Church, is by traducing the form and manner of them to bring them into contempt, and so to shake the force of all men's devotion towards them. From this, and from no other forge, hath proceeded a strange conceit, that to serve God with any set Form of Common Prayers is superstitious. As though God himself did not frame to his Priests the very speech wherewith they were charged to bless the people; or as if our Lord, even of purpose to prevent this fancy of extemporal§ and voluntary Prayers, had not left us of his own framing one which might both remain as a part of the Church Liturgy, and serve as a pattern whereby to frame all other Prayers with efficacy, yet without superfluity of words.|| If Prayers were no otherwise accepted of God,

Of them which like not to have any set Form of Com-; mon Prayer.

Num. vi. 22.

ἀλόγιον thus rendered by Erasmus, Invocationis verba, cum conficitur panis Eucharistiae, et poculum benedictionis, quis Sanctorum in scripto nobis reliquit? Which of the holy men have left us in writing the words of a Prayer, at the consecration of the Eucharistical Bread, and the Cup of Blessing?"—CLARKSON, on *Lit.* p. 74 and 73.]

* 2 Chron. vi. 20.

† Joel ii. 17.

‡ 2 Chron. xxix. 30.

§ ["If it be a fault not to strive and labour after this Gift of Prayer, much more is it to jeer and despise it by the name of *ex tempore* prayer, and praying *by the Spirit*; which expressions as they are frequently used by some men by way of reproach, are for the most part a sign of a profane heart, and such as are altogether strangers from the power and comfort of this duty." *A Discourse concerning the Gift of Prayer: shewing what it is, and how far it is attainable by industry.* By Dr. WILKINS (*Bp. of Chester*). 1653. chap. ii.]

|| [If the Lord's Prayer be a Form, and to be used literally and prescriptively, rather than

than being conceived always new, according to the exigence of present occasions ; if it be right to judge him by our own bellies, and to imagine that he doth loathe to have the self-same supplications often iterated, even as we do to be every day fed without alteration or change of diet ; if Prayers be actions which ought to waste away themselves in the making ; if being made to remain that they may be resumed and used again as Prayers, they be but instruments of Superstition : surely we cannot excuse Moses, who gave such occasion of scandal to the world, by not being contented to praise the name of Almighty God according to the usual naked simplicity of God's Spirit for that admirable victory given them against Pharaoh, unless so dangerous a precedent were left for the casting of Prayers into certain poetical moulds, and for the framing of Prayers which might be repeated often, although they never had again the same occasions which brought them forth at the first. For that very Hymn of Moses grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Jewish Liturgy ; nor only that, but sundry other sithence invented. Their Books of Common Prayer contained partly hymns taken out of the Holy Scripture, partly benedictions, thanksgivings, supplications, penned by such as have been, from time to time, the governors of that Synagogue. These they sorted into their several times and places, some to begin the service of God with, and some to end, some to go before, and some to follow, and some to be interlaced between the divine Readings of the Law and Prophets. Unto their custom of finishing the Passover with certain Psalms, there is not any thing more probable than that the Holy Evangelist doth evidently allude, saying, That after the cup delivered by our Saviour unto his Apostles, they sung,* and went forth to the Mount of Olives.† As the Jews had their

as St. Matthew says "After this manner;" and that too notwithstanding the variation between his copy of the Prayer and St. Luke's ; it is just as authoritatively necessary for us to confine ourselves to that Prayer only, and also to St. Luke's copy of it introduced with our Saviour's command "When ye pray, say." But what is most particularly to be noticed in this matter is, that he gave his disciples no Form when he so solemnly and deliberately instructed them, John xvi. 24.]

* Matt. xxvi. 30. *ᾠμῶσιντες*, having sung the Psalms which were usual at that Feast, those Psalms which the Jews call the great Hallelujah, beginning at the 113th and continuing to the end of the 118th. See Paul Burgens. in Psal. cxlii. addit. 1. and Scaliger de Emendat. Tempor.

† ["Where have you in the whole New Testament, the Lord's Prayer only excepted, any Form of Public Prayer used in the Church described?" *Def. of the Answer to the Admon. &c.* by Dr. WHITGIFT, p. 501. And in the margin, "The Scripture hath not prescribed any Form of Public Prayer."—"For Reading the Scriptures, we can both shew precepts in Scripture for it, and also promises made to it : he that can shew but one precept for Reading Forms of Prayer, or one promise made to it, will then have said something.

Songs of Moses and David, and the rest; so the Church of Christ, from the very beginning, hath both used the same, and besides them other also of like nature, the Song of the Virgin Mary, the Song of Zachary, the Song of Simeon, such Hymns as the Apostle doth often speak of, saying, "I will pray and sing with the Spirit:" again, "in Psalms, Hymns, and Songs, making melody unto the Lord, and that heartily." Hymns and Psalms are such kinds of Prayer as are not wont to be conceived upon a sudden; but are framed by meditation beforehand, or else by prophetic illumination are inspired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God, by extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, inabled men to all parts of service necessary for the edifying of his Church.*

27. Now, albeit the Admonitioners did seem at the first, to allow no prescript Form of Prayer at all, but thought it the best that their Minister should always be left at liberty to pray as his own discretion did serve; yet because this opinion, upon better advice, they afterwards retracted, their defender and his associates have sithence proposed to the world a Form such as themselves like,† and, to shew their dislike of ours, have taken against it those exceptions, which whosoever doth measure by number, must needs be greatly out of love with a thing that hath so many faults: whosoever by weight, cannot choose but esteem very highly of that, wherein the wit of so scrupulous adversaries hath not hitherto observed any defect which themselves can seriously think to be of moment. "Gross errors, and manifest impiety," they grant we have "taken away." Yet many things in it they say are amiss; many instances they give of things in our Common Prayer, not agreeable, as they pretend, with the Word of God.‡ It hath in their eye

Of them
who al-
lowing
a set
Form of
Prayer,
yet
allow
not ours.

T. C.
lib. 1.
p. 131.

These precepts and promises are of that moment in the case, that they make Reading the Scriptures, on God's part, a sacred institution; on our part, a necessary duty; and, by reason of the promise, to be done 'in faith.' Let as much be said for Forms of Prayer, made by men in these days."—*A reasonable Account why some pious Nonconforming Ministers in England judge it sinful for them to perform their ministerial acts in public solemn Prayer, by the prescribed Forms of others.* (Attributed to Dr. JOHN COLLINGE.) 1679. 12mo. p. 60.]

* ["The inference is not good, from Forms of Hymns to Forms of Prayer; much less from arbitrary Forms of Hymns to prescribed Forms of Prayer, or Liturgies." "Nor will the inference hold, from prescribed Hymns to prescribed Liturgies; from a small part, for which there is a different reason, to the whole."—CLARKSON, *on Lit.* p. 177.]

† [See the following section.]

‡ "Whereas Mr. Doctor [Whitgift] affirmeth, that there can be nothing shewed in the whole book, which is not agreeable unto the Word of God; I am very loath," &c. "Notwithstanding my duty of defending the truth, and love which I have first towards God, and then towards

too great affinity with the Form of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which Churches elsewhere reformed allow and observe; our attire disgraceth it; it is not orderly read, nor gestured as beseemeth; it requireth nothing to be done which a child may not lawfully do; it hath a number of short cuts or shreddings, which may be better called wishes than Prayers; it intermingleth prayings and readings in such manner, as, if supplicants should use in proposing their suits unto mortal Princes, all the world would judge them mad; it is too long, and by that mean abridgeth Preaching; it appointeth the people to say after the Minister; it spendeth time in singing and in reading the Psalms by course, from side to side; it useth the Lord's Prayer too oft; the Songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, it might very well spare; it hath the Litany, the Creed of Athanasius, and *Gloria Patri*, which are superfluous; it craveth earthly things too much; for deliverance from those evils against which we pray it giveth no thanks; some things it asketh unseasonably, when they need not to be prayed for, as deliverance from thunder and tempest, when no danger is nigh; some in too abject and diffident manner, as that God would give us that which we for our unworthiness dare not ask; some which ought not to be desired, as the deliverance from sudden death, riddance from all adversity, and the extent of saving mercy towards all men. These, and such like, are the imperfections, whereby our Form of Common Prayer is thought to swerve from the Word of God. A great favourer of that part,* but yet (his error that way excepted) a learned, a painful, a right virtuous and a good man, did not fear sometime to undertake, against Popish detractors, the general maintenance and defence of our whole Church-service, as having in it nothing repugnant to the Word of God. And even they which would file away most from the largeness of that offer, do notwithstanding in more sparing terms acknowledge little less. For when those opposite judgments which never are wont to conster things doubtful to the better, those very tongues which are always prone to aggravate whatsoever

my country, constraineth me, being thus provoked, to speak a few words more particularly of the Form of Prayer, that when the blemishes thereof do appear, it may please the Queen's Majesty, and her honourable Council, with those of the Parliament," &c. T. C. lib. I. p. 135.

* [Dr. Fulke; he died in 1589.]

hath but the least shew whereby it may be suspected to savour of, or to sound towards, any evil, do by their own voluntary sentence clearly free us from "gross errors," and from "manifest impiety" herein; who would not judge us to be discharged of all blame, which are confest to have no great fault, even by their very word and testimony in whose eyes no fault of ours hath ever hitherto been accustomed to seem small? Nevertheless, what they seem to offer us with the one hand, the same with the other they pull back again. They grant we err not in palpable manner, we are not openly and notoriously impious: yet errors we have, which the sharp insight of their wisest men do espy; there is hidden impiety, which the profounder sort are able enough to disclose. Their skilful ears perceive certain harsh and unpleasant discords in the sound of our Common Prayer, such as the rules of divine harmony, such as the Laws of God, cannot bear.

28. Touching our conformity with the Church of Rome, as also of the difference between some reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath been already answered, may serve for answer to that exception which in these two respects they take particularly against the Form of our Common Prayer. To say, that in nothing they may be followed which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they do, in that they are men; in that they are wise men, and Christian men, some things; some things in that they are men misled and blinded with error. As far as they follow reason and truth, we fear not to tread the self-same steps wherein they have gone, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancienter and better, others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer and changing it for worse; we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defects resemble them whom we love. For although they profess they agree with us touching "a prescript Form of Prayer to be used in the Church;" yet in that very Form which they say is "agreeable to God's Word and the use of reformed Churches,"* they have by special protestation declared, that their meaning is not, it shall be prescribed as a thing whereunto they will tie their Minister. "It shall

The
Form of
our
Liturgy
too near
the
Papists;
too far
different
from
that of
other re-
formed
Churches,
as they
pretend.

T. C.
lib. 1.
p. 135.

* A book of the Form of Common Prayer tendered to the Parliament, p. 46.

not (they say) be necessary for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before-mentioned, but beginning with *some like* confession, to proceed to the Sermon; which ended, he *either* useth the Prayer for all estates before-mentioned, or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his heart." Herein, therefore, we hold it much better, with the Church of Rome, to appoint a prescript Form which every man shall be bound to observe, than with them, to set down a kind of Direction, a Form for men to use if they list, or otherwise to change as pleaseth themselves. Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly also considered, that public Prayer is a duty intire in itself, a duty requisite to be performed much oftner than Sermons can possibly be made. For which cause, as they, so we have likewise a public Form how to serve God both morning and evening, whether Sermons may be had or no. On the contrary side, their Form of reformed Prayer sheweth only what shall be

Page 23. done "upon the days appointed for the preaching of the

Page 24. Word;" with what words the Minister shall begin, "when the hour appointed for Sermon is come;" what shall be said or sung before "Sermon," and what after. So that, according to this Form of theirs, it must stand for a rule, No Sermon, no Service. Which oversight occasioned the French spitefully to term Religion, in that sort exercised, a mere Preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbear to rehearse, in consideration whereof we cannot be induced to prefer their reformed Form of Prayer before our own, what Church soever we resemble therein.

Attire
belong-
ing to
the ser-
vice of
God.

29. The Attire* which the Minister of God is by Order to use at times of divine Service, being but a matter of mere formality, yet such as for comeliness-sake hath hitherto been judged by the wiser sort of men not unnecessary to concur with other sensible notes betokening the different kind or quality of persons and actions whereto it is tied; as we think not ourselves the holier because we use it, so neither should they, with whom no such thing is in use, think us therefore unholy, because we submit ourselves

* "We think the Surplice especially unmeet for a Minister of the Gospel to wear." T. C. lib. i. p. 71. "It is easily seen, by Solomon, Eccles. ix. 8, that to wear a white garment was greatly esteemed in the East parts, and was ordinary to those that were in any estimation, as black with us, and therefore was no several apparel for the Ministers to execute their ministry in." p. 75.

unto that, which in a matter so indifferent, the wisdom of Authority and Law hath thought comely.* To solemn actions of Royalty and Justice, their suitable ornaments are a beauty. Are they only in Religion a stain? "Divine Religion," saith St. Jerome, (he speaketh of the priestly Attire of the Law), "hath one kind of habit wherein to minister before the Lord, another for ordinary uses belonging unto common life." Pelagius having carped at the curious neatness of men's apparel in those days, and through the sourness of his disposition spoken somewhat too hardly thereof, affirming, that the "glory of clothes and ornaments was a thing contrary to God and godliness;" St. Jerome, whose custom is not to pardon over easily his adversaries, if any where they chance to trip, presseth him, as thereby making all sorts of men in the world *God's enemies*: "Is it enmity with God (saith he) if I wear my coat somewhat handsome? If a Bishop, a Priest, a Deacon, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Order, come to administer the usual sacrifice in a white† garment,‡ are they hereby God's adversaries? Clerks, Monks, Widows, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwise seen, than in foul and ragged clothes. Not to speak any thing of secular men, which are proclaimed to have war with God, as oft as ever they put on precious and shining clothes." By which words of Jerome, we may take it at the least for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw Pelagius into hatred, as condemning, by so general a speech, even the neatness of that very garment itself, wherein the Clergy did then use to administer publicly the Holy Sacrament of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood: for that they did then use some such ornament, the words of Chrysostom give plain testimony, who, speaking to the Clergy of Antioch, telleth them, "that if they did suffer notorious malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord and not put them by, it would be as heavily revenged upon them, as if themselves had shed his blood; that for this purpose God had called

Hieron.
in xlv.
Eszech.

Hieron.
adver.
Pelag.
lib. i.
c. 9.

Chry-
ost.
ad
Popul.
Antioch.
tom. v.
Serm.
60.

* ["We marvel that they could espy in their last Synod, that a gray Amice, which is but a garment of dignity, should be a garment, as they say, *defiled with superstition*, and yet that copes, caps, surplices, tippetts, and such like baggage, the preaching signs of Popish priesthood, &c. should be retained still, and not abolished."—*Admonition*, Part II.]

† [Candida vestis. The learned are not agreed respecting the true import of this epithet; some maintaining it to be at this place, clean and costly, in opposition to "foul and ragged."]

‡ "By a white garment is meant a comely apparel, and not slovenly." T. C. lib. i. p. 77.

them to the rooms which they held in the Church of Christ; that this they should reckon was their *dignity*, this their *safety*, this their *whole crown and glory*; and therefore this they should carefully intend, and not, when the Sacrament is administered, imagine themselves called only *to walk up and down in a white and shining garment*." Now, whereas these speeches of Jerome and Chrysostom do seem plainly to allude unto such ministerial garments as were then in use; to this they answer, that by Jerome nothing can be gathered, but only that the Ministers came to Church in handsome holiday apparel, and that himself did not think them bound by the Law of God to go like slovens, but the weed which we mean he defendeth not; that Chrysostom meaneth indeed the same which we defend, but seemeth rather to reprehend than to allow it as we do.* Which answer wringeth out of Jerome and Chrysostom that which their words will not gladly yield. They both speak of the same persons (namely the Clergy), and of their weed at the same time when they administer the blessed Sacrament; and of the self-same kind of weed, a white garment, so far as we have wit to conceive; and for any thing we are able to see, their manner of speech is not such as doth argue either the thing itself to be different whereof they speak, or their judgments concerning it different; although the one do only maintain it against Pelagius, as a thing not therefore unlawful because it was fair or handsome, and the other make it a matter of small commendation in itself, if they which wear it do nothing else but wear the robes which their place requireth. The honesty, dignity, and estimation of white apparel in the Eastern part of the world, is a token of greater fitness for this sacred use, wherein it were not convenient that any thing basely thought of should be suffered. Notwithstanding, I am not bent to stand stiffly upon these probabilities, that in Jerome's and Chrysostom's time any such Attire was made several to this purpose.† Yet surely the words of Solomon are very impertinent to prove it an ornament, *therefore* not several for the Ministers to execute their ministry in,

* "It is true Chrysostom maketh mention of a white garment, but not in commendation of it, but rather to the contrary: for he sheweth that the dignity of the Ministry... was in taking heed that none unmeet were admitted to the Lord's Supper, not in going about the Church with a white garment." T. C. lib. i. p. 75.

† ["No certain evidence for the use of distinct Habits in the Apostolical age, or the two following." Subject of Book XIII. chap. viii. sec. 1, of BINGHAM's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*. Edit. Works, 1726.]

because men of credit and estimation wore their ordinary apparel white. For we know that when Solomon wrote those words, the several apparel for the Ministers of the Law to execute their ministry in, was such. The Wise man, ^{Eccles. xlv. 7.} which feared God from his heart, and honoured the service that was done unto him, could not mention so much as the garments of holiness, but with effectual signification of most singular reverence and love. Were it not better that the love which men bear to God should make the least things which are employed in his service amiable, than that their over-scrupulous dislike of so mean a thing as a vestment, should from the very service of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I term it the rather a mean thing, a thing not much to be respected, because even they so accompt now of it, whose first disputations against it were such as if Religion had scarcely any thing of greater weight. Their allegations were then, "That if a man were assured to gain ^{T. C. lib. i. p. 79.} a thousand by doing that which may offend any one brother, or be unto him a cause of falling, he ought not to do it;" that this "Popish apparel, the Surplice especially, hath ^{p. 71.} been by Papists abominably abused;" that it hath been "a ^{p. 75.} mark, and a very sacrament of abomination;" that remaining, it serveth as "a monument of Idolatry;" and not only ^{p. 72.} edifieth not, but, as a dangerous and scandalous Ceremony, doth exceeding much harm "to them of whose good we ^{T. C. lib. ii. p. 402.} are commanded to have regard;" that it causeth men "to perish, and make shipwreck of conscience;" for so themselves profess they mean, when they say the weak are offended herewith; that it "hardeneth Papists, hindereth ^{lib. i. p. 73.} the weak from profiting in the knowledge of the Gospel, grieveth godly minds, and giveth them occasion to think hardly of their Ministers;" that if the "Magistrate may ^{p. 73.} command, or the Church appoint" Rites and Ceremonies, yet seeing our "abstinence from things in their own nature ^{lib. ii. p. 402.} indifferent, if the weak brother should be offended, is a flat Commandment of the Holy Ghost, which no authority either of Church or Commonwealth can make void;" therefore, neither may the one nor the other lawfully "ordain this ^{lib. i. p. 74.} Ceremony, which hath great incommodity and no profit, great offence and no edifying;" that by the Law it should have been burnt and consumed with fire, as a thing infected with leprosy; that the example of Hezekiah beating to ^{p. 81.}

powder the Brazen Serpent, and of Paul abrogating those abused Feasts of charity, "enforceth upon us the duty of abolishing altogether" a thing which hath been and is so offensive; finally, that God by his Prophet hath given "an express Commandment," which in this case toucheth us no less than of old it did the Jews: "Ye shall pollute the covering of the images of silver, and the rich ornament of your images of gold, and cast them away as a stained rag; thou shalt say unto it, Get thee hence." These, and such like, were their first discourses touching that Church-attire, which with us for the most part is usual in public Prayer; our Ecclesiastical Laws so appointing, as well because it hath been of reasonable continuance, and by special choice was taken out of the number of those "holy garments," which (over and besides their mystical reference) served for comeliness* under the Law;† and is in the number of those Ceremonies, which may with choice and discretion be used to that purpose in the Church of Christ; as also for that it suiteth so fitly with that lightsome affection of joy, wherein God delighteth when his Saints praise him; and so lively resembleth the glory of the Saints in Heaven, together with the beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto men, that they which are to appear for men in the presence of God as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would choose any, could not easily devise a garment of more decency for such a service.‡ As for those fore-rehearsed

Psal.
cxlix. 2.
Apoc.
xv. 6.
Mar.
xvi. 5.

* Exod. xxviii. 2.

† Exod. xxxix. 27.

‡ [Here Hooker quits the ground of Expediency for that of Scripture, to shew that the Surplice is a Ceremony of comeliness, being selected from those Aaronical Garments which had their mystical reference, and therefore by implication it is not "indifferent." Might not the Puritans have replied—To what do these authorities amount? The first, in Exodus, says nothing of a loose white vest being peculiarly adapted "for glory and for beauty:" the second indeed describes part of the attire of Priests—"coats of fine linen;" ergo, white Surplices! Passing by 2 Chron. v. 12, we are next told how fitly this Ceremony suiteth "with that lightsome affection of joy wherein God delighteth." Yet why a white Surplice answers to this end, in any way, the Psalm mentioned affords no explanation; and, by the by, Hooker has omitted to describe what "affection" it suits with at Funerals! Rev. xv. 6, is a remarkable passage by which to commend "the glory of the Saints in Heaven;" that might have been exhibited by a more "lively resemblance" if chap. xix. 14, had been selected. The reference to Mark is not more to the point; for a white habit is as much the prerogative of all true Christians as of part of them: see Rev. iii. 18, explained by chap. xix. 8; of which, Hooker has taken no notice. We now see, that for any validity there is in Hooker's Scripture references to justify this Ceremony, Queen Elizabeth, by her *sic volo, sic jubeo*, the question resolving itself into that, might as lawfully and as consistently have commanded all her Christian Subjects to appear in white at Church and "resemble the glory of the Saints in Heaven," as that her Clergy only should be commanded so to appear. Bishop Aylmer examining Robert Cawdrey, Rector of South Luffenham, Feb. 1586-7, asks, "Are not *we* the Queen's servants? And is not the Surplice the livery which she hath appointed to be worn?"—Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, 1813. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 433.]

vehement allegations against it, shall we give them credit, when the very authors from whom they come confess they believe not their own sayings? For when once they began to perceive how many, both of them in the two Universities, and of others who abroad having Ecclesiastical charge, do favour mightily their cause and by all means set it forward, might, by persisting in the extremity of that opinion, hazard greatly their own estates, and so weaken that part which their places do now give them much opportunity to strengthen; they asked counsel, as it seemeth, from some abroad, who wisely considered that the body is of far more worth than the raiment. Whereupon, for fear of dangerous inconveniences, it hath been thought good to add, that sometimes authority "must and may with good conscience be obeyed, even where Commandment is not given upon good grounds;" that "the duty of Preaching is one of the absolute Commandments of God, and therefore ought not to be forsaken for the bare inconvenience of a thing, which in the* own nature is indifferent;" that "one of the foulest spots in the Surplice, is the offence which it giveth in occasioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be confirmed in their wickedness;" yet hereby there is no unlawfulness proved, but only an inconveniency that such things should be established, howbeit no such inconveniency neither as may not be borne with; that when God doth flatly command us to abstain from things in their own nature indifferent, if they offend our weak brethren, his meaning is not we should obey his commandment herein, unless we may do it, "and not leave undone that which the Lord hath absolutely commanded." Always provided, that whosoever will enjoy the benefit of this dispensation, to wear a scandalous badge of Idolatry rather than forsake his pastoral charge, do as occasion serveth teach nevertheless, still, the incommodity of the thing itself, "admonish the weak brethren that they be not, and pray unto God so to strengthen them that they may not be, offended thereat." So that whereas before, they which had authority to institute Rites and Ceremonies were denied to have power to institute this, it is now confest, that this they may also *lawfully*, but not so *conveniently* appoint; they did well before, and as they ought, who had it in utter detestation and hatred, as a thing abominable; they

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 74.
et lib. iii.
p. 250.

Index,
lib. iii.
c. 8.

lib. iii.
p. 26.

p. 252.

lib. iii.
p. 263.

p. 262.

now do well, which think it may be both borne and used with a very good conscience; before, he which by wearing it were sure to win thousands unto Christ, ought not to do it, if there were but one which might be offended; now, though it be with the offence of thousands, yet it may be done, rather than that should be given over whereby notwithstanding we are not certain we shall gain one: the examples of Hezekiah and of Paul, the charge which was given to the Jews by Isaiah, the strict Apostolical prohibition of things indifferent whensoever they may be scandalous, were before so forcible Laws against our Ecclesiastical Attire, as neither Church nor Commonwealth could possibly make void; which now one of far less authority than either, hath found how to frustrate, by dispensing with the breach of inferior Commandments, to the end that the greater may be kept.* But it booteth them not thus so solder up a broken cause, whereof their first and last discourses will fall asunder, do what they can. Let them ingenuously confess that their invectives were too bitter, their arguments too weak, the matter not so dangerous as they did imagine. If those alleged testimonies of Scripture did indeed concern the matter to such effect as was pretended, that which they should infer were unlawfulness, because they were cited as prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concern. If they prove not our Attire unlawful, because in truth they concern it not, it followeth, that they prove not any thing against it, and consequently not so much as uncomeliness or inconveniency. Unless, therefore, they be able thoroughly to resolve themselves, that there is no one sentence in all the Scriptures of God which doth control the wearing of it in such manner, and to such purpose, as the Church of England alloweth; unless they can fully rest and settle their minds in this most sound persuasion, that they are not to make themselves the only competent judges of decency in these cases, and to despise the solemn judgment of the whole Church, preferring before it their own conceit, grounded only upon uncertain suspicions and fears whereof if there were at the first some probable cause, when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath itself worn that out also; unless, I say, thus resolved in mind,

* ["Even in this matter of Apparel it is confessed that obedience ought to be given, where the commandment is with injury to the Ministry." T. C. lib. ii. p. 403.]

they hold their pastoral charge with the comfort of a good conscience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing that which they think themselves bound of duty to reprove, how should it possibly help or further them in their course, to take such occasions as they say are requisite to be taken, and in pensive manner to tell their audience, “ Brethren, our hearts’ desire is, that we might enjoy the full liberty of the Gospel, as in other reformed Churches they do elsewhere, upon whom the heavy hand of authority hath imposed no grievous burthen. But such is the misery of these our days, that so great happiness we cannot look to attain unto. Were it so, that the equity of the Law of Moses could prevail; or the zeal of Hezekiah be found in the hearts of those guides and governors under whom we live; or the voice of God’s own Prophets be duly heard; or the example of the Apostles of Christ be followed; yea, or their precepts be answered with full and perfect obedience; these abominable rags, polluted garments, marks and sacraments of Idolatry, which power, as you see, constraineth us to wear, and conscience to abhor, had long ere this day been removed both out of sight and out of memory. But as now things stand, behold to what narrow straits we are driven: on the one side we fear the words of our Saviour Christ, ‘ Wo be to them by whom scandal and offence cometh;’ on the other side, at the Apostle’s speech we cannot but quake and tremble, ‘ If I preach not the Gospel, wo be unto me.’ Being thus hardly beset, we see not any other remedy, but to hazard your souls the one way, that we may the other way endeavour to save them. Touching the offence of the weak, therefore, we must adventure it. If they perish, they perish. Our pastoral charge is God’s absolute commandment. Rather than that shall be taken from us, we are resolved to take this filth and to put it on, although we judge it to be so unfit and inconvenient, that as oft as ever we pray or preach so arrayed before you, we do as much as in us lieth, to cast away your souls that are weak-minded, and to bring you unto endless perdition. But we beseech you, brethren, have care of your own safety, take heed to your steps, that ye be not taken in those snares which we lay before you. And our prayer in your behalf to Almighty God is, that the poison which we offer you, may never have the power to do you harm.” Advice and counsel is best sought for at

their hands which either have no part at all in the cause whereof they instruct; or else are so far engaged, that themselves are to bear the greatest adventure in the success of their own counsels. The one of which two considerations maketh men the less respective, and the other, the more circumspect. Those good and learned men which gave the first direction to this course, had reason to wish that their own proceedings at home might be favoured abroad also, and that the good affection of such as inclined towards them might be kept alive. But, if themselves had gone under those sails which they require to be hoisted up, if they had been themselves to execute their own theory in this Church, I doubt not but easily they would have seen, being nearer at hand, that the way was not good which they took of advising men, first to wear the apparel that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then of requiring them so to preach as they might be sure they could not continue, except that they imagine Laws which permit them not to do as they would, will endure them to speak as they list even against that which themselves do by constraint of Laws; they would have easily seen, that our people being accustomed to think evermore that thing evil which is publicly under any pretence reprov'd, and the men themselves worse which reprove it and use it too, it should be to little purpose for them to salve the wound by making protestations in disgrace of their own actions, with plain acknowledgment that they are scandalous, or by using fair entreaty with the weak brethren; they would easily have seen how with us it cannot be endured to hear a man openly profess that he putteth fire to his neighbour's house, but yet so halloweth the same with prayer that he hopeth it shall not burn. It had been, therefore, perhaps safer and better for ours to have observed St. Basil's advice, both in this and in all things of like nature; "Let him which approveth not his governors' ordinances, either plainly (but privately always) shew his dislike if he have λόγον ισχυρόν, strong and invincible reason against them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture; or else let him quietly with silence do what is enjoined." Obedience with profest unwillingness to obey, is no better than manifest disobedience.*

Basil.
Ascet.
Respons.
ad inter.
47.

* ["If the Prince upon declaration of the inconvenience of such Ceremonies, and humble suit for the release of them, will loose nothing of the cord of this servitude; for my part

30. Having thus disputed whether the Surplice be a fit garment to be used in the Service of God, the next question whereunto we are drawn is, whether it be a thing allowable or no that the Minister should say Service in the Chancel, or turn his face at any time from the people, or before Service ended remove from the place where it was begun? By them which trouble us with these doubts, we would more willingly be resolved of a greater doubt; whether it be not a kind of taking God's name in vain to debase Religion with such frivolous disputes, a sin to bestow time and labour about them? Things of so mean regard and quality, although necessary to be ordered, are notwithstanding very unsavoury when they come to be disputed of; because disputation presupposeth some difficulty in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they must be either very simple or very froward who need to be taught by disputation what is meet. When we make profession of our Faith, we stand; when we acknowledge our sins, or seek unto God for favour, we fall down: because the gesture of constancy becometh us best in the one, in the other the behaviour of humility. Some parts of our Liturgy consist in the reading of the Word of God, and the proclaiming of his Law, that the people may thereby learn what their duties are towards him; some consist in words of praise and thanksgiving, whereby we acknowledge unto God what his blessings are towards us; some are such as albeit they serve to singular good purpose, even when there is no Communion administered, nevertheless, being devised at the first for that purpose, are at the Table of the Lord for that cause also commonly read; some are uttered as from the people, some as with them unto God, some as from God unto

Or gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose: T. C. lib. i. p. 131.

I see no better way, than with admonition of the weak that they be not offended, and prayer to God to strengthen them thereunto, to keep in the course of feeding the flock committed unto us. This is, in few words, my simple judgment of the matter of this Apparel and such like Ceremonies, peradventure needful to be here propounded; not so much for their sakes which mislike it, which I suppose for the most part to be of that judgment, as for them which are borne in hand, that there is no other cause why the Ministers have left their flocks than for that they would not wear this Apparel. Wherein, beside other matters of far greater weight, even in this case of Ceremonies, the yoke which is laid upon their necks is not only to use them, but to subscribe unto them, as unto good and convenient Orders; where it is not only not lawful to subscribe them, but requisite that the Minister should as occasion serveth teach the incommmodity of them. And although I can remember nothing in either of my books contrary unto this judgment; yet if there be any thing that may be drawn against it, it is meet that it fall, that the truth may have the upper hand; unless a better judgment than this can be shewed, which I will willingly learn at his feet that can teach it." T. C. lib. iii. p. 263.]

them, all as before his sight whom we fear, and whose presence to offend with any the least unseemliness we would be surely as loath as they who most reprehend or deride that we do. Now, because the Gospels which are weekly read, do all historically declare something which our Lord Jesus Christ himself either spake, did, or suffered, in his own person, it hath been the custom of Christian men then especially, in token of the greater reverence, to stand, to utter certain words of acclamation, and at the name of Jesus to bow: which harmless Ceremonies, as there is *no man constrained to use*;* so we know no reason wherefore any man should yet imagine it an unsufferable evil.† It sheweth a reverend regard to the Son of God above other messengers, although speaking as from God also. And against Infidels, Jews, Arians, who derogate from the honour of Jesus Christ, such Ceremonies are most profitable. As for any erroneous "estimation," advancing the Son above the Father and the Holy Ghost, seeing that the truth of his equality with them is a mystery so hard for the wits of mortal men to rise unto, of all heresies that which may give him superiority above them is least to be feared. But to let go this as a matter scarce worth the speaking of, whereas if fault be in these things any where justly found, Law hath referred the whole disposition and redress thereof to the Ordinary of the place; they which elsewhere complain that disgrace and "injury" is offered even to the meanest Parish Minister, when the Magistrate appointeth him what to wear, and leaveth not so small a matter as that to his own discretion, being presumed a man discreet and trusted with the care of the people's souls, do think the gravest Prelates in the land no competent judges to discern and appoint where it is fit for the Minister to stand, or which way convenient to look

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 202.

Mark
xii. 6.

T. C.
lib. iii.
p. 215.

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 74.

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 134.
lib. iii.
p. 187.

* [" " Whosoever the Name of Jesus shall be in any Lesson, Sermon, or otherwise pronounced in the church (it is enjoined) that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowliness of courtesy, and uncovering of the heads of the menkind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed.' So here is necessity laid upon it, and custom for it, and both expressed by Authority." Abp. LAUD, quoting Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559, num. 52, in *A Speech in the Star-Chamber*, June 14, 1637, 4to. p. 31. "When in time of Divine Service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due, and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as hath been accustomed." *Canon xviii. 1603.*]

† [The then practice is thus described in the Admonition, quoted by Dr. Whitgift in *Ans.* p. 204, "When Jesus is named, then off goeth the cap, and down go the knees, with such a scraping on the ground that they cannot hear a good while after."]

praying. From their Ordinary, therefore, they appeal to themselves, finding great fault that we neither reform the thing against the which they have so long sithence given sentence, nor yet make answer unto that they bring, which is, that St. Luke, declaring how "Peter stood up in the midst of the Disciples," did thereby deliver "an unchangeable rule," that whatsoever is done in the Church "ought to be done" in the midst of the Church; and therefore not Baptism to be administered in one place, Marriage solemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord received in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fifth Prayers to be made; that the custom which we use is Levitical, absurd, and such as hindereth the understanding of the people; that if it be meet for the Minister at some time to look towards the people, if the body of the Church be a fit place for some part of divine Service, it must needs follow, that whensoever his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other where, it hath absurdity. All these reasons, they say, have been brought, and were hitherto never answered;* besides a number of merriments and jests, unanswered likewise, wherewith they have pleasantly moved much laughter at our manner of serving God. Such is their evil hap to play upon dull-spirited men. We are still persuaded, that a bare denial is answer sufficient to things which mere fancy objecteth; and that the best apology to words of scorn and petulancy, is Isaac's apology to his brother Ishmael, the apology which patience and silence maketh. Our answer, therefore, to their reasons, is, No; to their scoffs, Nothing.†

31. When they object that our Book requireth nothing to be done, which a child may not do as "lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the Book contenteth itself,"‡

Acts
i. 13.

T.C.
lib. i.
p. 124.
lib. iii.
p. 187.

Easiness
of pray-
ing after
our
Form.

* ["To all these reasons he (Dr. W.) answereth nothing worth the naming. But the sum of his defence is, that the Bishop hath power to order it to the most edification." T. C. lib. iii. p. 186.]

† ["Then CEREMONY leads her bigots forth,
Prepared to fight for shadows of no worth;
While Truths, on which eternal things depend,
Find not, or hardly find, a single friend:
As soldiers watch the signal of command,
They learn to bow, to kneel, to sit, to stand;
Happy to fill religion's vacant place
With hollow form, and gesture, and grimace."

Poems by W. COWPER, Esq.—*Expostulation*, l. 115—122.]

‡ "Another fault in the whole Service or Liturgy of England is, for that it maintaineth an unpreaching Ministry, ... in requiring nothing to be done by the Minister, which a child of ten

is it their meaning, that the Service of God ought to be a matter of great difficulty, a labour which requireth great learning and deep skill, or else that the Book containing it should teach what men are fit to attend upon it, and forbid either men unlearned, or children, to be admitted thereunto? In setting down the Form of Common Prayer, there was no need that the Book should mention either the learning of a fit, or the unfitness of an ignorant Minister, more than that he which describeth the manner how to pitch a field, should speak of moderation and sobriety in diet. And concerning the duty itself, although the hardness thereof be not such as needeth much art, yet surely they seem to be very far carried besides themselves, to whom the dignity of public Prayer doth not discover somewhat more fitness in men of gravity and ripe discretion, than in "children of ten years of age," for the decent discharge and performance of that office. It cannot be that they who speak thus, should thus judge. At the board and in private it very well becometh children's innocency to pray, and their elders to say Amen. Which being a part of their virtuous education, serveth greatly both to nourish in them the fear of God, and to put us in continual remembrance of that powerful grace which openeth the mouths of infants to sound his praise. But public Prayer, the Service of God in the solemn Assembly of Saints, is a work, though easy, yet withal so weighty and of such respect, that the great facility thereof is but a slender argument to prove it may be as well and as lawfully committed to children as to men of years, howsoever their ability of learning be but only to do that in decent order wherewith the Book contenteth itself. The Book requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what should any prescript Form of Prayer framed to the Minister's hand require, but only so to be read as behoveth? We know that there are in the world certain voluntary overseers of all books, whose censure, in this respect, would fall as sharp on us as it hath done on many others, if delivering but a Form of Prayer, we should either express or include any thing more than doth properly concern Prayer. The Minister's greatness or meanness of knowledge to do other things, his aptness or insufficiency

otherwise than by reading to instruct the Flock, standeth in this place as a stranger with whom our Form of Common Prayer hath nothing to do. Wherein their exception against easiness, as if that did nourish ignorance, proceedeth altogether of a needless jealousy. I have often heard it inquired of by many, how it might be brought to pass, that the Church should every where have able Preachers to instruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it, and which were the speediest way to remove them. In which consultations, the multitude of Parishes, the paucity of Schools, the manifold discouragements which are offered unto men's inclinations that way, the penury of the Ecclesiastical estate, the irrecoverable loss of so many Livings of principal value clean taken away from the Church long aithence by being appropriated, the daily bruises that Spiritual Promotions use to take by often falling,* the want of somewhat in certain Statutes which concern the state of the Church, the too great facility of many Bishops, the stony hardness of too many Patrons' hearts not touched with any feeling in this case: such things oftentimes are debated, and much thought upon by them that enter into any discourse concerning defect of knowledge in the Clergy. But whosoever be found guilty, the Communion-Book hath surely deserved least to be called in question for this fault. If all the Clergy were as learned as themselves are that most complain of ignorance in others, yet our Book of Prayer might remain the same; and remaining the same it is, I see not how it can be a let unto any man's skill in Preaching: which thing we acknowledge to be God's good gift, howbeit no such necessary element, that every act of Religion should be thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not somewhat exacted that none can discharge but an able Preacher.†

32. Two faults there are which our Lord and Saviour himself especially reprov'd in Prayer: the one, when Ostentation did cause it to be open; the other, when Superstition made it long. As, therefore, Prayers the one way are faulty, not whensoever they be openly made, but when hypocrisy is the cause of open praying; so the length of Prayer is likewise

The
length of
our Ser-
vice :
T. C.
lib. i.
p. 133, et
lib. iii.
p. 184.

* [See Sect. 79. Note from *A Christian Letter*, p. 35.]

† [“ Although it might be granted, that they may appoint some godly, grave man, which can do nothing else but read, to be a Reader in the Church; yet that may not be granted, that they may make of one that can do nothing but read, a Minister of the Gospel, or one which may have power to minister the Sacraments.” T. C. lib. i. p. 133.]

Aug.
Ep. 121.

Luke
vi. 12.
Matt.
vi. 7.

a fault, howbeit not simply, but where Error and Superstition causeth more than convenient repetition or continuation of speech to be used. It is not, as some do imagine (saith St. Augustine), that long praying is that fault of much speaking in Prayer which our Saviour did reprove; for then would not he himself in Prayer have continued whole nights. "Use in Prayer no vain superfluity of words, as the Heathens do, for they imagine that their much speaking will cause them to be heard:" whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is, how virtuous their minds are, and not how copious their tongues in Prayer; how well they think, and not how long they talk, who come to present their supplications before him. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as in public Prayer we are not only to consider what is needful in respect of God, but there is also in men that which we must regard; we somewhat the rather incline to length, lest over-quick dispatch of a duty so important, should give the world occasion to deem that the thing itself is but little accompted of, wherein but little time is bestowed. Length therefore is a thing which the gravity and weight of such actions doth require. Besides, this benefit also it hath, that they whom earnest lets and impediments do often hinder from being partakers of the whole, have yet, through the length of divine Service, opportunity left them, at the least, for access unto some reasonable part thereof. Again, it should be considered, how it doth come to pass that we are so long. For, if that very Service of God in the Jewish Synagogues, which our Lord did approve and sanctify with the presence of his own person, had so large portions of the Law and the Prophets together with so many Prayers and Psalms read day by day, as equal in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that respect was never thought to deserve blame, is it now an offence that the like measure of time is bestowed in the like manner? Peradventure the Church hath not now the leisure which it had then, or else those things whereupon so much time was then well spent, have sithence that lost their dignity and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets, and Psalms, be a part of the Service of God as needful under Christ as before, and the adding of the New Testament as profitable as the ordaining of the Old to be read; if therewith, instead of Jewish Prayers, it be also for the good of the Church to annex that variety which the Apostle doth commend; seeing

1 Tim.
ii. 1.

that the time which we spend is no more than the orderly performance of these things necessarily requireth, why are we thought to exceed in length? Words, be they never so few, are too many when they benefit not the hearer. But he which speaketh no more than edifieth, is undeservedly reprehended for much speaking. That as "the Devil under colour of long Prayer drave Preaching out of the Church" heretofore, so we "in appointing so long time of Prayers and Reading, whereby the less can be spent in Preaching, maintain an unpreaching Ministry," is neither advisedly nor truly spoken. They reprove long Prayer, and yet acknowledge it to be in itself a thing commendable: for so it must needs be, if the Devil have used it as a "colour" to hide his malicious practices.* When malice would work that which is evil, and in working avoid the suspicion of any evil intent, the colour wherewith it overcasteth itself is always a fair and plausible pretence of seeking to further that which is good. So that if we both retain that good which Satan hath pretended to seek, and avoid the evil which his purpose was to effect, have we not better prevented his malice, than if, as he hath under colour of long Prayer driven Preaching out of the Church, so we should take the quarrel of Sermons in hand, and revenge their cause by requital, thrusting Prayer in a manner out of doors under colour of long Preaching? In case our Prayers being made at their full length did necessarily enforce Sermons to be the shorter, yet neither were this to uphold and maintain an "unpreaching" Ministry, unless we will say that those ancient Fathers, Chrysostom, Augustine, Leo, and the rest, whose Homilies in that consideration were shorter for the most part than our Sermons are, did then not preach when their speeches were not long. The necessity of shortness causeth men to cut off impertinent discourses, and to comprise much matter in few words. But neither doth it maintain inability, nor at all prevent opportunity of Preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpose. "An hour and a half" is, they say, in reformed Churches "ordinarily" thought reasonable "for their whole Liturgy or Service." Do we then continue, as Ezra did, in reading the Law from morning till mid-day? or, as the

T. C.
lib. iii.
p. 184.

T. C.
lib. iii.
p. 185.]
Neh.
viii. 3.

* [The Devil tempted Christ under *colour* of seeing proof of his Divine power; therefore, to tempt as the Devil did is a thing commendable! "Say, Is it Homer nods, or we that dream?"]

Acts
xx. 9.

Apostle St. Paul did, in Prayer and Preaching, till men through weariness be taken up dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make such complaint is but this, that if our whole Form of Prayer be read, and besides an hour allowed for a Sermon, we spend ordinarily in both more time than they do by half an hour.* Which half-hour being such a matter as the "age of some, and infirmity of other some," are not able to "bear;" if we have any sense of the "common imbecility," if any care to preserve men's wits from being broken with the very "bent" of so long attention, if any love or desire to provide that things most holy be not with hazard of men's souls abhorred and "loathed," this half-hour's tediousness must be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greatest part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedy will serve to help so dangerous an inconvenience.

Instead
of such
Prayers
as the
primitive
Churches
have
used, and
those that
be re-
formed
now use;
we have
(they
say)
divers
short
cuts or
shred-
dings,
rather
wishes
than
Prayers:
T. C.
lib. i.
p. 138, et
lib. iii.
p. 210,
241.

33. The brethren in Egypt (saith St. Augustine, Epist. 121.) are reported to have many Prayers, but every of them very short, as if they were darts thrown out with a kind of sudden quickness, lest that vigilant and erect attention of mind which in Prayer is very necessary, should be wasted or dulled through continuance, if their Prayers were few and long. But that which St. Augustine doth allow, they condemn. Those Prayers whereunto devout minds have added a piercing kind of brevity, as well in that respect which we have already mentioned, as also thereby the better to express that quick and speedy expedition wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of Prayer, are delighted to present our suits in Heaven, even sooner than our tongues can devise to utter them; they in their mood of contradiction spare not openly to deride, and that with so base terms as do very ill besee men of their gravity. Such speeches are scandalous, they savour not of God in him that useth them, and unto virtuously disposed minds they are grievous corrosives. Our case were miserable, if that wherewith we most endeavour to please God were in his sight so vile and despicable, as men's disdainful speech would make it.

Lessons
inter-
mingled

34. Again, forasmuch as effectual Prayer is joined with a vehement intention of the inferior powers of the soul, which

* ["He (Dr. W.) asketh, whether we can spend an hour better than in praying and hearing the Scripture read? I answer, that if with that hour he allow another for the sermon, the time will be longer than the age of some and infirmities of other some, can ordinarily well bear; whereunto also, if another hour, at the least, be added for the celebration of the holy communion, he may see, that either the preaching must be abridged, or not due regard had of men's infirmities." T. C. lib. iii. p. 184.]

cannot therein long continue without pain, it hath been ^{with our Prayers.} therefore thought good so by turns to interpose still somewhat for the higher part of the mind, the understanding, to work upon, that both being kept in continual exercise with variety, neither might feel any great weariness, and yet each be a spur to the other. For Prayer kindleth our desire to behold God by speculation; and the mind, delighted with that contemplative sight of God, taketh every where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the mysteries of Heavenly Wisdom continually stirring up in us correspondent desires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due sort, is thereby made the more attentive to hear, and he which heareth, the more earnest to pray, for the time which we bestow as well in the one as the other. But for what cause soever we do it, this intermingling of Lessons with Prayers is, in their taste a thing as unsavoury, and as unseemly in their sight, as if the like should be done in suits and supplications before some mighty Princee of the world.* Our speech to worldly superiors we frame in such sort as serveth best to inform and persuade the minds of them who otherwise neither could nor would greatly regard our necessities: whereas, because we know that God is indeed a King, but a *great* King, who under-standeth all things beforehand, which no other King besides doth, a King which needeth not to be informed what we lack, a King readier to grant than we to make our requests; therefore in Prayer we do not so much respect what precepts art delivereth, touching the method of persuasive utterance in the presence of great men, as what doth most avail to our own edification in piety and godly zeal. If they on the contrary side do think, that the same rules of decency which serve for things done unto terrene powers, should universally decide what is fit in the service of God; if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxim, that the Church must deliver her public Supplications unto God in no other form of speech than such as were decent, if suit should be made to the great

* "We have no such forms in Scripture as that we should pray in two or three lines, and then after having read awhile some other thing, come and pray as much more, and so to the twentieth and thirtieth time, with pauses between. If a man should come to a Prince, and . . . having very many things to demand, after he had demanded one thing would stay a long time, and then demand another, and so the third; the Prince might well think, that either he came to ask before he knew what he had need of, or that he had forgotten some piece of his suit, or that he were distracted in his understanding, or some other such like cause of the disorder of his supplication." T. C. lib. i. p. 133. "[Himself (Dr. W. *Def. of Ans.* p. 493.) hath used] this kind of reason, [and] the Prophet in the matter of sacrifices doth use" [the same, Mal. i. 8, 14.] T. C. lib. iii. p. 210.

Turk, or some other Monarch, let them apply their own rule unto their own Form of Common Prayer.* Suppose that the people of a whole town, with some chosen man before them, did continually, twice or thrice in a week, resort to their King, and every time they come, first acknowledge themselves guilty of rebellions and treasons, then sing a song, after that explain some Statute of the land to the standers-by, and therein spend, at the least, an hour; this done, turn themselves again to the King, and for every sort of his subjects crave somewhat of him; at the length sing him another song, and so take their leave: might not the King well think, that either they knew not what they would have, or else that they were distracted in mind, or some other such like cause of the disorder of their supplication? This form of suing unto Kings were absurd: this form of praying unto God they allow. When God was served with legal sacrifices, such was the miserable and wretched disposition of some men's minds, that the best of every thing they had being culled out for themselves, if there were in their flocks any poor, starved, or diseased thing, not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the altar of God, pretending (as wise hypocrites do, when they rob God to enrich themselves) that the fatness of calves doth benefit him nothing; to us the best things are most profitable, to him all as one if the mind of the offerer be good, which is the only thing he respecteth. In reproof of which their devout fraud, the Prophet Malachi allegeth, that gifts are offered unto God, not as supplies of his want indeed,† but yet as testimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honour his greatness. For which cause, sith the greater they are whom we honour, the more regard we have to the quality and choice of those presents which we bring them for honour's sake; it must needs follow, that if we dare not disgrace our worldly superiors with offering unto them such refuse as we bring unto God himself, we shew plainly, that our acknowledgment of his greatness is but feigned; in heart we fear him not so much as we dread them. “If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy Prince;

Mal. i.
8, 14.

* [See Sect. 28, Note, p. 95.]

† Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἐκδοτοῖς τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δῶρόν ἐστι κτήματος δόσις καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἔχει ὄν δέονται. Καὶ γὰρ κτήμα ἐστὶν οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Arist. Rhet. lib. i. c. 5.

will he be content, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of Hosts." "Cursed be the deceiver which hath in his flock a male, and having made a vow, sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing: for I am a great King, saith the Lord of Hosts." Should we hereupon frame a rule, that what form of speech or behaviour soever is fit for suitors in a Prince's court, the same, and no other, beseemeth us in our Prayers to Almighty God? :

35. But in vain we labour to persuade them that any thing can take away the tediousness of Prayer, except it be brought to the very same both measure and form which themselves assign. Whatsoever, therefore, our Liturgy hath more than theirs, under one devised pretence or other they cut it off. We have of Prayers for earthly things, in their opinion, too great a number;* so oft to rehearse the Lord's Prayer in so small a time is, as they think, a loss of time;† the people's praying after the Minister, they say, both wasteth time and also maketh an unpleasant sound; the Psalms they would not have to be made (as they are) a part of our Common Prayer, nor to be sung or said by turns, nor such music to be used with them; those evangelical Hymns they allow not to stand in our Liturgy; the Litany, the Creed of Athanasius, the Sentence of Glory wherewith we use to conclude Psalms, these things they cancel, as having been instituted in regard of occasions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now superfluous. Touching Prayers for things earthly, we ought not to think that the Church hath set down so many of them without cause. They, peradventure, which find this fault, are of the same affection with Solomon; so that, if God should offer to grant them whatsoever they ask, they would neither crave riches, nor length of days, nor yet victory over their enemies; but only an understanding heart; for which cause themselves having eagles'

The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.

[2Chron. i. 10.]

* "I can make no geometrical and exact measure, but verily I believe there shall be found more than a third part of the Prayers, which are not Psalms and Texts of Scripture, spent in praying for and praying against the (commodities and) incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the arguments or contents of the Prayers of the Church set down in the Scripture, and especially of our Saviour Christ's Prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed." T. C. lib. i. p. 136.

† "What a reason is this, we must repeat the Lord's Prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in half an hour, and one in the neck of another! . . . Our Saviour Christ doth not there give a prescript Form of Prayer whereunto he bindeth us: but giveth us a rule and square to frame all our Prayers by. I know it is necessary to pray, and pray often. I know also that in so few words it is impossible for any man to frame so pithy a Prayer, and I confess that the Church doth well in concluding their Prayers with the Lord's Prayer: but I stand upon this, that there is no necessity laid upon us to use these very words, and no more." T. C. lib. i. p. 219.

wings, are offended to see others fly so near the ground. But the tender kindness of the Church of God it very well beseemeth to help the weaker sort, which are by so great odds mo [more] in number, although some few of the perfecter and stronger may be therewith for a time displeased. Ignorant we are not, that of such as resorted to our Saviour Christ being present on earth, there came not any unto him with better success for the benefit of their souls' everlasting happiness, than they whose bodily necessities gave them the first occasion to seek relief, where they saw willingness and ability of doing every way good unto all. The graces of the Spirit are much more precious than worldly benefits; our ghostly evils of greater importance than any harm which the body feeleth. Therefore, our desires to Heaven-ward should both in measure and number no less exceed, than their glorious object doth every way excel in value. These things are true and plain in the eye of a perfect judgment. But yet it must be withal considered, that the greatest part of the world are they which be farthest from perfection. Such being better able by sense to discern the wants of this present life, than by spiritual capacity to apprehend things above sense which tend to their happiness in the world to come, are in that respect the more apt to apply their minds, even with hearty affection and zeal at the least, unto those branches of public Prayer wherein their own particular is moved. And by this mean there stealeth upon them a double benefit: first, because that good affection, which things of smaller accompt have once set on work, is by so much the more easily raised higher; and, secondly, in that the very custom of seeking so particular aid and relief at the hands of God, doth by a secret contradiction withdraw them from endeavouring to help themselves by those wicked shifts which they know can never have his allowance whose assistance their Prayer seeketh. These multiplied petitions of worldly things in Prayer have, therefore, besides their direct use, a service, whereby the Church underhand, through a kind of heavenly fraud, taketh therewith the souls of men as with certain baits.* If then their calculation be true (for so they

* [The doctrine here seems to be, that the greater number being actuated more by sense than mind, to operate on the sense is what the Church may successfully and justifiably attempt, Is not this the very position of the Papists concerning Images? It makes no difference

reckon), that a full third of our Prayers be allotted unto earthly benefits, for which our Saviour in his platform hath appointed but one petition amongst seven, the difference is without any great disagreement; we respecting what men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection; our Lord contrariwise proposing the most absolute proportion that can be in men's desires, the very highest mark whereat we are able to aim. For which cause also our custom is both to place it in the front of our Prayers as a guide,* and to add it in the end of some principal limbs or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatsoever may be defective in the rest. Twice we rehearse it ordinarily, and oft'ner as occasion requireth more solemnity or length in the Form of divine Service; not mistrusting, till these new curiosities sprang up, that ever any man would think our labour herein mispent, the time wastefully consumed, and the office itself made worse, by so repeating that which otherwise would more hardly be made familiar to the simpler sort; for the good of whose souls there is not in Christian Religion any thing of like continual use and force throughout every hour and moment of their whole lives. I mean not only because Prayer, but because this very Prayer, is of such efficacy and necessity: for that our Saviour did but set men a bare example how to contrive or devise prayers of their own, and no way bind them to use this, is no doubt an error. John the Baptist's Disciples, which had been always brought up in the bosom of God's Church from the time of their first infancy, till they came to the school of John, were not so brutish that they could be ignorant how to call upon the name of God; but of their Master they had received a Form of Prayer amongst themselves, which Form none did use saving his Disciples, so that by it, as by a mark of special difference, they were known from others.† And of this the Apostles having taken notice, they request that as John had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray. Tertullian and St. Augustine do for that cause term it, *Orationem legitimam*,

[T. C.
lib. 1.
p. 136.]

[Luke
xi. 1.]

that the ear is the inlet to the mind instead of the eye. And see Sect. 79, Note from "*A Christian Letter*, p. 35."]

* "*Præmissa legitima et ordinaria oratione, quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones.*" Tertull. de Orat.

† [This language imports that John had given his disciples a prescript Form, which is not justified by Luke's words, either in chap. v. ver. 33, or xi. 1.]

Cypr.
in Orat.
Dom.

the Prayer which Christ's own Law hath tied his Church to use in the same prescript form of words wherewith he himself did deliver it;* and, therefore, what part of the world soever we fall into, if Christian Religion have been there received, the ordinary use of this very Prayer hath with equal continuance accompanied the same, as one of the principal and most material duties of honour done to Jesus Christ. "Seeing that we have (saith St. Cyprian) an Advocate with the Father for our sins, when we that have sinned come to seek for pardon, let us allege unto God the words which our Advocate hath taught. For sith his promise is our plain warrant, that in his name what we ask we shall receive, must we not needs much the rather obtain that for which we sue, if not only his name do countenance, but also his speech present our requests?" Though men should speak with the tongues of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the ears of God as those which the Son of God himself hath composed, were not possible for men to frame. He therefore which made us to live, hath also taught us to pray, to the end that, speaking unto the Father in the Son's own prescript Form, without scholy or gloss of ours, we may be sure that we utter nothing which God will either disallow or deny. Other Prayers we use many besides this, and this oft'ner than any other;† although not tied so to do by any commandment of Scripture, yet moved with such considerations as have been before set down: the causeless dislike whereof which others have conceived, is no sufficient reason for us as much as once to forbear, in any place, a thing which, uttered with true devotion and zeal of

* [See Note ||, Sect. 26, p. 91. The Lord's Prayer of the Church of England differs from Matthew and Luke.]

† ["The Lord's Prayer in particular is enjoined to be publicly used every Lord's-day in our ordinary service, when there is no Communion, no less than *seven* times; namely, five times in the morning, and twice in the afternoon. When there is a Communion, and also afternoon Sermon or Lecture, then *nine* times. If the office of Infant Baptism (to say nothing of that of Adults) and the other of Churching of Women happen to come in, as they may and do sometimes both morning and afternoon, then *thirteen* times. And supposing those of Matrimony and Burial superadded (besides which, the second Lesson may also happen to introduce it), *then*—but it may be time to stop! . . . "Those who take the liberty to divide from our Establishment, have sometimes observed to us, That their repetitions, when they inadvertently make any, need not to be objected to by those who make more."—*Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England*. (By the Rev. JOHN JONES, Vicar of Alconbury.) Edit. 2. 1750. p. 25, 31. "The reason why the Lord's Prayer is so often repeated in the same assembly, is because several distinct offices are put together. But is this any just reason? Why are they put together? And, why are learned men put to their shifts to answer what will admit of no answer upon the foundation of plain reason and good sense?"—*Ibid.* p. 305.]

heart, affordeth to God himself that glory, that aid to the weakest sort of men, to the most perfect that solid comfort which is unspeakable.

36. With our Lord's Prayer they would find no fault, so that they might persuade us to use it before or after Sermons only (because so their manner is), and not (as all Christian people have been of old accustomed*) insert it so often into the Liturgy. But the people's custom to repeat any thing after the Minister, they utterly dislike.† Twice we appoint that the words which the Minister first pronounceth, the whole congregation shall repeat after him: as first in the public Confession of sins, and again in rehearsal of our Lord's Prayer presently after the blessed Sacrament of his Body and Blood received. A thing no way offensive, no way unfit or unseemly to be done, although it had been so appointed oft'ner than with us it is. But surely, with so good reason it standeth in those two places, that otherwise to order it were not in all respects so well. Could there be any thing devised better, than that we all, at our first access unto God by Prayer, should acknowledge meekly our sins, and that not only in heart but with tongue; all which are present being made ear-witnesses even of every man's distinct and deliberate assent unto each particular branch of a common indictment drawn against ourselves? How were it possible that the Church should any way else with such ease and certainty provide that none of her children may, as Adam, dissemble that wretchedness, the penitent confession whereof is so necessary a preamble, especially to Common Prayer? In like manner, if the Church did ever devise a thing fit and convenient, what more than this, that when together we have all received those heavenly mysteries wherein Christ imparteth himself unto us, and giveth visible testification of our blessed communion with him, we should, in hatred of all heresies,

* ["We do not find, with any certainty of evidence, that they used this Prayer more than once at any one conjuncture of Worship."—*Free and Candid Disq.* p. 28, *ut sup.*]

† "Another fault is, that all the people are appointed in divers places to say after the Minister, whereby not only the time is unprofitably wasted, and a confused noise of the people (one speaking after another) caused, but an opinion bred in their heads, that those only be their Prayers which they pronounce with their own mouths after the Minister, . . . otherwise than the Order which is left to the Church doth bear, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, and otherwise than Justin Martyr [Apol. 2.] sheweth the custom of the Churches to have been in his time." T. C. lib. i. p. 139, and lib. iii. pp. 211—213.

factions, and schisms, the Pastor as a leader, the People as willing followers of him step by step, declare openly ourselves united as brethren in one, by offering up with all our hearts and tongues that most effectual supplication,* wherein he unto whom we offer it hath himself not only comprehended all our necessities, but in such sort also framed every petition, as might most naturally serve for many, and doth, though not always require, yet always import, a multitude of speakers together? For which cause Communicants have ever used it, and we at that time, by the form of our very utterance, do shew we use it, yea, every word and syllable of it, as Communicants. In the rest, we observe that custom whereunto St. Paul alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their Writings make often mention, to shew indefinitely what was done, but not universally to bind for ever all Prayers unto one only fashion of utterance. The reasons which we have alleged induce us to think it still a good work, which they, in their pensive care for the well-bestowing of time, accompt *waste*. As for unpleasantness of sound, if it happen, the good of men's souls doth either deceive our ears that we note it not, or arm them with patience to endure it. We are not so nice as to cast away a sharp knife, because the edge of it may sometimes grate; and such subtle opinions, as few but Utopians are likely to fall into, we in this climate do not greatly fear.†

1 Cor.
xiv. 16.

Our
manner
of read-
ing the
Psalms
other-
wise
than the
rest of
the Scrip-
ture.

37. The complaint which they make about Psalms and Hymns, might as well be over-past without any answer, as it is without any cause brought forth. But our desire is to content them, if it may be, and to yield them a just reason even of the least things wherein undeservedly they have but as much as dreamed or suspected that we do amiss. They seem sometimes so to speak, as if it greatly offended them that such Hymns and Psalms as are Scripture, should in Common Prayer be otherwise used, than the rest of the Scripture is wont;‡ sometime displeased they are at the artificial music which we add unto Psalms of this

* *Τίς γὰρ ἐτι ἐχθρὸν ἡγείσθαι δύναται, μεθ' οὗ μίαν ἀφῆκε πρὸς Θεὸν τὴν φωνήν.* Basil. Præf. in Psal. i.

† [No other Protestant Church has enjoined the people to make vocal responses.]

‡ "They have always the same profit to be studied in, to be read, and preached upon, which other Scriptures have, and this above the rest, that they are to be sung. . . . But to make

kind, or of any other nature else; sometime the plainest and the most intelligible rehearsal of them yet they savour not, because it is done by interlocution, and with a mutual return of sentences from side to side. They are not ignorant what difference there is between other parts of Scripture and Psalms. The choice and flower of all things profitable in other books,* the Psalms do both more briefly contain, and more movingly also express, by reason of that poetical form wherewith they are written. The Ancient, when they speak of the Book of Psalms, use to fall into large discourses, shewing how this part, above the rest, doth of purpose set forth and celebrate all the considerations and operations which belong to God; it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of divine men; it is of things heavenly an universal declaration, working, in them whose hearts God inspireth with the due consideration thereof, an habit or disposition of mind whereby they are made fit vessels both for receipt and for delivery of whatsoever spiritual perfection. What is there necessary for man to know, which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect amongst others. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known, or done, or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or disease incident into the soul of man, any wound or sickness named, for which there is not in this treasure-house a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. Hereof it is, that we covet to make the Psalms especially familiar unto all. This is the very cause why we iterate the Psalms oft'ner than any other part of Scripture besides, the cause wherefore we inure the People together with their

daily Prayers of them, hand over head, or otherwise than the present estate wherein we be doth agree with the matter contained in them, is an abusing of them." T. C. lib. iii. p. 206.

* Ἡ περιεκτικὴ τῶν παντέρων ὁμολογία. Dionys. Hierar. Eccles. cap. iii.

Minister, and not the Minister alone, to read them as other parts of Scripture he doth.*

Or
Music
with
Psalms.

38. Touching musical harmony, whether by instrument or by voice, it being but of high and low in sounds a due proportionable disposition, such, notwithstanding, is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath, in that very part of man which is most divine, that some have been thereby induced to think that the soul itself by nature is, or hath in it, harmony: a thing which delighteth all ages, and beseemeth all states; a thing as seasonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greatest weight and solemnity, as being used when men most sequester themselves from action. The reason hereof is an admirable facility which Music hath to express and represent to the mind, more inwardly than any other sensible mean, the very standing, rising, and falling, the very steps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all passions whereunto the mind is subject; yea, so to imitate them, that, whether it resemble unto us the same state wherein our minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other. In harmony the very image and character even of virtue and vice is perceived, the mind delighted with their resemblances, and brought by having them often iterated into a love of the things themselves. For which cause there is nothing more contagious and pestilent than some kinds of harmony; than some, nothing more strong and potent unto good. And that there is such a difference of one kind from another, we need no proof but our own experience, inasmuch as we are at the hearing of some more inclined unto sorrow and heaviness, of some more mollified and soft'ned in mind; one kind apter to stay and settle us, another to move and stir our affections; there is that draweth to a marvellous grave and sober mediocrity, there is also that carrieth as it were into ecstasies, filling the mind with an heavenly joy, and for the time in a manner severing it from the body: so that, although we lay altogether aside the consideration of ditty or matter, the very harmony of sounds being framed in due sort, and carried from the ear to the spiritual

* ["If by tossing of Psalms like tennis-balls, you mean the over hasty reading or singing of them, it is indeed to be disliked."—WHITGIFT, *Ans. to Adm.* p. 205.]

faculties of our souls, is, by a native puissance and efficacy, greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatsoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the spirits as to allay that which is too eager, sovereign against melancholy and despair, forcible to draw forth tears of devotion if the mind be such as can yield them, able both to move and to moderate all affections. The Prophet David having therefore singular knowledge, not in Poetry alone, but in Music also, judged them both to be things most necessary for the House of God, [and] left behind him to that purpose a number of divinely endited Poems, and was farther the author of adding unto poetry melody in public Prayer, melody both vocal and instrumental, for the raising up of men's hearts, and the sweet'ning of their affections towards God. In which considerations the Church of Christ doth likewise at this present day retain it as an ornament to God's service, and an help to our own devotion. They which, under pretence of the Law Ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental Music, approving, nevertheless, the use of vocal melody to remain, must shew some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal Ceremony, and not the other. In Church-music curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton, or light, or unsuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions, which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave, in men's minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do, than add either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other side, these faults prevented, the force and efficacy of the thing itself, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly suiteth with matter altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable, and doth much edify, if not the understanding, because it teacheth not, yet surely the affection, because therein it worketh much. They must have hearts very dry and tough, from whom the melody of Psalms doth not sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected delighteth. Be it as Rabanus Maurus observeth, that at the first the Church in this exercise was more simple and plain than we are; that their singing was little more than only a melodious kind of pronunciation; that the custom which we now use was not instituted so much for their cause which are spiritual, as

to the end that into grosser and heavier minds, whom bare words do not easily move, the sweetness of melody might make some entrance for good things. St. Basil himself, acknowledging as much, did not think that from such inventions the least jot of estimation and credit thereby should be derogated: "For (saith he) whereas the Holy Spirit saw that mankind is unto virtue hardly drawn, and that righteousness is the less accompted of by reason of the proneness of our affections to that which delighteth; it pleased the wisdom of the same Spirit to borrow from melody that pleasure, which, mingled with heavenly mysteries, causeth the smoothness and softness of that which toucheth the ear, to convey, as it were by stealth, the treasure of good things into man's mind. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of Psalms devised for us, that they which are either in years but young, or touching perfection of virtue as yet not grown to ripeness, might, when they think they sing, learn. O the wise conceit of that heavenly Teacher, which hath by his skill found out a way, that doing those things wherein we delight we may also learn that whereby we profit!"*

Of sing-
ing or
saying
Psalms
and other
parts of
Common
Prayer,
whereto
the peo-
ple and
Minister
answer
one an-
other by
course.

39.† And if the Prophet David did think, that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the House of God, should make the bond of their love insoluble, and tie them in a league of inviolable amity (Psal. lv. 14); how much more may we judge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their Pastor, and in their Pastor towards every of them, between whom there daily and interchangeably pass, in the hearing of God himself, and in the presence of his holy Angels, so many heavenly Acclamations, Exultations, Provocations, Petitions, Songs of Comfort,

* "Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιρρεπὲς τοῦ ὁρθοῦ βίου καταμελόντας ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελωδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμειξεν, ἵνα τῷ προσηγεῖ καὶ λείψ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀφέλιμον λαμβανόντως ὑποδεξώμεθα.—Διὰ τοῦτο, τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐκινερόνται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ὅπως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἥθος τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελωδοῦσι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται.—ὁ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου ὁμοῦ τε φθεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσitteλῇ μαθάνειν μηχανωμένον. Basil. in Psal. i.

† "For the singing of Psalms by course, and side after side, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable; and so much the more to be suspected, for that the Devil hath gone about to get it so great authority, partly by deriving it from Ignatius' time, and partly in making the world believe that this came from Heaven, and that the Angels were heard to sing after this sort: which as it is a mere fable, so it is confuted by Historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to Damasus, some others unto Flavianus and Diodorus." T. C. lib. i. p. 203.

Psalms of Praise and Thanksgiving? In all which particulars, as when the Pastor maketh their suits, and they with one voice testify a general assent thereunto; or, when he joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow, dividing between them the sentences wherewith they strive which shall most shew his own and stir up others' zeal, to the glory of that God whose name they magnify; or, when he proposeth unto God their necessities, and they their own requests for relief in every of them; or, when he lifteth up his voice like a trumpet, to proclaim unto them the Laws of God, they adjoining, though not as Israel did, by way of generality, a cheerful promise, "All that the Lord hath commanded, we will do;"* yet that which God doth no less approve, that which savoureth more of meekness, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecility, unto the several branches thereof, several lowly and humble requests for grace at the merciful hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; or, when they wish reciprocally each other's ghostly happiness; or, when he by exhortation raiseth them up, and they by protestation of their readiness declare he speaketh not in vain unto them: these interlocutory forms of speech, what are they else, but most effectual, partly testifications, and partly inflammations, of all piety? When and how this custom of singing by course came up in the Church, it is not certainly known. Socrates maketh† Ignatius, the Bishop of Antioch in Syria, the first beginner thereof, even under the Apostles themselves. But against Socrates they set the authority of Theodoret, who draweth the original of it from Antioch, as Socrates doth; howbeit, ascribing the invention to others, Flavian and Diodore, men which constantly stood in defence of the Apostolic Faith against the Bishop of that Church, Leontius, a favourer of the Arians. Against both Socrates and Theodoret, Platina is brought as a witness, to testify that Damasus, Bishop of Rome, began it in his time. Of the Latin Church, it may be true which Platina saith. And, therefore, the eldest of that Church which maketh any mention thereof is St. Ambrose,‡ Bishop of Milan at the same

Socrat.
Hist.
Eccl.
lib. vi.
c. 8.
Theod.
lib. ii.
cap. 24.

Plat. in
Vita Da-
masi l.

* Exod. xix. 8. xxiv. 3. Deut. v. 27. xxvi. 17. Josh. xxiv. 16.

† [Socrates says, "Such is the report concerning these Antiphonal Hymns."]

‡ "Bene mari plerumque comparatur Ecclesia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis vestibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam undis refluentibus stridet; tum responsorii Psalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consonus undarum fragor resultat." Hexam. lib. ii. cap. 5.

Basil.
Epist.
63.

Plin.
Secund.
Epist.
lib. x.

Ex. xv.
1-21.

Isa. vi.
1-3.

time when Damasus was of Rome. Amongst the Grecians, St. Basil having brought it into his Church before they of Neocæsarea used it, Sabellius the Heretic, and Marcellus, took occasion thereat to incense the Churches against him, as being an author of new devices in the service of God. Whereupon, to avoid the opinion of novelty and singularity, he allegeth for that which himself did the example of the Churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestina, the Arabians, Phœnicians, Syrians, Mesopotamians, and, in a manner, all that revered the custom of singing Psalms together. If the Syrians had it then before Basil, Antioch, the Mother-Church of those parts, must needs have used it before Basil, and consequently before Damasus. The question is then, how long before, and whether so long, that Ignatius, or as ancient as Ignatius, may be probably thought the first inventors. Ignatius in Trajan's days suffered martyrdom. And of the Churches in Pontus and Bithynia, to Trajan the Emperor, his own Vicegerent there affirmeth, that the only crime he knew of them was, they used to meet together at a certain day, and to praise Christ with Hymns as a God, *secum invicem*, one to another amongst themselves.* Which, for any thing we know to the contrary, might be the self-same form which Philo Judæus expresseth, declaring how the Essenes were accustomed with Hymns and Psalms to honour God, sometime all exalting their voices together in one, and sometime one part answering another, wherein, as he thought, they swerved not much from the pattern of Moses and Miriam. Whether Ignatius did at any time hear the Angels praising God after that sort or no, what matter is it? If Ignatius did not, yet one, which must be with us of greater authority, did. "I saw the Lord (saith the Prophet Isaiah) on an high Throne; the Seraphims stood upon it; *one cried† to another*, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, the whole world is full of his glory." But whosoever were the Author, whatsoever the time, whencesoever the example of beginning this Custom in the Church of Christ; sith we are wont to suspect things only before trial, and afterwards either to approve them as good, or if we find them evil, accordingly to judge of them; their

* [This no doubt they did, after the manner prescribed in Col. iii. 16; but that that manner was Antiphonal or responsive it is impossible to prove.]

† [Neither at this place, nor at Rev. iv. 8, is it certain that singing of any kind must be understood; especially that kind which is the point in debate, Cathedral singing.]

counsel must needs seem very unseasonable, who advise men now to suspect that wherewith the world hath had, by their own accompt, twelve hundred years' acquaintance, and upwards, enough to take away suspicion and jealousy. Men know by this time, if ever they will know, whether it be good or evil which hath been so long retained. As for the Devil, which way it should greatly benefit him to have this manner of singing Psalms accompted an invention of Ignatius, or an imitation of the Angels of Heaven, we do not well understand. But we very well see, in them who thus plead, a wonderful celerity of discourse. For perceiving, at the first, but only some cause of suspicion and fear lest it should be evil, they are presently in one and the self-same breath resolved, that what beginning soever it had, there is no possibility it should "be good."* The potent arguments which did thus suddenly break in upon them and overcome them, are, first, That it is not unlawful for the people all jointly to praise God in singing of Psalms: secondly, That they are not any where forbidden by the Law of God, to sing every verse of the whole Psalm, both with heart and voice, quite and clean throughout: thirdly, That it cannot be understood what is sung after our manner. Of which three, forasmuch as lawfulness to sing one way, proveth not another way inconvenient; the former two are true allegations, but they lack strength to accomplish their desire; the third so strong, that it might persuade, if the truth thereof were not doubtful. And shall this enforce us to banish a thing, which all Christian Churches in the world have received; a thing which so many ages have held; a thing which the most approved Councils and Laws have so oftentime ratified; a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which always heretofore the best men, and wisest governors of God's people, did think they could never commend enough; a thing which, as Basil was persuaded, did both strengthen the meditation of those holy words which were uttered in

* "From whencesoever it came, it cannot be good, considering, that when it is granted that all the people may praise God (as it is in singing of Psalms), then this ought not to be restrained unto a few; and where it is lawful, both with heart and voice, to sing the whole Psalm, there it is not meet that they should sing but the one half with their heart and voice, and the other with their heart only. For where they may both with heart and voice sing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore besides the incommodity which cometh this way, in that being tossed after this sort, men cannot understand what is sung, those other two inconveniences come of this form of singing, and therefore it is banished in all reformed Churches." T. C. lib. i. p. 203.

that sort, and serve also to make attentive, and to raise up the hearts of men; a thing whereunto God's people of old did resort, with hope and thirst, that thereby especially their souls might be edified; a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heavenly delight, stirreth up flagrant desires and affections correspondent unto that which the words contain, allayeth all kind of base and earthly cogitations, banisheth and driveth away those evil secret suggestions which our invisible enemy is always apt to minister, watereth the heart to the end it may fructify, maketh the virtuous in trouble full of magnanimity and courage, serveth as a most approved remedy against all doleful and heavy accidents which befall men in this present life; to conclude, so fitly accordeth with the Apostle's own exhortation, "Speak to yourselves in Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, making melody, and singing to the Lord in your hearts," that surely there is more cause to fear lest the want thereof be a maim, than the use a blemish to the service of God. It is not our meaning, that what we attribute unto the Psalms, should be thought to depend altogether on that only form of singing or reading them by course, as with us the manner is; but the end of our speech is to shew, that because the Fathers of the Church, with whom the self-same Custom was so many ages ago in use, have uttered all these things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reap, observing that and no other Form, it may be justly avouched, that we ourselves retaining it, and besides it also the other more newly and not unfruitfully devised, do neither want that good which the later invention can afford, nor lose any thing of that for which the Ancient so oft and so highly commend the former. Let novelty therefore in this give over endless contradictions, and let ancient custom prevail.*

Eph. v.
19.

Of Magnificat,
Benedictus,
and Nunc
Dimittis.

40. We have already given cause sufficient for the great conveniency and use of reading the Psalms oft'ner than other Scriptures. Of reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*,† oft'ner than the rest of the Psalms, the causes are no whit less reasonable; so that if the

* ["No inconvenience could follow regulating Cathedrals, . . . especially as to that *indecent* way of singing Prayers."—Bishop BURNET. *Hist. of his Own Time*. 1734. fo. Vol. II. p. 636.]

† "These Thanksgivings were made by occasion of certain particular benefits, and are no more to be used for ordinary Prayers, than the *Ave-Maria*. . . . So that both for this cause, and the other before alleged of the Psalms, it is not convenient to make ordinary Prayers of them." T. C. lib. iii. p. 208..

one may very well monthly, the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are Songs which concern us so much more than the Songs of David, as the Gospel toucheth us more than the Law, the New Testament than the Old. And if the Psalms for the excellency of their use deserve to be oft'ner repeated than they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oft'ner repetition, what disorder is it, if these few Evangelical Hymns, which are in no respect less worthy, and may be by reason of their paucity imprinted with much more ease in all men's memories, be for that cause every day rehearsed? In our own behalf it is convenient and orderly enough, that both they and we make day by day Prayers and Supplications the very same; why not as fit and convenient to magnify the name of God day by day with certain the very self-same Psalms of praise and thanksgiving? Either let them not allow the one, or else cease to reprove the other. For the ancient received use of intermingling Hymns and Psalms with divine Readings, enough hath been written. And if any may fitly serve unto that purpose, how should it better have been devised, than that a competent number of the old being first read, these of the new should succeed in the place where now they are set? In which place, notwithstanding, there is joined with *Benedictus* the 100th Psalm; with *Magnificat* the 98th; the 67th with *Nunc Dimittis*; and in every of them the choice left free for the Minister to use indifferently the one or the other. Seeing, therefore, they pretend no quarrel at other Psalms, which are in like manner appointed also to be daily read, why do these so much offend and displease their taste? They are the first gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the world, by such as in their hearts, arms, and very bowels, embraced him; being Prophetical discoveries of Christ already present, whose future coming the other Psalms did but foreshew; they are, against the obstinate incredulity of the Jews, the most luculent testimonies that Christian Religion hath; yea, the only Sacred Hymns they are, that Christianity hath peculiar unto itself; the other being Songs too of praise and thanksgiving, but Songs wherewith, as we serve God, so the Jew

* ["They sing *Benedictus*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and *Magnificat*, we know not to what purpose, except some of them were ready to die, or except they would celebrate the memory of the Virgin, and John Baptist, &c."]—*Admonition*, Part II. "They may be added to the number of Psalms, and so sung as they be." T. C. lib. i. p. 137.]

[T. C.
lib. 1.
p. 137.]

2 Chron.
xxix. 30.

[T. C.
ibid.]

Psal.
c. 5.]

Of the
Litany.

likewise. And whereas they tell us, these Songs were fit for that purpose, when Simeon, and Zachary, and the Blessed Virgin uttered them, but cannot so be to us which have not received like benefit; should they not remember how expressly Hezekiah, amongst many other good things, is commended for this also, that the praises of God were through his appointment daily set forth, by using in public Divine Service, the Songs of David and Asaph unto that very end? Either there wanted wise men to give Hezekiah advice, and to inform him of that which in his case was as true as it is in ours, namely, that “without some inconvenience and disorder” he could not appoint those Psalms to be used as ordinary Prayers, seeing that although they were Songs of thanksgiving, such as David and Asaph had special occasion to use, yet not so the whole Church and people afterwards whom like occasions did not befall; or else Hezekiah was persuaded, as we are, that the praises of God in the mouths of his Saints are not so restrained to their own particular, but that others may both conveniently and fruitfully use them: first, because the mystical communion of all faithful men is such as maketh every one to be interested in those precious blessings which any one of them receiveth at God’s hands: secondly, because when any thing is spoken to extol the goodness of God, whose mercy endureth for ever, albeit the very particular occasion whereupon it riseth do come no more, yet, the fountain continuing the same, and yielding other new effects which are but only in some sort proportionable, a small resemblance between the benefits, which we and others have received, may serve to make the same words of praise and thanksgiving fit, though not equally in all circumstances fit, for both; a clear demonstration whereof we have in all the ancient Fathers’ Commentaries and Meditations upon the Psalms: last of all, because even when there is not as much as the show of any resemblance, nevertheless, by often using their words in such manner, our minds are daily more and more inured with their affections.

41.* The public estate of the Church of God amongst the Jews hath had many rare and extraordinary occurrences;

* “We pray for the avoiding of those dangers which are nothing near us; as from lightning and thundering in the midst of winter; from storm and tempest, when the weather is most fair, and the seas most calm. It is true, that upon some urgent calamity a Prayer may, and ought to be framed, which may beg either the commodity for want whereof the Church is in distress, or the turning away of that mischief which either approacheth, or is

which also were occasions of sundry open solemnities and offices, whereby the people did with general consent make shew of correspondent affection towards God.* The like duties appear usual in the ancient Church of Christ, by that which Tertullian speaketh of Christian women matching themselves with Infidels. "She cannot content the Lord with performance of his Discipline, that hath at her side a vassal whom Satan hath made his vice-agent to cross whatsoever the faithful should do. If her presence be required at the time of Station or Standing Prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to be with him in his baths; if a Fasting-day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cause for the Church to go forth in solemn Procession, his whole family have such business come upon them that no one can be spared." These Processions, as it seemeth, were first begun for the interrings of holy Martyrs, and the visiting of those places where they were intombed. Which thing the name itself applied by Heathens unto the office of Exequies, and partly the speeches of some of the Ancient delivered concerning Christian Processions,† partly also the very dross which Superstition thereunto added, I mean, the custom of invoking Saints in Processions heretofore usual, do strongly insinuate. And as things invented to one purpose are by use easily converted to moe [*more*],‡ it grew, that Supplications, with this solemnity for the appeasing of God's wrath and the averting of public evils, were of the Greek Church termed Litanies,§ Rogations of the Latin. To the people of Vienna (Mamercus being their Bishop about 450

Tertul.
lib. ii.
ad Uxor.

Terent.
Andr.

already upon it: but to make those Prayers, which are for the present time and danger, ordinary and daily Prayers, I cannot hitherto see any, either Scripture, or example of the primitive Church. And here, for the simples' sake, I will set down after what sort this abuse crept into the Church. There was one Mamercus, Bishop of Vienna, which, in the time of great earthquakes which were in France, instituted certain Supplications, which the Grecians, and we of them, call the Litany, which concerned that matter: there is no doubt but as other commodities rose in other countries, they likewise had Prayers accordingly. Now Pope Gregory either made himself, or gathered the Supplications that were made against the calamities of every country, and made of them a great Litany or Supplication, as Platina [cap. Leo.] calleth it, and gave it to be used in all Churches: which thing albeit all Churches might do for the time, in respect of the case of the calamity which the Churches suffered; yet there is no cause why it should be perpetual that was ordained but for a time; and why all lands should pray to be delivered from the inconveniences that some land hath been troubled with."

T. C. lib. i. p. 137.

* Exod. xv. 20. Wisd. x. 20. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 1 Chron. xiii. 5. 2 Chron. xx. 3. Joel ii. 15.

† "Martyres tibi querantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam causa deerit procedendi, si semper quando necesse est, progressura sis." Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eust.

‡ Socrat. lib. vi. c. 8. Sozom. lib. viii. c. 8. Theod. lib. ii. c. 24. lib. iii. c. 10. Novel. lxxviii. 51.

§ Basil. Epist. lxi. Niceph. lib. xiv. c. 3. Cedren. in Theodos.

years after Christ) there befell many things, the suddenness and strangeness whereof so amazed the hearts of all men, that the city they began to forsake as a place which Heaven did threaten with imminent ruin. It beseeemed not the person of so grave a Prelate to be either utterly without counsel, as the rest were, or in a common perplexity to shew himself alone secure. Wherefore as many as remained he earnestly exhorteth to prevent portended calamities, using those virtuous and holy means wherewith others in like case have prevailed with God. To which purpose he perfecteth the Rogations or Litanies before in use, and addeth unto them that which the present necessity required. Their good success moved Sidonius, Bishop of Averna, to use the same so corrected Rogations, at such time as he and his people were after afflicted with famine, and besieged with potent adversaries. For, till the empty name of the Empire came to be settled in Charles the Great, the fall of the Romans' huge dominion, concurring with other universal evils, caused those times to be days of much affliction and trouble throughout the world. So that Rogations or Litanies were then the very strength, stay, and comfort of God's Church. Whereupon, in the year 506, it was by the Council of Aurelia decreed, that the whole Church should bestow yearly, at the Feast of Pentecost, three days in that kind of processional service. About half an hundred years after, to the end that the Latin Churches which all observed this custom, might not vary in the Order and Form of those great Litanies, which were so solemnly every where exercised, it was thought convenient by Gregory the First and the best of that name, to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at the length to gather rust: which thing the Synod of Colen saw, and in part redrest within that province; neither denying the necessary use for which such Litanies serve, wherein God's clemency and mercy is desired by public suit, to the end that plagues, destructions, calamities, famines, wars, and all other the like adversities which for our manifold sins we have always cause to fear, may be turned away from us and prevented through his grace; nor yet dissembling the great abuse whereunto, as sundry other things, so this had grown by men's improbity and malice; to whom, that which was devised for the appeasing of God's displeasure, gave opportunity of committing things which justly kindled

Sidon.
lib. vii.
Epist. 1.

Concil.
tom. ii.
p. 513.

Concil.
tom. v.
Anno
1526.

his wrath. For remedy whereof, it was then thought better, that these and all other Supplications or Processions, should be no where used but only within the walls of the House of God, the place sanctified unto Prayer. And by us not only such inconveniences being remedied, but also whatsoever was otherwise amiss in form or matter, it now remaineth a work, the absolute perfection whereof upbraideth with error, or somewhat worse, them whom in all parts it doth not satisfy. As therefore Litanies have been of longer continuance than that we should make either Gregory or Mamercus the author of them; so they are of more permanent use than that now the Church should think it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what evils hang over our heads, God doth know, and not we. We find by daily experience that those calamities may be nearest at hand, readiest to break in suddenly upon us, which we in regard of times or circumstances may imagine to be farthest off. Or if they do not indeed approach, yet such miseries as being present all men are apt to bewail with tears, the wise by their prayers should rather prevent. Finally, if we for ourselves had a privilege of immunity, doth not true Christian charity require, that whatsoever any part of the world, yea, any one of all our brethren elsewhere, doth either suffer or fear, the same we accompt as our own burthen? What one petition is there found in the whole Litany, whereof we shall ever be able at any time to say that no man living needeth the grace or benefit therein craved at God's hands? I am not able to express how much it doth grieve me, that things of principal excellency should be thus bitten at by men whom God hath indued with graces, both of wit and learning, for better purposes.

42. We have from the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ received* that brief Confession of Faith, which hath been

Of Athanasius' Creed,

* [Bishop Beveridge, in his *Exposition of the first thirty Articles of the Church of England*, 1716, 8vo. p. 187, under ART. VIII. could gravely write thus of the Apostles' Creed: "But in the Sermons *De Tempore*, ascribed to St. Austin, there is set down also the particular Articles that every one of the Apostles put in. Peter said, I believe in God the Father Almighty; John said, The Maker of Heaven and earth; James said, I believe in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord; Andrew said, Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary; Philip said, He suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; Thomas said, He descended into Hell, the third day he rose again from the dead; Bartholomew said, He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; Matthew said, From thence he will come to judge both the quick and the dead; James the son of Alphaeus said, I believe also in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church; Simon Zelotes said, The communion of Saints, the remission of sins; Judas the brother of

and
Gloria
Patri.

Iren.
lib. i.
cap. 3.

Tertul.
de
Præscr.
advers.
Hæret. et
advers.
Prax.

[The
Apostles'
Creed.]

always a badge of the Church, a mark whereby to discern Christian men from Infidels and Jews: "This Faith, received from the Apostles and their Disciples (saith Irenæus), the Church, though dispersed throughout the world, doth notwithstanding keep as safe, as if it dwelt within the walls of some one house, and as uniformly hold, as if it had but one only heart and soul; this as consonantly it preacheth, teacheth, and delivereth, as if but one tongue did speak for all. As one sun shineth to the whole world; so there is no Faith but this one published, the brightness whereof must enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the truth." "This rule (saith Tertullian) Christ did institute; the stream and current of this rule hath gone as far, it hath continued as long, as the very promulgation of the Gospel." Under Constantine the Emperor, about three hundred years and upward after Christ, Arius,* a Priest in the Church of Alexandria, a subtle-witted and a marvellous fair-spoken man, but discontented that one should be placed before him in honour, whose superior he thought himself in desert, became, through envy and stomach, prone unto contradiction, and bold to broach at the length that heresy wherein the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, contained but not opened in the former Creed, the co-equality and co-eternity of the Son with the Father was denied. Being for this impiety deprived of his place by the Bishop of the same Church, the punishment which should have reformed him did but increase his obstinacy, and give him occasion of labouring with greater earnestness elsewhere, to entangle unwary minds with the snares of his damnable opinion. Arius in short time had won to himself a number both of followers and of great defenders, whereupon much disquietness on all sides ensued. The Emperor, to reduce the Church of Christ unto the unity of sound belief, when

James, The resurrection of the flesh; Matthias added, The life everlasting." Hooker affirms that we have received this Creed "from the Apostles," and Beveridge condescends to state what portion each communicated! That it is "a production of the Apostles, all who have the least knowledge of antiquity look upon as entirely false. It was not all composed at once, but was augmented according to the exigencies of the Church."—MOSHEIM'S *Ecc. Hist.* Cent 1. Part II. chap. iii. sect. 4, to which Dr. Maclaine adds in a Note, "This opinion is confirmed in the most learned and ingenious manner by Sir Peter King, in his *Hist. of the Apostles' Creed*."]

* "The like may be said of the *Gloria Patri*, and the *Athanasius' Creed*. It was first brought into the Church, to the end that men thereby should make an open profession in the Church of the Divinity of the Son of God, against the detestable opinion of Arius and his disciples, wherewith at that time marvellously swarmed almost the whole Christendom. Now that it hath pleased the Lord to quench that fire, there is no such cause why these things should be used in the Church, at the least, why that *Gloria Patri* should be so often repeated." T. C. lib i. p. 137.

other means, whereof trial was first made, took no effect, gathered that famous assembly of three hundred and eighteen* Bishops in the Council of Nice; where, besides order taken for many things which seemed to need redress, there was with common consent, for the settling of all men's minds, that other Confession of Faith set down, which we call the Nicene Creed, whereunto the Arians themselves which were present subscribed also: not that they meant sincerely and in deed to forsake their error, but only to escape deprivation and exile which they saw they could not avoid, openly persisting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded against them, and that with the Emperor's royal assent. Reserving therefore themselves unto future opportunities, and knowing that it would not boot them to stir again in a matter so composed, unless they could draw the Emperor first, and by his means the chiefest Bishops unto their part; till Constantine's death, and somewhat after, they always professed love and zeal to the Nicene Faith, yet ceased not in the meanwhile to strengthen that part which in heart they favoured, and to infest by all means, under colour of other quarrels, their greatest adversaries in this cause.† Amongst them Athanasius especially, whom by the

(The
Nicene
Creed.)

* [The number is questioned; see LARDNER, *on the Council of Nice*.]

† [“Here let us pause, to contemplate with becoming admiration this first attempt to expel Heresy from the Church of Christ, by the interposition of the Secular power; the first Act of Uniformity passed by virtue of an Imperial decree! Behold its wondrous efficacy! The Arians subscribed to the Confession, in order to retain their benefices. . . . They could not believe at the requisition even of the Emperor Constantine: unless indeed the Royal assent had proved more availing than the authority of the Scriptures, to settle their minds respecting the perfect Deity of Christ. They could not lay down their opinions, because they were out-voted in the Council; but they had learned the lesson of Ecclesiastical submission; they subscribed: that is to say, they recognised, as far as they could do, the authority of the Church in controversies of Faith. Would the learned writer, Hooker, blame them for this? But they did not mean “sincerely to forsake their error!” What should have kept them from hoping, that as the question of sound belief was thus determinable by the sentence of a Council sanctioned by Royal assent, another Council and another Emperor might in a short time be prevailed upon to settle all men's minds, according to those very errors which they were now called upon to resign? And what, if, out of the 318 bishops who composed the Council of Nice, 159 had been Arians, and the decision of the Church had trembled on the Emperor's casting vote? It would then have been a fearful chance which way all men's minds should be settled after all.—If it was the duty of the Arians to forsake their opinions, in obedience to the decision of the Council and the Royal assent, it must have been no less, under similar circumstances, the duty of the orthodox. The authority of Councils and Emperors is only valid, perhaps, when it is the faithful interpreter of Scripture; but with whom rests the prerogative of deciding upon the fidelity of this interpretation? Is the authority which claims to interpret the truth, the judge of its own fidelity? If not, we must refer the determination, at least, to individual judgment. Yet what becomes of a conditional authority; the validity of which is absolutely suspended on the rectitude of its decisions? Has an Arian Council no authority, while an orthodox Council is in its very nature infallible, so that an Arian dissident has no right to persist in his own opinion, but an orthodox schismatic is perfectly justified? Whatever distinction there may be between the two cases on religious grounds, there can be none in Ecclesiastical Polity; for in either case, if the

space of forty-six years, from the time of his consecration to succeed Alexander, Archbishop in the Church of Alexandria, till the last hour of his life in this world, they never suffered to enjoy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of Constantine stolen from him: Constantius, Constantine's successor, his scourge and torment, by all the ways that malice armed with sovereign authority could devise and use: under Julian no rest given him; and in the days of Valentinian, as little: crimes there were laid to his charge many; the least whereof, being just, had bereaved him of estimation and credit with men while the world standeth: his Judges evermore the self-same men, by whom his accusers were suborned; yet the issue always on their part shame, on his triumph. Those Bishops and Prelates, who should have accompanied his cause theirs, and could not many of them, but with bleeding hearts and with watered cheeks, behold a person of so great place and worth constrained to endure so foul indignities, were sure, by bewraying their affection towards him, to bring upon themselves those molestations, whereby if they would not be drawn to seem his adversaries, yet others should be taught how unsafe it was to continue his friends. Whereupon it came to pass in the end, that (very few excepted) all became subject to the sway of time; other odds there was none amongst them, saving only that some fell sooner away, some later, from the soundness of belief; some were leaders in the host of impiety, and the rest as common soldiers, either yielding through fear, or brought under with penury, or by flattery insnared, or else beguiled through simplicity, which is the fairest excuse that well may be made for them. Yea (that which all men did wonder at), Osius, the ancientest Bishop that Christendom then had, the most forward in defence of the Catholic cause, and of the contrary part most feared; that very Osius, with whose hand the Nicene Creed itself was set down and framed for the whole Christian world to subscribe unto, so far yielded in the end, as even with the same hand to ratify the Arians' Confession, a thing which they neither hoped to see, nor the other part ever feared, till with the amazement they saw it done.* Both were persuaded, that although there had been

scruples of the conscientious recusant went counter to an Act of Uniformity, deprivation and exile would have been alike the penalty."—CONDER, on *Protestant Nonconformity*, 1818, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 113—115.]

* ["The result was such as might have been anticipated. Not only heresy refused to give place to the Imperial Divine and his episcopal exorcists, but it acquired fresh strength,

for Osius no way but either presently subscribe or die, his answer and choice would have been the same that Eleazar's was, "It doth not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Osius an hundred ^{2 Mac. vi. 24—26.} years old and upward,* were now gone to another Religion; and so, through mine hypocrisy (for a little time of transitory life) they might be deceived by me, and I procure malediction and reproach to my old age. For though I were now delivered from the torments of men, yet could I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead." But such was the stream of those times, that all men gave place unto it, which we cannot but impute partly to their own oversight: for at the first the Emperor was theirs, the determination of the Council of Nice was for them; they had the Arians' hands to that Council. So great advantages are never changed so far to the contrary, but by great error. It plainly appeareth, that the first thing which weakened them was their security. Such as they knew were in heart still affected towards Arianism, they suffered by continual nearness to possess the minds of the greatest about the Emperor, which themselves might have done with very good acceptance, and neglected it. In Constantine's lifetime, to have settled Constantius the same way, had been a duty of good service towards God, a mean of peace and great quietness to the Church of Christ, a labour easy; and how likely we may conjecture, when after that so much pain was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrary course, after that so much was done by himself to the furtherance of heresy, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more grieved him, than the memory of former proceedings in the cause of Religion, and that which he now foresaw in Julian, the next physician into whose hands the body that was thus distempered must fall. Howbeit, this we may somewhat excuse, inasmuch as every man's particular care to his own charge was such as gave them no leisure to heed what others practised in Princes' courts. But of the two Synods of Arimine and Seleucia, what should we think? Constantius by the Arians' suggestion, had devised to assemble all the Bishops of the whole world about

so as to overpower the prophets who sought to eject it by so unhallowed means. Jesus it knew, and Paul it knew, but who was Constantine? Acts xix. 15."—CONDER, *ut sup.* Vol. I. p. 117.]

* "Major centenário." Sulpit. Sever. Hist. lib. ii.

this controversy; but in two several places, the Bishops of the West at Arimine in Italy, the Eastern at Seleucia the same time. Amongst them of the East there was no stop, they agreed without any great ado, gave their sentence against heresy, excommunicated some chief maintainers thereof, and sent the Emperor word what was done. They had at Arimine about four hundred which held the truth; scarce of the adverse part fourscore, but these obstinate, and the other weary of contending with them; whereupon by both it was resolved to send to the Emperor such as might inform him of the cause, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are chosen for the Catholic side, such men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldness, neither gravity, nor learning, nor wisdom. The Arians, for the credit of their faction, take the eldest, the best experienced, the most wary, and the longest practised veterans they had amongst them.* The Emperor, conjecturing of the rest on either part, by the quality of them whom he saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a certain Confession of Faith, ambiguously and subtly drawn† by the Arians, whereunto unless they all subscribed, they should in no case be suffered to depart from the place where they were. At length it was perceived, that there had not been in the Catholics, either at Arimine or at Seleucia, so much foresight, as to provide that true intelligence might pass between them what was done. Upon the advantage of which error, their adversaries abusing each with persuasion that the other had yielded, surprised both. The Emperor the more desirous and glad of such events, for that, besides all other things wherein they hindered themselves, the gall and bitterness of certain men's writings, who spared him little for honour's sake, made him for their sakes the less inclinable to that truth which he himself should have honoured and loved.‡ Only in Athanasius there was nothing observed, throughout the course of that long tragedy, other than such as very well became a wise man to do, and a righteous to suffer. So

* "Ex parte nostra leguntur homines adolescentes, parum docti, et parum cauti. Ab Arianis autem missi senes, callidi et ingenio valentes veterano, perfidia imbuti, qui apud Regem facile superiores extiterunt." Sulpit. lib. ii.

† "Eisdemque conscriptam ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus involutam, quæ Catholicam disciplinam perfidia latente loqueretur." Ibid.

‡ [Let the opponents of the right of private judgment in matters of faith and salvation duly ponder these facts.]

that this was the plain condition of those times; the whole world against Athanasius, and Athanasius against it; half a hundred of years spent in doubtful trial which of the two in the end would prevail, the side which had all, or else the part which had no friend but God and death; the one a defender of his innocency, the other a finisher of all his troubles. Now although these contentions were cause of much evil, yet some good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occasioned the learned and sound in Faith to explain such things as Heresy went about to deprave. And in this respect, the Creed of Athanasius, first exhibited under Julius, Bishop of Rome, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) sent to the Emperor Jovinian, for his more full information concerning that truth which Arianism so mightily did impugn, was, both in the East and the West Churches, accepted as a treasure of inestimable price, by as many as had not given up even the very ghost of belief.* Then was the Creed of Athanasius written, howbeit not then so expedient to be publicly used as now, in the Church of God; because, while the heat of division lasteth, truth itself enduring opposition doth not so quietly and currently pass throughout all men's hands, neither can be of that accompt which afterwards it hath when the world once perceiveth the virtue thereof, not only in itself, but also by the conquest which God hath given it over Heresy. That which Heresy did by sinister interpretations go about to pervert in the first and most ancient Apostolic Creed, the same being by singular dexterity and plainness cleared from those heretical corruptions, partly by this Creed of Athanasius, written about the year three hundred and forty, and partly by that other,† set down in the Synod of Constantinople forty years after, comprehending together with the Nicene Creed an addition of other articles which the Nicene Creed omitted, because the controversy then in hand needed no mention to be made of them; these Catholic declarations of our belief delivered by them which were so much nearer than we are unto the first publication thereof, and continuing needful for all men at all times to know, these Confessions, as testimonies of our continuance in the

* *Ταύτην μοι δοκοῦσαν αἰδοῦμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἷτε τῆς ἐσπερίας καὶ τῆς ἐλάας, ὅσων βιάσιμον.* Greg. Nazian. de Athan.

† That Creed which in the Book of Common Prayer followeth immediately after the reading of the Gospel.

same Faith to this present day, we rather use than any other gloss or paraphrase devised by ourselves, which though it were to the same effect, notwithstanding could not be of the like authority and credit. For that of Hilary unto St. Augustine, hath been ever, and is likely to be always true: "Your most religious wisdom knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authority of men's names doth keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have not before held."* Touching the Hymn of Glory, our usual conclusion to Psalms, the "glory" of all things is that wherein their highest perfection doth consist; and the glory of God, that divine excellency whereby he is eminent above all things; his omnipotent, infinite, and eternal Being, which Angels and glorified Saints do intuitively "behold," we on earth apprehend principally by Faith, in part also by that kind of knowledge which groweth from experience of those effects, the greatness whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all creatures both in Heaven and earth. God is glorified, when such his excellency above all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutiful acknowledgment of God's excellency, by occasion of special effects, being the very proper subject, and almost the only matter purposely treated of in all Psalms, if that joyful Hymn of Glory have any use in the Church of God, whose name we therewith extol and magnify, can we place it more fitly than where now it serveth as a close or conclusion to

Hilar.
Arela.
Epist.
ad Aug.

1 Cor.
xv. 40.
Exod.
xxxiii.
18.
Heb. i. 3.

Math.
xviii. 10.

Josh.
vii. 19.
Psalm
xxii. 28.

* [The Athanasian Creed being a composition in "words of man's wisdom" only, 1 Cor. ii. 4, its Anathema is a perpetual theme of animadversion among the candid and charitable, in and out of the Establishment. "The Account given (in Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles) of Athanasius's Creed, seems to me no wise satisfactory; I wish we were well rid of it." *Abp. TILLOTSON's Letter to Bp. Burnet, Oct. 23, 1674. Life of Burnet prefixed to Hist. of his Own Time.* "I confess that I cannot apprehend how the Public Service would suffer, were there no such damnable sentence ever read in it. Nay, I am of opinion that the doctrine of the Trinity would be better secured, and this very account of it better received, without such sentences than with them." *The Reasonableness of Conformity*, 1712, p. 74, 8vo. by B. HOADLY, M. A. but who died Bishop of Winchester.—Jeremy Taylor, who died Bishop of Down and Connor, in his *Liberty of Prophesying*, 1647, 4to. Sect. ii. p. 47, writes of those who framed the Apostles' Creed, that they "thought it not fit to use any words but the words of Scripture; to shew us, that those Creeds are best which keep the very words of Scripture . . . and that it is better in all cases humbly to submit, than anxiously to inquire and pry into the mystery under the cloud: . . . if the Nicene fathers had done so, possibly the Church would never have repented it. And, indeed, the experience the Church had afterwards, showed that the Bishops and Priests were not satisfied in all circumstances, nor the schism appeased, nor the persons agreed, nor the canons accepted, nor the Article understood, nor any thing right, but when they were overborne with Authority; which Authority, when the scales turned, did the same service and promotion to the contrary!"]

Psalms? Neither is the form thereof newly or unnecessarily invented. "We must (saith St. Basil), as we have received, even so baptize; and as we baptize, even so believe; and as we believe, even so give glory." Baptizing, we use the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; Confessing the Christian Faith, we declare our belief in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost; ascribing Glory unto God, we give it to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. It is ἀπόδειξις τοῦ ὁδοῦ φρονήματος, "the token of a true and sound understanding," for matter of doctrine about the Trinity, when in ministering Baptism, and making Confession, and giving Glory, there is a conjunction of all three, and no one of the three severed from the other two. Against the Arians, affirming the Father to be greater than the Son in honour, excellency, dignity, majesty, this form and manner of glorifying God was not at that time first begun, but received long before, and alleged at that time as an argument for the truth. "If (saith Phœbadius) there be that inequality which they affirm, then do we every day blaspheme God, when, in thankgivings and offerings of sacrifice, we acknowledge those things common to the Father and the Son." The Arians, therefore, for that they perceived how this did prejudice their cause, altered the Hymn of Glory; whereupon ensued in the Church of Antioch, about the year three hundred and forty-nine, that jar which Theodoret and Sozomen mention. "In their quires, while they praised God together, as the manner was, at the end of the Psalms which they sung, it appeared what opinion every man held; forasmuch as they glorified, some the Father, *and* the Son, *and* the Holy Ghost; some the Father, *by* the Son, *in* the Spirit; the one sort thereby declaring themselves to embrace the Son's equality with the Father, as the Council of Nice had defined; the other sort, against the Council of Nice, his inequality." Leontius their Bishop, although an enemy to the better part, yet wary and subtle, as in a manner all the heads of the Arians' faction were, could at no time be plainly heard to use either form; perhaps, lest his open contradicting of them whom he favoured not, might make them the more eager, and by that mean the less apt to be privately won; or peradventure for that, though he joined in opinion with that sort of Arians who

Basil.
Epist.
78.

Phœ-
bad.
lib. con-
tra
Arian.

Theod.
lib. ii.
cap. 24.
Sozom.
lib. iv.
cap. 19.

1 Cor.
viii. 6.
1 Cor.
xii. 3.
13.

denied the Son to be equal with the Father, yet from them he dissented which thought the Father and the Son not only unequal but unlike, as Aëtius did upon a frivolous and false surmise, that because the Apostle hath said, "One God *of* whom, one Lord *by* whom," "one Spirit *in* whom," his different manner of speech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whom he speaketh: out of which blind collection it seemeth, that this their new-devised Form did first spring. But in truth, even that very Form which the Arians did then use (saving that they chose it to serve as their special mark of recognizance, and gave it secretly within themselves a sinister construction) hath not otherwise as much as the shew of any thing which soundeth towards impiety. For albeit, if we respect God's glory within itself, it be the equal right and possession of all three, and that without any odds, any difference; yet, touching his manifestation thereof unto us by continual effects, and our perpetual acknowledgment thereof unto him likewise by virtuous offices, doth not every tongue both ways confess, that the brightness of his glory hath spread itself throughout the world *by* the ministry of his only-begotten Son, and is *in* the manifold graces of the Spirit every way marvellous? Again, that whatsoever we do to his glory, it is done *in* the power of the Holy Ghost, and made acceptable *by* the merit and mediation of Jesus Christ? So that glory to the Father *and* the Son, or glory to the Father *by* the Son, saving only where evil minds do abuse and pervert most holy things, are not else the voices of error and schism, but of sound and sincere Religion. It hath been the custom of the Church of Christ, to end sometimes Prayers, and Sermons always, with words of glory; wherein, as long as the blessed Trinity had due honour, and till Arianism had made it a matter of great sharpness and subtilty of wit to be a sound believing Christian, men were not curious what syllables or particles of speech they used. Upon which confidence and trust notwithstanding, when St. Basil began to practise the like indifferency, and to conclude public Prayers, glorifying sometime the Father, *with* the Son, and the Holy Ghost; sometime the Father, *by* the Son, *in* the Spirit; whereas long custom had inured them unto the former kind alone, by means whereof the latter was new and strange in their

ears, this needless experiment brought afterwards upon him a necessary labour of excusing himself to his friends, and maintaining his own act against them; who, because the light of his candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on so colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an author of suspicious innovation. How hath the world forsaken that course which it sometime held? How are the judgments, hearts, and affections of men altered? May we not wonder, that a man of St. Basil's authority and quality, an Arch-bishop in the House of God, should have his name far and wide called in question, and be driven to his painful apologies, to write in his own defence whole volumes, and yet hardly to obtain with all his endeavour a pardon; the crime laid against him being but only a change of some one or two syllables in their usual Church Liturgy? It was thought in him an unpardonable offence to alter any thing; in us as intolerable that we suffer any thing to remain unaltered. The very Creed of Athanasius, and that sacred Hymn of Glory, than which nothing doth sound more heavenly in the ears of faithful men, are now reckoned as superfluities which we must in any case pare away, lest we cloy God with too much service.* Is there in that Confession of Faith any thing which doth not at all times edify and instruct the attentive hearer? Or is our Faith in the blessed Trinity a matter needless to be so oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principal part of that duty which we owe to God, our Public Prayer? Hath the Church of Christ, from the first beginning, by a secret universal instinct of God's good Spirit, always tied itself to end neither Sermon, nor almost any speech of moment which hath concerned matters of God, without some special words of honour and glory to that Trinity which we all adore; and is the like conclusion of Psalms become now at the length an eye-sore, or a galling to their ears that hear it? Those flames of Arianism, they say, are "quenched," which were the cause why the Church devised in such sort to confess and praise the glorious Deity of the Son of God. Seeing, therefore, the sore is

* ["As to the Gloria Patri, even that comes in commonly and most usually, seven or eight times, not unfrequently nine or ten; and may also be introduced *eleven* times in the course of our Morning Service only; besides the occasional Offices that may happen to intervene during that course."—*Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England*. Edit. 2. 1750. p. 30.]

whole, why retain we as yet the plaister? When the cause why any thing was ordained doth once cease, the thing itself should cease with it; that the Church being eased of unprofitable labours, needful offices may the better be attended. For the doing of things unnecessary, is many times the cause why the most necessary are not done. But in this case so to reason, will not serve their turns. For, first, the ground whereupon they build is not certainly their own, but with special limitations. Few things are so restrained to any one end or purpose, that the same being extinct, they should forthwith utterly become frustrate. Wisdom may have framed one and the same thing to serve commodiously for divers ends, and of those ends any one be sufficient cause for continuance, though the rest have ceased; even as the tongue, which Nature hath given us for an instrument of speech, is not idle in dumb persons, because it also serveth for taste. Again, if time have worn out, or any other mean altogether taken away, what was first intended; uses not thought upon before, may afterwards spring up and be reasonable causes of retaining that which other considerations did formerly procure to be instituted. And it cometh sometime to pass, that a thing unnecessary in itself, as touching the whole direct purpose whereto it was meant, or can be applied, doth notwithstanding appear convenient to be still held, even without use, lest by reason of that coherence which it hath with somewhat most necessary, the removal of the one should endamage the other: and, therefore, men which have clean lost the possibility of sight, keep still their eyes nevertheless in the place where Nature set them. As for these two branches whereof our question groweth, Arianism was indeed some occasion of the one, but a cause of neither, much less the only intire cause of both. For, albeit, conflict with Arians brought forth the occasion of writing that Creed, which long after was made a part of the Church Liturgy, as Hymns and Sentences of Glory were a part thereof before; yet cause sufficient there is, why both should remain in use, the one as a most divine explication of the chiefest Articles of our Christian Belief, the other as an heavenly acclamation of joyful applause to his praises in whom we believe; neither the one nor the other unworthy to be heard sounding as they are in the Church

of Christ, whether Arianism live or die. Against which poison likewise, if we think, that the Church at this day needeth not those ancient preservatives, which ages before us were so glad to use, we deceive ourselves greatly. The weeds of Heresy being grown unto such ripeness as that was, do even in the very cutting down scatter oftentimes those seeds which for a while lie unseen and buried in the earth, but afterward freshly spring up again no less pernicious than at the first. Which thing they very well know, and, I doubt not, will easily confess, who live to their great both toil and grief, where the blasphemies of Arians, Samosatenians, Tritheists, Eutychians, and Macedonians, are renewed; renewed by them, who, to hatch their Heresy, have chosen those Churches as fittest nests, where Athanasius' Creed is not heard; by them, I say, renewed, who following the course of extreme reformation, were wont, in the pride of their own proceedings, to glory that whereas Luther did but blow away the roof, and Zuinglius batter but the walls of Popish Superstition, the last and hardest work of all remained, which was to raze up the very ground and foundation of Popery, that Doctrine concerning the Deity of Christ, which "SATANASIUS" (for so it pleased those impious forsaken miscreants to speak) hath in this memorable Creed explained. So manifestly true is that which one of the Ancient hath concerning Arianism, "*Mortuis auctoribus hujus veneni, scelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur*; The authors of this venom being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithstanding continueth."

Phœbad.
contra
Arian.

43. Amongst the heaps of these excesses and superfluities, there is espied the want of a principal part of duty, "There are no Thanksgivings for the benefits for which there are petitions" in our Book of Prayer.* This they have thought a point material to be objected. Neither may we take it in evil part to be admonished, what special duties of thankfulness we owe to that merciful God, for whose unspeakable graces the only requital which we are

Our
want of
particu-
lar
Thanks-
giving.

* "As such Prayers are needful, whereby we beg release from our distresses, so there ought to be as necessary [necessarily, in T. C.] Prayers of Thanksgiving, when we have received those things at the Lord's hand which we asked." T. C. lib. i. p. 138. "I do not simply require a solemn and express Thanksgiving for such benefits; but only upon a supposition, which is, that if it be expedient that there should be express Prayers against so many of their earthly miseries, that then also it is meet that upon the deliverance there should be an express Thanksgiving." T. C. lib. iii. p. 209.

able to make, is a true, hearty, and sincere acknowledgment, how precious we esteem such benefits received, and how infinite in goodness the Author from whom they come. But that to every petition we make for things needful, there should be some answerable sentence of thanks provided particularly to follow such requests obtained; either it is not a matter so requisite as they pretend, or if it be, wherefore have they not then in such order framed their own Book of Common Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Saviour taught us a Form of Prayer containing so many petitions of those things which we want, and not delivered in like sort as many several Forms of Thanksgiving to serve when any thing we pray for is granted? What answer soever they can reasonably make unto these demands, the same shall discover unto them how causeless a censure it is, that there are not, in our Book, Thanksgivings for all the benefits for which there are petitions.* For concerning the blessings of God, whether they tend unto this life or the life to come, there is great cause why we should delight more in giving thanks, than in making requests for them; inasmuch as the one hath pensiveness and fear, the other always joy, annexed; the one belongeth unto them that seek, the other unto them that have found, happiness; they that pray, do but yet sow; they that give thanks, declare they have reaped. Howbeit, because there are so many graces whereof we stand in continual need, graces for which we may not cease daily and hourly to sue, graces which are in bestowing always, but never come to be fully had in this present life; and therefore, when all things here have an end, endless thanks must have their beginning in a state which bringeth the full and final satisfaction of all such perpetual desires: again, because our common necessities, and the lack which we all have as well of ghostly as of earthly favours, is in each kind so easily known; but the gifts of God, according to those degrees and times which he in his secret wisdom seeth meet, are so diversely bestowed, that it seldom appeareth what all receive; what all stand in need of, it seldom lieth hid; we are not to marvel, though the Church do oft'ner concur in suits, than

* "The default of the Book, for that there are no forms of Thanksgiving for the release from those common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered." T. C. lib. iii. p. 208.

in thanks, unto God, for particular benefits. Nevertheless, lest God should be any way unglorified, the greatest part of our daily service, they know, consisteth, according to the blessed Apostle's own precise rule, in much variety of Psalms and Hymns, for no other purpose but only that out of so plentiful a treasure there might be for every man's heart to choose out his own sacrifice, and to offer unto God by particular secret instinct what fitteth best the often occasions which any several either party or congregation may seem to have. They that would clean take from us, therefore, the daily use of the very best means we have to magnify and praise the name of Almighty God for his rich blessings, they that complain of our reading and singing so many Psalms for so good an end; they, I say, that find fault with our store, should of all men be least willing to reprove our scarcity of Thanksgivings. But because peradventure they see it is not either *generally* fit or possible that Churches should frame thanksgivings answerable to each petition, they shorten somewhat the reins of their censure; there are no Forms of Thanksgiving, they say, for release of those "common calamities" from which we have petitions to be delivered. "There are Prayers set forth to be said in the common calamities and universal scourges of the Realm, as plague, famine, &c. And indeed so it ought to be by the Word of God. But as such Prayers are needful, whereby we beg release from our distresses, so there ought to be as necessary* Prayers of Thanksgiving, when we have received those things at the Lord's hand which we asked in our Prayers." As oft, therefore, as any public or universal scourge is removed, as oft as we are delivered from those, either imminent or present calamities, against the storm and tempest whereof we all instantly craved favour from above, let it be a question what we should render unto God for his blessings universally, sensibly, and extraordinarily bestowed. A Prayer of three or four lines inserted into some part of our Church Liturgy? No, we are not persuaded that when God doth in trouble injoin us the duty of invocation, and promise us the benefit of deliverance, and profess that the thing he expecteth after at our hands, is to glorify him as

Ephes.
v. 9.
Colos.
iii. 16.

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 138.

* ["Necessarily," in T. C.]

our mighty and only Saviour, the Church can discharge, in manner convenient, a work of so great importance, by fore-ordaining some short Collect wherein briefly to mention thanks. Our custom, therefore, whensoever so great occasions are incident, is by public authority to appoint throughout all Churches, set and solemn Forms as well of Supplication as of Thanksgiving, the preparations and intended complements whereof may stir up the minds of men in much more effectual sort, than if only there should be added to the Book of Prayer that which they require. But we err in thinking that they require any such matter. For albeit their words to our understanding be very plain, that in our Book "there are Prayers set forth" to be said when "common calamities" are felt, as "plague, famine," and such like; again, that "indeed so it ought to be by the Word of God;" that likewise "there ought to be as necessary* Prayers of Thanksgiving, when we have received those things;" finally, that the want of such Forms of Thanksgiving, for the release from those common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered, is the "default of the Book" of Common Prayer: yet all this they mean, but only by way of "supposition if express Prayers" against so many earthly miseries were convenient, "that then" indeed as many express and particular Thanksgivings should be likewise necessary. Seeing, therefore, we know that they hold the one superfluous, they would not have it so understood as though their minds were that any such addition to the Book is needful, whatsoever they say for argument's sake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is, they wave in and out, no way sufficiently grounded, no way resolved what to think, speak, or write, more than only that because they have taken it upon them, they must (no remedy now) be opposite.†

In some
things
the mat-
ter of

44. The last supposed fault concerneth some few things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amiss. In

* ["Necessarily."]

† ["The old Common-Prayer, in behalf of which Hooker wrote, having no *occasional* Thanksgivings, that great man thought fit to defend that *omission*. But such Thanksgivings being afterwards inserted by King James, the *inserting* of them was *then* to be defended. Accordingly Mr. L'Estrange declares, in opposition to Mr. Hooker, that 'superadding them was not only a commendable, but a *necessary* act:' *Alli.* ch. iv. Hence it will be obvious to form a judgment concerning what is to be *defended* and what not!"—*Fres and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England.* Edit. 2. 1750. 8vo. p. 351.]

a Song of Praise* to our Lord Jesus Christ we have these words, "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers." Which maketh some shew of giving countenance to their error, who think that the faithful which departed this life before the coming of Christ, were never till then made partakers of joy, but remained all in that place which they term the "Lake of the Fathers." In our Liturgy† request is made, that we may be preserved "from sudden death." This seemeth frivolous, because the godly should be always prepared to die. Request is made,‡ that God would give those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask. "This (they say) carrieth with it the note of Popish servile fear, and savoureth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity that the children of God have, through Christ, with their heavenly Father." Request is made,§ that we may evermore be defended from all adversity. For this "there is no promise in Scripture;" and therefore "it is no Prayer of Faith, or of the which we can assure ourselves that we shall obtain it." Finally, request is made, that God "would have mercy upon all men." This is impossible, because some are vessels of wrath, to whom God will never extend his mercy.

45. As Christ hath purchased that heavenly kingdom, "When the last perfection whereof is "glory in the life to come," thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven, which our iniquities had shut up. But because by ascending after that "the sharpness of death was overcome," he took the very *local possession* of glory, and that *to the use of all that are his*, even as himself before had witnessed, "I go to prepare a place for you;" and again, John xiv. 2. "Whom thou hast given me, O Father, I will that, where xvii. 24. I am they be also with me, that my glory, which thou hast given me, they may behold;" it appeareth, that *when Christ did ascend*, he then most *liberally opened* the Kingdom of

* [Te Deum laudamus.]

† [Litany.]

‡ [Collect, Twelfth Sunday after Trinity, and in a Collect after the Offertory.]

§ [Collect, Trinity Sunday.]

Hieron.
contra
Helvid.
August.
Her.
lxxxiv.

Heaven, *to the end*, that with him, and by him, all believers might reign. In what estate the Fathers rested which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All that we can rightly gather is, that as touching their souls, what degree of joy or happiness soever it pleased God to bestow upon them, *his* Ascension which succeeded *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the body must needs be *not only of*, but after, his. As, therefore, Helvidius, against whom St. Jerome writeth, abused greatly those words of Matthew concerning Joseph and the Mother of our Saviour Christ, "He knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born," thereby gathering against the honour of the blessed Virgin, that a thing denied with special circumstance doth import an opposite affirmation when once that circumstance is expired: after the self-same manner it should be a weak collection, if whereas we say, that "when" Christ had "overcome the sharpness of death," he *then opened* "the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers;" a thing in such sort affirmed with circumstance, were taken as insinuating an opposite denial before that circumstance be accomplished, and consequently, that, because when the sharpness of death was overcome, he then opened Heaven *as well to believing Gentiles as Jews*, Heaven till then was no receptacle to the souls of either. Wherefore, be the spirits of the just and righteous before Christ truly or falsely thought excluded out of heavenly joy; by that which we in the words alleged before do attribute to Christ's Ascension, there is to no such opinion, nor to the favourers thereof,* any countenance at all given. We cannot better interpret the meaning of these words, than Pope Leo himself expoundeth them, whose speech concerning our Lord's Ascension may serve instead of a marginal gloss: "Christ's exaltation is our promotion; and whither the glory of the Head is already gone before, thither the hope of the Body also is to follow. For as this day, we have not only the possession of Paradise assured unto us, but in Christ we have entered the highest of the Heavens." His "opening the Kingdom of Heaven" and his entrance thereinto, was not only to his own use, but for the benefit of "all believers."

Leo
Ser. 1.
de
Ascens.

* Lyr. super Gen. xlix. Th. p. 3. q. 52. ar. 5.

46. Our good or evil estate after death dependeth most upon the quality of our lives. Yet somewhat there is, why a virtuous mind should rather wish to depart this world with a kind of treatable dissolution, than to be suddenly cut off in a moment; rather to be taken, than snatched away from the face of the earth. Death is that which all men suffer, but not all men with one mind, neither all men in one manner. For being of necessity a thing common, it is through the manifold persuasions, dispositions, and occasions of men, with equal desert both of praise and dispraise, shunned by some, by others desired. So that absolutely we cannot discommend, we cannot absolutely approve, either willingness to live or forwardness to die. And concerning the ways of death, albeit the choice thereof be only in his hands, who alone hath the power of all flesh, and unto whose appointment we ought with patience meekly to submit ourselves (for to be agents voluntarily in our own destruction is against both God and Nature), yet there is no doubt, but in so great variety our desires will and may lawfully prefer one kind before another. Is there any man of worth and virtue, although not instructed in the School of Christ, or ever taught what the soundness of Religion meaneth, that had not rather end the days of this transitory life as Cyrus in Xenophon, or in Plato Socrates, are described; than to sink down with them of whom Elihu hath said, *Memento moriuntur*, There is scarce an instant between their flourish- ing and their not being? But let us, which know what it is to die as Absalom, or Ananias and Sapphira died; let us beg of God, that when the hour of our rest is come, the patterns of our dissolution may be Jacob, Moses, Joshua, David; who, leisurably ending their lives in peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come upon their posterity, replenished the hearts of the nearest unto them with words of memorable consolation, strength'ned men in the fear of God, gave them wholesome instructions of life, and confirmed them in true Religion; in sum, taught the world no less virtuously how to die, than they had done before how to live.* To such as judge things according to the sense of natural men and ascend no higher, suddenness, because it short'neth their grief, should in reason be most acceptable. That which

Teach-
ing
Prayer
for deli-
verance
from
sudden
death.

Job
xxxiv.
20.

Heb.
xi. 21.
Deut.
xxxiii.
Josh.
xxiv.
1 Kings
ii.

* ["He taught us how live, and, oh! too high
The price of knowledge, taught us how to die."]

TICKELL's *Elegy on Addison.*]

causeth bitterness in death, is the languishing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And, therefore, Tyrants use what art they can to increase the slowness of death. Quick riddance out of life is often both requested and bestowed as a benefit. Commonly, therefore, it is, for virtuous considerations, that wisdom so far prevaieth with men, as to make them desirous of slow and deliberate death, against the stream of their sensual inclination; content to endure the longer grief and bodily pain, that the Soul may have time to call itself to a just accompt of all things past; by means whereof repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exercise patience, the joys of the Kingdom of Heaven have leisure to present themselves, the pleasures of sin and this world's vanities are censured with uncorrupt judgment, charity is free to make advised choice of the soil wherein her last seed may most fruitfully be bestowed, the mind is at liberty to have due regard of that disposition of worldly things which it can never afterwards alter; and because the nearer we draw unto God, the more we are oftentimes enlightened with the shining beams of his glorious presence, as being then even almost in sight, a leisable departure may in that case bring forth for the good of such as are present, that which shall cause them for ever after from the bottom of their hearts to pray, "O let us die the death of the righteous, and let our last end be like theirs." All which benefits and opportunities are by sudden death prevented. And, besides, forasmuch as death howsoever is a general effect of the wrath of God against sin, and the suddenness thereof a thing which hap'neth but to few; the world in this respect feareth it the more, as being subject to doubtful constructions, which as no man willingly would incur, so they whose happy estate after life is of all men's the most certain, should especially wish that no such accident in their death may give uncharitable minds occasion of rash, sinister, and suspicious verdicts whereunto they are over prone: so that, whether evil men or good be respected, whether we regard ourselves or others, to be preserved "from sudden death," is a blessing of God. And our Prayer against it importeth a twofold desire, first, that death when it cometh may give us some convenient respite; or, secondly, if that be denied us of God, yet we may have wisdom to provide always before hand, that those evils overtake us not, which death unexpected doth use to bring

Cypr. de
Mortal.

[Num.
xxiii.
10.]

upon careless men; and that, although it be sudden in itself, nevertheless, in regard of our prepared minds, it may not be sudden.

47. But is it credible that the very acknowledgment of our own unworthiness to obtain, and in that respect our professed fearfulness to ask, any thing, otherwise than only for his sake to whom God can deny nothing, that this should be noted for a Popish error, that this should be termed baseness, abjection of mind, or "servility,"* is it credible? That which we for our unworthiness are afraid to crave, our Prayer is, that God for the worthiness of his Son would notwithstanding vouchsafe to grant. May it please them to shew us which of these words it is that carrieth the note of Popish and servile fear? In reference to other creatures of this inferior world, man's worth and excellency is admired. Compared with God, the truest inscription wherewith we can circle so base a coin is that of David, "Universa vanitas est omnis homo," whosoever hath the name of a mortal man, there is in him whatsoever the name of vanity doth comprehend. And therefore, what we say of our own "unworthiness," there is no doubt but truth will ratify: alleged in Prayer, it both becometh and behoveth Saints. For as humility is in suitors a decent virtue; so the testification thereof by such effectual acknowledgments, not only argueth a sound apprehension of his super-eminent glory and majesty before whom we stand,† but putteth also into his hands a kind of pledge or bond for security against our unthankfulness, the very natural root whereof is always either ignorance, dissimulation, or pride; ignorance, when we know not the author from whom our good cometh; dissimulation, when our hands are more open than our eyes upon that we receive; pride, when we think ourselves *worthy* of that which mere grace and undeserved mercy bestoweth. In Prayer, therefore, to abate so vain imaginations with the *true conceit of unworthiness*, is rather to prevent than commit a fault. It being no error thus to think, no fault thus to speak of ourselves when we pray; is it a fault, that the consideration of our unworthiness maketh us "fearful" to open our mouths

Prayer that those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask, God for the worthiness of his Son, would vouchsafe to grant.

Psal. xxxix. 5.

* "This request carrieth with it still the note of the Popish servile fear, and savoureth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity that the children of God have, through Christ, with their heavenly Father." T. C. lib. i. p. 136.

† Μεμνημένος γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα οὐδενείας, μεμνήσῃ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς. Philo. de Sacrif. Abel. et Cain.

by way of suit? While Job had prosperity and lived in honour, men feared him for his authority's sake, and in token of their fear, when they saw him, they "hid themselves."*

Job
xxix. 8. Between Elihu and the rest of Job's familiars, the greatest disparity was but in years: and he, though riper than they in judgment, doing them reverence in regard of age, stood long doubtful and very loth to adventure upon speech in his elders' hearing. If so small inequality between man and man make their modesty a commendable virtue, who respecting superiors, as superiors, can neither speak nor stand before them without fear; that the Publican approacheth not more boldly to God; that when Christ in mercy draweth near to Peter, he in humility and fear craveth distance; that being to stand, to speak, to sue, in the presence of so great Majesty, we are afraid, let no man blame us. In which consideration, notwithstanding, because to fly altogether from God, to despair that creatures unworthy shall be able to obtain any thing at his hands, and under that pretence to surcease from Prayers as bootless or fruitless offices, were to him no less injurious than pernicious to our own souls; even that which we tremble to do, we do, we ask those things which we dare not ask.† The knowledge of our own unworthiness is not without belief in the merits of Christ. With that true fear which the one causeth, there is coupled true boldness, and encouragement drawn from the other. The very silence which our unworthiness putteth us unto, doth itself make request for us, and that in the confidence of his grace. Looking inward, we are stricken dumb; looking upward, we speak and prevail. O happy mixture, wherein things contrary do so qualify and correct the one the danger of the other's excess, that neither boldness can make us presume, as long as we are kept under with the sense of our own wretchedness; nor, while we trust in the mercy of God through Christ Jesus, fear be able to tyrannize over us! As, therefore, our fear excludeth not that "boldness" which becometh Saints;‡ so if their "familiarity"§ with God do not

* Amongst the parts of honour Aristotle reckoneth *προσκυῖσεις* and *ἐσθάρσεις*. Rhet. lib. i. c. 5.

† "The Publican did indeed not lift up his eyes. So that if by his example we should say, we dare ask nothing, we ought also to ask nothing;"—"otherwise, instead of teaching true humility, we open a school to hypocrisy, which the Lord detesteth." T. C. lib. iii. p. 203.

‡ Rom. v. 2. viii. 15. Heb. x. 19.

§ ["To maintain the prayer, that God would give us that we dare not ask, he (Dr. Whitgift) allegeth, that we must be 'humble and acknowledge our unworthiness;' as if these

savour of this fear, it draweth too near that irreverend confidence wherewith true humility can never stand.

48. Touching continual deliverance in the world from all adversity, their conceit is, that we ought not to ask it of God by Prayer, forasmuch as in Scripture there is no promise that we shall be evermore free from vexations, calamities, and troubles.* Minds religiously affected are wont in every thing of weight and moment, which they do or see, to examine according unto rules of piety, what dependency it hath on God, what reference to themselves, what coherence with any of those duties whereunto all things in the world should lead, and accordingly they frame the inward disposition of their minds, sometime to admire God, sometimes to bless him and give him thanks, sometime to exult in his love, sometime to implore his mercy. All which different elevations of spirit unto God are contained in the name of Prayer. Every good and holy desire, though it lack the form, hath notwithstanding in itself the substance, and with him the force, of a Prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, groans, and sighs of the heart of man. Petitionary Prayer belongeth only to such as are in themselves impotent, and stand in need of relief from others. We thereby declare unto God what our own desire is that he by his power should effect. It presupposeth, therefore, in us, first, the want of that which we pray for; secondly, a feeling of that want; thirdly, an earnest willingness of mind to be eased therein; fourthly, a declaration of this our desire in the sight of God; not as if he should be otherwise ignorant of our necessities, but because we this way shew we honour him as our God, and are verily persuaded that no good thing can come to pass which he by his omnipotent power effecteth not. Now, because there is no man's Prayer acceptable whose person is odious, neither any man's person gracious without Faith; it is of necessity required that they which pray do believe. The Prayers which our Lord and Saviour made were for his own worthiness

Prayer
to be
ever-
more
delivered
from
all ad-
versity.

could not stand with a boldness of asking in the worthiness of Jesus Christ, whatsoever we have need of. And the very similitudes he useth condemn him, 'Father,' 'Friend,' which most amiable names our Saviour Christ will have set before us when we come to Prayer, to engender in us a reverent familiarity with him. Luke xi." T. C. lib. iii. p. 202. "I pass by the testimonies of Scripture where boldness to go unto God, through Jesus Christ, contrary to this 'not daring,' is plainly taught." *Ibid.* p. 204.]

* "Forasmuch as there is no promise in the Scripture, that we should be free from all adversity, and that evermore; it seemeth that this Prayer might have been better conceived, being no Prayer of Faith, or of the which we can assure ourselves that we shall obtain it." T. C. lib. i. p. 136.

accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, if they be joined with belief in Christ.* The Prayers of the just are accepted always, but not always those things granted for which they pray. For in Prayer, if faith and assurance to obtain were both one and the same thing, seeing that the effect of not obtaining is a plain testimony that they which prayed were not sure they should obtain, it would follow, that their Prayer, being without certainty of the event, was also made unto God without faith, and, consequently, that God abhorred it. Which to think of so many Prayers of Saints as we find have failed in particular requests, how absurd were it! His faithful people have this comfort, that whatsoever they rightly ask, the same no doubt but they shall receive, so far as may stand with the glory of God and their own everlasting good; unto either of which two, it is no virtuous man's purpose to seek, or desire to obtain any thing prejudicial; and, therefore, that clause which our Lord and Saviour in the Prayer of his Agony did express, we in petitions of like nature do always imply; *Pater, si possibile est, If it may stand with thy will and pleasure: or if not,* but that there be secret impediments and causes, in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denied us; yet the Prayer itself which we make is a pleasing sacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it some other way. So that sinners, in very truth, are denied when they seem to prevail in their supplications,† because it is not for their sakes or to their good that their suits take place; the faithful contrariwise, because it is for their good oftentimes that their petitions do not take place, prevail even then when they most seem denied.‡ “Our Lord God in anger hath granted some impatient men's requests; as on the other side the Apostle's suit he hath of favour and mercy not granted,” saith St. Augustine. To think we may pray unto God for nothing but what he hath promised in Holy Scripture we shall obtain, is perhaps an error. For of Prayer there are two uses. It serveth as a mean to procure those things which God hath promised to grant when we ask; and it serveth as a mean to express our lawful desires also towards that, which whether

[Matt.
xxvi.
39.]

Aug.
Ep. 121.
ad Pro-
bam vi-
duam.

* “Oratio, quæ non fit per Christum, non solum non potest delere peccatum, sed etiam ipsa fit peccatum.” Aug. Enar. in Psal. cviii.

† Numb. xi. 33. 1 Sam. viii. 7. Job i. 12. ii. 6. Luke viii. 32.

‡ 2 Cor. xii. 7—9.

we shall have or no we know not, till we see the event. Things in themselves unholy or unseemly, we may not ask; we may whatsoever being not forbidden, either Nature or Grace shall reasonably move us to wish, as importing the good of men; albeit God himself have no where by promise assured us of that particular which our Prayer craveth. To pray for that which is in itself, and of it [*its*] own nature, apparently a thing impossible, were not convenient. Wherefore, though men do, without offence, wish daily that the affairs which with evil success are past, might have fallen out much better; yet to pray that they may have been any other than they are, this being a manifest impossibility in itself, the Rules of Religion do not permit. Whereas, contrariwise, when things, of their own nature contingent and mutable, are by the secret determination of God appointed one way, though we the other way make our Prayers, and consequently ask those things of God which are *by this supposition* impossible, we notwithstanding do not hereby in Prayer transgress our lawful bounds. That Christ, as the only begotten Son of God, having no superior, and therefore owing honour unto none, neither standing in any need, should either give thanks, or make petition unto God, were most absurd. As man, what could beseem him better, whether we respect his affection to God-ward, or his own necessity, or his charity and love towards men? Some things he knew should come to pass, and notwithstanding prayed for them, because he also knew that the necessary means to effect them were his Prayers. As in the Psalm it is said, "Ask of me, ^{Psalm} and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and ^{li. 8.} the ends of the earth for thy possession." Wherefore, that which here God promiseth his Son, the same in the seventeenth of John, he prayeth for: "Father, the hour is now ^{John} come, glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee, ^{xvii. 1, 2.} according as thou hast given him power over all flesh." But had Christ the like promise concerning the effect of every particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected, could not be promised. And we know in what ^{Matt. xxvi. 39.} sort he prayed for removal of that bitter cup, which cup ^{Mark xiv. 36.} he tasted, notwithstanding his Prayer. To shift off this ^{Luke xxii. 42.} example, they answer, first, "That as other children of God, so Christ had a promise of deliverance *as far* as the glory of God in the accomplishment of his vocation would

suffer.* And if we ourselves have not also in that sort the promise of God to be evermore delivered from all adversity, what meaneth the sacred Scripture to speak in so large terms, "Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in every work of thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of the land for thy wealth." Again, "Keep his Laws, and thou shalt be blest above all people, the Lord shall take from thee *all infirmities*." "The man whose delight is in the Law of God, *whatsoever he doth it shall prosper*." "For the ungodly there are *great plagues* remaining; but whosoever putteth his trust in the Lord, mercy embraceth him *on every side*." Not only that mercy which keepeth from being overlaid or opprest, but mercy which saveth from being *touched* with grievous miseries, mercy which turneth away the course of "*the great water-floods*," and permitteth them not to "*come near*." Nevertheless, because the Prayer of Christ did concern but one calamity, they are still bold to deny the lawfulness of our Prayer for deliverance out of all, yea, though we pray with the same exception that he did, "If such deliverance may stand with the pleasure of Almighty God, and not otherwise:" For they have, secondly, found out a Rule, that Prayer ought only to be made for deliverance "from this or that particular adversity, whereof we know not, but upon the event, what the pleasure of God is." Which quite overthroweth that other principle, wherein they require, unto every Prayer which is of Faith, an assurance to obtain the thing we pray for. At the first to pray against all adversity was unlawful, because we cannot "assure ourselves" that this will be granted. Now we have licence to pray against any particular adversity, and the reason given, because "we know not but upon the event" what God will do. If we know not what God will do, it followeth, that for any assurance we have, he may do otherwise than we pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot assuredly presume that God will grant. Seeing, therefore, neither of these two answers will serve the turn, they have a third; which is, that to pray in such sort, is but idly mispent labour, because God hath already revealed his will touching this

Dent.
xxx. 9.

Dent.
vii. 15.

Psal.
i. 2, 3.
Psal.
xxxii.
10.

ver. 6.

T. C.
lib. iii.
p. 201.

* "Neither did our Saviour Christ pray without promise; for as other the children of God, to whose condition he had humbled himself, have, so had he a promise of deliverance so far as the glory of God in the accomplishment of his vocation would suffer." T. C. lib. iii. p. 200.

request; and we know that the suit we make is denied before we make it.* Which neither is true, and, if it were, was Christ ignorant what God had determined touching those things which himself should suffer? To say, "He knew not what weight of sufferances his heavenly Father had measured unto him," is somewhat hard; harder, that although "he knew them," notwithstanding for the present time "they were forgotten through the force of those unspeakable pangs, which he then was in." The one against the plain express words of the holy Evangelist, "he knew all things that should come upon him;" the other less credible, if any thing may be of less credit than what the Scripture itself gainsayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his sufferings, make report that memory failed him? Is there in his words and speeches any sign of defect that way? Did not himself declare before whatsoever was to happen in the course of that whole tragedy? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his own mouth, either in the place of public judgment, or upon the altar of the Cross, that through the bruising of his body some part of the treasures of his soul were scattered and slipt from him? If that which was perfect both before and after did fail at this only middle instant, there must appear some manifest cause how it came to pass. True it is, that "the pangs" of this heaviness and grief were "unspeakable;" and as true, that because the minds of the afflicted do never think they have fully conceived the weight or measure of their own wo, they use their affection as a whetstone both to wit and memory, these as nurses to feed grief; so that the weaker his conceit had been touching that which he was to suffer, the more it must needs in that hour have helped to the mitigation of his anguish. But his anguish we see was then at the very highest whereunto it could possibly rise; which argueth his deep apprehension, even to the last drop of the gall which that cup contained, and of every circumstance wherein there was any force to augment heaviness; but above all things, the resolute determination of God and his own unchangeable purpose, which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his Prayer, which plainly testifieth so great willingness to avoid death? Will, whether it be in God or man, belongeth

* "We ought not to desire to be free from all adversity, if it be his will, considering that he hath already declared his will therein." T. C. lib. iii. p. 201.

to the essence and nature of both. The nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God divers wills, although Godhead be in divers Persons, because the power of willing is a natural, not a personal propriety. Contrariwise, the Person of our Saviour Christ being but one, there are in him two wills, because two natures, the nature of God, and the nature of Man, which both do imply this faculty and power. So that in Christ there is a divine, and there is an human will, otherwise he were not both God and Man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as Heretics, for holding that Christ had but one will. The works and operations of our Saviour's human will were all subject to the will of God, and framed according to his Law, "I desired to do thy will, O God, and thy Law is within mine heart." Now as man's will so the will of Christ hath two several kinds of operation, the one natural or necessary, whereby it desireth simply whatsoever is good in itself, and shunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore embrace things as good, because the eye of understanding judgeth them good to that end which we simply desire. Thus in itself we desire health, physic only for health's sake. And in this sort special reason oftentimes causeth the will by choice to prefer one good thing before another, to leave one for another's sake, to forego meaner for the attainment of higher desires, which our Saviour likewise did. These different inclinations of the will considered, the reason is easy, how in Christ there might grow desires seeming, but being not indeed opposite, either the one of them unto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his speech be weighed, "My soul is now troubled, and what should I say? Father, save me out of this hour. But yet for this very cause am I come into this hour." His purpose herein was most effectually to propose to the view of the whole world two contrary objects, the like whereunto in force and efficacy were never presented in that manner to any, but only to the soul of Christ. There was presented before his eyes in that fearful hour, on the one side, God's heavy indignation and wrath towards mankind as yet unappeased, death as yet in full strength, hell as yet never mastered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, somewhat also peradventure more than is either possible or needful for the wit of man to find out; finally, himself flesh

Psal.
xl. 8.

John
xii. 27.

and blood left alone to enter into conflict with all these:* on ^{Matt. xxvii. 46.} the other side, a world to be saved by one, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that sacrifice which should be offered, a conquest over death through the power of that Deity which would not suffer the tabernacle thereof to see corruption, and an utter disappointment of all the forces of infernal powers through the purity of that soul which they should have in their hands and not be able to touch. Let no man marvel that in this case the soul of Christ was much "troubled." For what could such apprehensions breed, but (as their nature is) inexplicable passions of mind, desires abhorring what they embrace, and embracing what they abhor? In which agony, *how should the tongue go about to express* what the soul endured? When the griefs of Job were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, still unto his seeming they were undiscovered: "Though my talk (saith Job) be this day in bitterness, yet my ^{Job xxiii. 2.} plague is greater than my groaning." But here to what purpose should words serve, when Nature hath more to declare than groans and strong cries, more than streams of bloody sweats, more than his doubled and tripled Prayers can express, who thrice putting forth his hand to receive that cup, besides which there was no other cause of his coming into the world, he thrice pulleth it back again, and as often even with tears of blood craveth, "If it be possible, O Father; or if not, even what thine own good pleasure is;" for whose sake the passion, that hath in it a bitter and a bloody conflict, even with wrath, and death, and hell, is most welcome. Whereas, therefore, we find in God a will resolved that Christ shall suffer; and in the human will of Christ two actual desires, the one avoiding, and the other accepting death; is that desire which first declareth itself by Prayer, against that wherewith he concludeth Prayer, or either of them, against his mind to whom Prayer in this case seeketh? We may judge of these diversities in the will, by the like in the understanding. For as the intellectual part doth not

* "Non potuit divinitas humanitatem et secundum aliquid deseruisse, et secundum aliquid non deseruisse? Subtraxit protectionem, sed non superavit unionem. Sic ergo dereliquit ut non adjuvaret, sed non dereliquit ut recederet. Sic ergo humanitas a divinitate in passione derelicta est. Quam tamen mortem quia non pro sua iniquitate, sed pro nostra redemptione sustinuit, quare sit derelicta requireret, non quasi adversus Deum de pœna murmurans, sed nobis innocentiam suam in pœna demonstrans." Hug. de Sacram. lib. ii. Par. I. cap. 10. "*Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?*" vox est nec ignorantiae, nec diffidentiae, nec querelae, sed admirationis tantum, quæ aliis investigandæ causæ ardorem et diligentiam acuat."

cross itself, by conceiving man to be just and unjust, when it meaneth not the same man, nor by imagining the same man learned and unlearned, if learned in one skill, and in another kind of learning unskilful, because the parts of every true opposition do always both concern the same subject, and have reference to the same thing, sith otherwise they are but in shew opposite, and not in truth: so the will about one and the same thing may in contrary respects have contrary inclinations, and that without contrariety. The Minister of Justice may, for public example to others, virtuously will the execution of that party whose pardon another for consanguinity's sake as virtuously may desire. Consider death in itself, and Nature teacheth Christ to shun it; consider death as a mean to procure the salvation of the world, and Mercy worketh in Christ all willingness of mind towards it. Therefore, in these two desires there can be no repugnant opposition. Again, compare them with the will of God, and if any opposition be, it must be only between his appointment of Christ's death and the former desire which wisheth deliverance from death. But neither is this desire opposite to the will of God. The will of God was, that Christ should suffer the pains of death. Not so his will as if the torment of innocency did in itself please and delight God; but such was his will, in regard of the end whereunto it was necessary, that Christ should suffer. The death of Christ in itself, therefore, God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtain life, he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner, the Son of Man endureth willingly to that purpose those grievous pains, which simply not to have shunned had been against Nature, and by consequent against God. I take it therefore to be an error, that Christ either knew not what himself was to suffer, or else had forgotten the things he knew.* The root of which error

Isa. liii.
10.
John x.
15.

* ["He (Dr. Whitgift) draweth the example of our Saviour Christ, which 'prayed to have the cup removed (Matt. xxvi. 39) that he knew he should not obtain;' which, as he allegeth it, serveth to prove that we ought to pray for that which we are sure we shall not obtain; which is absurd, and not only to pray without, but also contrary to, faith. Neither did our Saviour Christ pray without 'promise;' for as other the children of God, to whose condition he had humbled himself, have, so had he a promise of deliverance so far as the glory of God in the accomplishment of his vocation would suffer. And I deny that, at that time he made that Prayer, to his Holy Father, 'he knew he should not obtain.' For although he knew that he should suffer, yet if I answer that as touching his humanity he knew not the most infinite and extreme weight of sufferances which God his heavenly Father had measured unto him; or knowing them, had, through the unspeakable force of the pangs which he then was in, forgotten them; I see not how this answer may not be maintained as a Christian and catholic answer. For our Saviour Christ taking unto him, together with our

was an over-restrained consideration of Prayer, as though it had no other lawful use but only to serve for a chosen mean, whereby the will resolveth to seek that which the understanding certainly knoweth it shall obtain: whereas Prayers, in truth, both ours are, and his were, as well sometime a presentation of mere desires, as a mean of procuring desired effects at the hands of God. We are, therefore, taught by his example, that the presence of dolorous and dreadful objects, even in minds most perfect, may, as clouds, overcast all sensible joy; that no assurance touching future victories, can make present conflicts so sweet and easy, but Nature will shun and shrink from them; Nature will desire ease and deliverance from oppressive burthens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes against the effect of this desire, yet not against the affection itself, because it is naturally in us; that in such case our Prayers cannot serve us as means to obtain the thing we desire; that notwithstanding they are unto God most acceptable sacrifices, because they testify we desire nothing but at his hands, and our desires we submit with contentment to be overruled by his will, and, in general, they are not repugnant unto the natural will of God, which wisheth to the works of his own hands, in that they are his own handy-work, all happiness, although perhaps for some special cause in our own particular, a contrary determination have seemed more convenient; finally, that thus to propose our desires which cannot take such effect as we specify, shall notwithstanding otherwise procure us his heavenly grace, even as this very Prayer of Christ obtained Angels to be sent him as comforters in his agony.* And, according to this example, we are not afraid to present unto God our Prayers for those things which that

Luke
xxii. 43.

nature, our infirmities, might, without all contagiou of sin, both not know some things and be subject to forgetfulness of that which he knew; not to the forgetfulness which cometh of negligence, but which cometh of a sudden astonishment and shaking of all the powers both of body and mind. All forgetfulness, I grant, is the punishment of sin; but that all forgetfulness is sin, and upon all occasions, I think the Answerer himself (Dr. W.) will not affirm." T. C. lib. iii. p. 200.]

* [Dr. Doddridge, in his *Family Expositor*, on Luke xxii. 42, says, he does not suppose our Lord there prayed to be excused entirely from sufferings and death, for that appears inconsistent with John xii. 27, 28; he thinks Hooker's solution (though he compliments it) not satisfactory, and judges it much safer to expound the petition with Sir M. Hale (*Contemplations*, Vol. I. p. 59) as relating to the terror and severity of the combat in which our Lord was then actually engaged. See (he adds) Limborch's Theol. lib. iii. c. 13, sect. 17. This throws (continues Dr. D.) great light on Heb. v. 7. "He was heard in that he feared." The Doctor subjoins (in his third edition) that this interpretation has been beautifully illustrated and judiciously confirmed by Dr. Thos. Jackson; Works, Vol. II. p. 813, 817, 947.]

2 Cor.
xiii. 7.

he will perform unto us we have no sure nor certain knowledge. St. Paul's Prayer for the Church of Corinth was, that they might not "do any evil," although he knew that no man liveth which sinneth not, although he knew that in this life we always must pray, "Forgive us our sins."* It is our frailty, that in many things we all do amiss; but a virtue, that we would do amiss in nothing; and a testimony of that virtue, when we pray that what occasion of sin soever do offer itself, we may be strengthened from above to withstand it. They pray in vain to have sin pardoned which seek not also to prevent sin by Prayer, even every particular sin by Prayer against all sin; except men can name some transgression wherewith we ought to have truce. For in very deed, although we cannot be free from all sin collectively, in such sort that no part thereof shall be found inherent in us, yet distributively, at the least, all great and grievous actual offences, as they offer themselves one by one, both may and ought to be by all means avoided. So that in this sense, to be preserved from all sin, is not impossible.† Finally, concerning deliverance itself from all adversity, we use not to say men are in adversity whensoever they feel any small hinderance of their welfare in this world, but when some notable affliction or cross, some great calamity or trouble,

* "We may not pray in this life, to be free from all sin, because we must always pray, Forgive us our sins." T. C. lib. iii. p. 200. ["You say, 'there is no promise in Scripture that we should be free from all adversity;' and, therefore, we may not pray to be free from all adversity. If this be a good argument, then will I also reason thus; 'there is no promise in Scripture that we should be free from all sin, therefore we may not pray that, &c. There is no promise in Scripture that we should be free from persecution, but the contrary rather, and therefore we may not pray, &c.' WHITGIFT'S *Def. of the Answer*, p. 492. To which T. C. lib. iii. p. 200, replies, 'Saith he, we may not pray to be free from all sin: no more, indeed, we may in this life; because we must always pray 'Forgive us our sins.' Nor yet, saith he, 'pray against persecution:' no, neither against all persecution, because it is contrary to that word which saith, that 'Every one which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.' 2 Tim. iii. 12."]

† ["The Church of England holdeth, that Christ only being the immaculate Lamb, was without sin; and that we which are baptized and regenerated in him, do all offend in many things: Article XV. You say, 'Although we cannot be free from all sin collectively, in such sort that no part thereof shall be found inherent in us, yet distributively, at the least, all great and grievous actual offences, as they offer themselves one by one, both may and ought to be by all means avoided. So that in this sense, to be preserved from all sin, is not impossible.' Here we demand to be informed, that if 'all offend in many things,' and to say otherwise be a lie, as our English Creed affirmeth, How your saying can be true, that it is impossible to avoid all great and grievous sins? And what 'many things' they be whereof the Scripture speaketh (Jas. iii. 2): Whether it meaneth not, actual offences, great and grievous; but that some may be excepted in regard of great sins? Or, Whether you mean, that it is possible for all Christians to be preserved from all great sins? And if so, Why should it not be as possible, from all small offences? And if from small and great, Why do we not keep our robe pure and without spot until the coming of Christ (Jude 23), and so be justified more and more by our Works, as the Popish Canons teach; but pray, by Christ's commandment every day, 'Forgive us our trespasses?'"—*A Christian Letter*, p. 15.]

befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it divers circumstances, the mind sundry faculties to apprehend them: it offereth sometime itself to the lower powers of the soul, as a most unpleasant spectacle; to the higher sometimes, as drawing after it a train of dangerous inconveniences; sometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of sundry evils; as God's instrument of revenge and fury sometime; sometime as a rod of his just, yet moderate ire and displeasure; sometime as matter for them that spitefully hate us to exercise their poisoned malice; sometime as a furnace of trial for virtue to shew itself, and through conflict to obtain glory. Which different contemplations of adversity do work for the most part their answerable effects. Adversity either apprehended by sense as a thing offensive and grievous to Nature, or by Reason conceived as a snare, an occasion of many men's falling from God, a sequel of God's indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan desireth and would be glad to behold; tribulation thus considered being present causeth sorrow, and being imminent breedeth fear. For moderation of which two affections, growing from the very natural bitterness and gall of adversity, the Scripture much allegeth contrary fruits, which affliction likewise hath whensoever it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of God's Holy Spirit concurring therewith. But when the Apostle St. Paul teacheth, "That every one which will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution,"* and, "by many tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven;" because in a forest of many wolves sheep cannot choose but feed in continual danger of life; or when St. James exhorteth to "accompt it a matter of exceeding joy, when we fall into divers temptations," because, "by the trial of faith, patience is brought forth;" was it, suppose we, their meaning to frustrate our Lord's admonition, "Pray that ye enter not into temptation?" When himself pronounceth them blessed that should for his name's sake be subject to all kinds of ignominy and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpose that no man should ever pray with David, "Lord, remove from me shame and contempt?" "In those tribulations (saith St. Augustine) which may hurt as well as profit, we must say with the Apostle, What we should ask as we ought we know not; yet because they are

Psal.
cxix. 71.

2 Tim.
iii. 12.

[Acts
xiv. 22.]

Jam. i.
2, 3.

[Matt.
xxvi. 41.]

Psal.
cxix. 22.
Aug.
Epist.
cxi.
c. 14.

* "To pray against ["all," in T.C.] persecution, is contrary to that word which saith, That every one which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution." T.C. lib. iii. p. 200.

tough, because they are grievous, because the sense of our weakness flieth them, we pray according to the general desire of the will of man, that God would turn them away from us; owing in the meanwhile this devotion to the Lord our God, that if he remove them not, yet we do not therefore imagine ourselves in his sight despised, but rather with godly sufferance of evils expect greater good at his merciful hands. For thus is virtue in weakness perfected." To the flesh (as the Apostle himself granteth) all affliction is naturally "grievous." Therefore, Nature which causeth to fear, teacheth to pray against all adversity. Prosperity in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuse the blessings of Almighty God, doth prove for the most part a thing dangerous to the souls of men. Very ease itself is death to the wicked, "and the prosperity of fools slayeth them:" their table is a snare, and their felicity their utter overthrow. Few men there are which long prosper and sin not. Howbeit, even as these ill effects, although they be very usual and common, are no bar to the hearty Prayers whereby most virtuous minds wish peace and prosperity always where they love, because they consider that this in itself is a thing naturally desired: so because all adversity is in itself against Nature, what should hinder to pray against it, although the Providence of God turn it often unto the great good of many men? Such Prayers of the Church "to be delivered from all adversity" are no more repugnant to any reasonable disposition of men's minds towards death, much less to that blessed patience and meek contentment which Saints by heavenly inspiration have to endure, what cross or calamity soever it pleaseth God to lay upon them, than our Lord and Saviour's own Prayer before his Passion was repugnant unto his most gracious resolution to die for the sins of the whole world.

[Heb.
xii. 11.]

Prov.
i. 32.

[Psal.
xxx. 6.]

Prayer
that all
men
may find
mercy;
and of
the will
of God,
that all
men
might be
saved.

49. In praying for deliverance from all adversity, we seek that which Nature doth wish to itself; but by entreating for mercy towards all, we declare that affection wherewith Christian charity thirsteth after the good of the whole world; we discharge that duty which the Apostle himself doth impose on the Church of Christ, as a "commendable" office, a sacrifice "acceptable in God's sight," a service according to his heart whose desire is to "have all men saved:"* a work most suitable with his purpose, who

* 1 Tim. ii. 3, 4.

gave himself to be the price of redemption *for all*, and a forcible mean to *procure the conversion* of all such as are not yet acquainted with the mysteries of that truth which must save their souls. Against it, there is but the bare shew of this one impediment, that all men's salvation, and many men's eternal condemnation or death, are things the one repugnant to the other; that both cannot be brought to pass; that we know there are "vessels of wrath," to whom God will never extend mercy, and therefore that wittingly we ask an impossible thing to be had. The truth is, that as life and death, mercy and wrath, are matters of mere understanding or knowledge, all men's salvation, and some men's endless perdition, are things so opposite, that whosoever doth affirm the one, must necessarily deny the other; God himself cannot effect both, or determine that both shall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this certainty, that life and death have divided between them the whole body of mankind. What portion either of the two hath, God himself knoweth; for us he hath left no sufficient means to comprehend, and for that cause neither given any leave to search in particular who are infallibly the heirs of the Kingdom of God, who cast-aways. Howbeit, concerning the state of all men with whom we live (for only of them our Prayers are meant) we may till the world's end, *for the present*, always presume, that *as far as in us there is power to discern* what others are, and as far as any duty of ours dependeth upon the notice of their condition in respect of God, the safest axioms for charity to rest itself upon, are these, "He which believeth already is;" and, "he which believeth not as yet, may be the child of God." It becometh not us, "during life, altogether to condemn any man, seeing that (for any thing we know) there is hope of every man's forgiveness, the possibility of whose repentance is not yet cut off by death." And, therefore, charity which "hopeth all things," prayeth also for all men. Wherefore, to let go personal knowledge touching vessels of wrath and mercy, what they are inwardly in the sight of God it skilleth not; for us there is cause sufficient in all men whereupon to ground our Prayers unto God in their behalf. For whatsoever the mind of man apprehendeth as good, the will of charity and love is to have it enlarged in the very uttermost extent,

[Rom.
ix. 22.]Sidon.
Apol.
lib. vi.
Epist.1 Cor.
xiv. 7.

Rom.
ix. 3.
x. 1.

Matt.
x. 11, 12.

Jer.
xv. 1.

[2 Pet.
iii. 9.]

that all may enjoy it to whom it can any way add perfection. Because, therefore, the farther a good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier we reckon it, our Prayers for all men's good, no less than for our own, the Apostle with very fit terms commendeth as being *καλόν*, a work commendable for the largeness of the affection from whence it springeth; even as theirs which have requested at God's hands the salvation of many with the loss of their own souls, drowning, as it were, and overwhelming themselves in the abundance of their love towards others, is proposed as being in regard of the rareness of such affections *ὑπέρκαλον*, more than excellent. But this extraordinary height of desire after other men's salvation, is no common mark. The other is a duty which belongeth unto all, and prevaieth with God daily. For as it is in itself good, so God accepteth and taketh [it in very good part at the hands of faithful men. Our Prayers for all men do include both them that shall find mercy, and them also that shall find none.* For them that shall, no man will doubt but our Prayers are both accepted and granted. Touching them for whom we crave that mercy which is not to be obtained, let us not think that our Saviour did misinstruct his Disciples, willing them to pray for the peace even of such as should be incapable of so great a blessing; or that the Prayers of the Prophet Jeremy offended God, because the answer of God was a resolute denial of favour to them for whom supplication was made. And if any man doubt how God should accept such Prayers in case they be opposite to his will, or not grant them if they be according unto that which himself willeth; our answer is, that such suits God accepteth in that they are conformable unto his *general inclination*, which is, that all men might be saved; yet always he granteth them not, forasmuch as there is in God sometimes a more private *occasioned will* which determineth the contrary.† So that the other being the rule of our actions, and

* ["They pray that all men may be saved."]—*Admonition*, Part II.]

† ["The Church of England believeth, that Predestination unto life is the eternal purpose of God, whereby before the foundations of the world were laid, he constantly decreed by his Counsel, unto us unknown, to deliver from the curse and destruction them whom he chose in Christ out of mankind; and, as vessels made unto honour, through Christ to bring them to eternal Salvation. Whereupon they who are indowed with so excellent benefit of God, are called according to his purpose, and that by his Spirit working in a fit time: ARTICLE XVII. But you, Master Hoo. seem to us, to affirm contrary, when you say, 'If any man doubt how God should accept such prayers in case they be opposite to his will, or not grant them if they be according to that himself willeth; our answer is, that such suits God accepteth in that

not this; our requests for things opposite to this will of God are not therefore the less gracious in his sight. There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the will of God, and that otherwise in whatsoever we do we sin. For of ourselves, being so apt to err, the only way which we have to straighten our paths is, by following the rule of his will, whose footsteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foot, do that which the will commandeth, though they serve as instruments to sin, yet is sin the commander's fault and not theirs; because Nature hath absolutely, and without exception, made them subjects to the will of man, which is lord over them. As the body is subject to the will of man, so man's will to the will of God; for so it behoveth that the better should guide and command the worse. But because the subjection of the body to the will is by natural necessity, the subjection of the will unto God voluntary; we therefore stand in need of direction after what sort our wills and desires may be rightly conformed to his: which is not done by willing always the self-same thing that God intendeth. For it may chance, that his purpose is sometime the speedy death of them whose long continuance in life if we should not wish we

they are conformable to his *general inclination*, which is, that all men might be saved; yet always he granteth them not, forasmuch as there is in God a more private *occasioned will*, which determineth the contrary.' Here we beg your aid, to make manifest unto us, How God eternally predestineth by a constant decree, them whom he calleth and saveth, as our Church professeth, and yet hath, as you say, a 'general inclination that all men might be saved?' Whether he foresaw not something that occasioned his will otherwise; so that he elected not all, but only them whom he calleth and saveth; or that of his general inclination he elected all men, but some more privately occasioned him in time to alter his will, and to refuse them; or, that some men gave God occasion that he saveth them, though he never decreed it before the foundations of the world? What meant the blessed Apostle, where he saith, 'Whom he predestinated, them also he called; and whom he called, them also he justified, &c.' Rom. viii. 30; is this to be understood of a constant decree, as we say, or of an 'inclination?' He saith, 'God worketh all things after the counsel of his own will,' Eph. i. 11; is this to be understood, that upon *occasion* sometimes he either altereth his counsel, or decreeth something which he had not thought upon before? St. James saith, that in God there is 'no variableness, nor shadow of turning,' James i. 19; is not this more than a variableness or shadow of turning, to *incline* one way, and upon *occasion* to decree another? Do not these words of yours give some place unto chance and fortune? Do they not make God as a man, not of an all-sufficient knowledge, wisdom, and counsel, but *inclinable* some one way, till by *occasion* he find a better way? Where is that God you speak of in your First Book (p. 75), 'Of whom, through whom, and for whom, are all things,' Rom. xi. 36? And, where is that Law by which he worketh, which you there call 'eternal, and therefore can have no shew or colour of mutability?' Have we not cause to fear that the witty Schoolmen have seduced you, and by their conceited distinctions made you forget, That you are 'neither able nor worthy to open and look into the book of God's Law, by which he guideth the world?' *Ibid.* p. 75. And yet you will say, 'There is in God an *occasioned will*!' Good Master Hoo. help us here, and shew us how we may think that you incline not to the error of Popery touching Works foreseen, and that you favour our Church's belief."—*A Christian Letter*, p. 15.]

were unnatural. When the object or matter, therefore, of our desires is (as in this case) a thing both good of itself, and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we desire it is virtuous and apparently most holy; when the root from which our affection towards it proceedeth is charity; piety that which we do in declaring our desire by Prayer; yea, over and besides all this, sith we know, that to pray for all men living is but to shew the same affection which towards every of them our Lord Jesus Christ hath borne, who knowing only as God who are his, did as man taste death for the good of all men;* surely, to that will of God which ought to be, and is, the known rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppose ourselves, although his secret determination happily be against us; which if we did understand, as we do not, yet to rest contented with that which God will have done, is as much as he requireth at the hands of men. And concerning ourselves, what we earnestly crave in this case, the same, as all things else that are of like condition, we meekly submit unto his most gracious will and pleasure. Finally, as we have cause sufficient why to think the practice of our Church allowable in this behalf, so neither is ours the first which hath been of that mind. For, to end with the words of Prosper, "This Law of Supplication for all men (saith he) the devout zeal of all Priests, and of all faithful men, doth hold with such full agreement, that there is not any part of all the world, where Christian people do not use to pray in the same manner. The Church every where maketh Prayers unto God not only for saints, and such as already in Christ are regenerate; but for all Infidels and enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ, for all Idolaters, for all that persecute Christ in his followers, for Jews to whose blindness the light of the Gospel doth not yet shine, for Heretics and Schismatics who from the unity of Faith and Charity are estranged. And for such, what doth the Church ask of God but this, that leaving their errors, they may be converted unto him, that Faith and Charity may be given them, and that out of the darkness of ignorance, they may come

Prosper.
de Vocat.
Gen.
lib. i.
c. 4.
inter
opera
Ambros.

* "Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, si Christus homo secundum affectum pietatis, quam in humanitate sua assumpserat, aliquid volebat, quod tamen secundum voluntatem divinam, in qua cum Patre omnia disponebat, futurum non esse præsciebat; quia et hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, ut pietate moveretur; et hoc ad veram divinitatem, ut a sua dispositione non moveretur." Hug. de Quat. Christi Volunt.

to the knowledge of his truth? which because they cannot themselves do in their own behalf, as long as the sway of evil custom overbearth them, and the chains of Satan detain them bound, neither are they able to break through those errors wherein they are so determinately settled, that they pay unto falsity the whole sum of whatsoever love is owing unto God's truth. Our Lord, merciful and just, requireth to have all men prayed for; that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawn up from the depth of so bottomless evils, we may not doubt, but (in part) God hath done the thing requested; nor despair, but that being thankful for them towards whom already he hath shewed mercy, the rest which are not as yet enlightened, shall, before they pass out of life, be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the grace of him which saveth," for so we see it falleth out, "overpass some, so that the Prayer of the Church for them be not received, this we may leave to the hidden judgments of God's righteousness, and acknowledge that in this secret there is a gulf, which while we live we shall never sound."

50. Instruction and Prayer, whereof we have hitherto spoken, are duties which serve as elements, parts, or principles, to the rest that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chief. The Church is to us that very Mother of our new birth,* in whose bowels we are all bred, at whose breasts we receive nourishment. As many, therefore, as are apparently to our judgment born of God, they have the seed of their regeneration by the ministry of the Church, which useth to that end and purpose not only the Word, but the Sacraments, both having generative force and virtue. As oft as we mention a sacrament properly understood (for in the writings of the ancient Fathers, all articles which are peculiar to Christian Faith, all duties of Religion containing that which sense or natural reason cannot of itself discern, are most commonly named Sacraments), our restraint of the Word to some few principal divine Ceremonies, importeth in every such Ceremony two things, the substance of the Ceremony itself which is visible, and besides that somewhat else more secret, in reference whereunto we conceive that Ceremony to be a Sacrament.†

Of the name, the author, and the force, of Sacraments; which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.

* Gal. iv. 26. Isai. liv. 3.

† ["The outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace." *Church Cat.*]

For we all admire and honour the Holy Sacraments, not respecting so much the service which we do unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that sacred and secret gift which we thereby receive from God. Seeing that Sacraments, therefore, consist altogether in relation to some such gift or grace supernatural as only God can bestow, how should any but the Church administer those Ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to be observed their force and their form of administration. Upon their force, their necessity dependeth. So that how they are necessary we cannot discern till we see how effectual they are. When Sacraments are said to be visible signs of invisible grace, we thereby conceive how grace is indeed the very end for which these heavenly mysteries were instituted; and besides sundry other properties observed in them, the matter whereof they consist is such as signifieth, figureth, and representeth, their end. But still their efficacy resteth obscure to our understanding, except we search somewhat more distinctly what grace in particular that is whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they have towards it. The use of Sacraments is but only in this life, yet so, that here they concern a far better life than this, and are for that cause accompanied with *grace which worketh salvation*. Sacraments are the powerful instruments of God to eternal life. For as our natural life consisteth in the union of the body with the soul, so our life supernatural in the union of the soul with God. And forasmuch as there is no union of God with man, without that mean between both, which is both;* it seemeth requisite, that we first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the Sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ. In other things we may be more brief, but the weight of these requireth largeness.

That
God is in
Christ
by the
personal
Incarna-
tion of

51. "The Lord our God is but one God."† In which indivisible unity, notwithstanding, we adore the Father, as being altogether of himself; we glorify that consubstantial Word which is the Son; we bless and magnify that

* "Oportebat Deum carnem fieri, ut in semetipso concordiam confibularet terrenorum pariter atque celestium, dum utriusque partis in se connectens pignora, et Deum pariter homini, et hominem Deo copularet." *Novatian. de Trinit.*

† [Mark xii. 29.]

co-essential Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the Holy Ghost. Seeing, therefore, the Father is of none, the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by these their several properties really distinguishable each from other. For the Substance of God with this property *to be of none*, doth make the Person of the Father; the very self-same Substance in number with this property *to be of the Father*, maketh the Person of the Son; the same Substance having added unto it the property of *proceeding from the other two*, maketh the Person of the Holy Ghost. So that in every Person there is implied both the Substance of God, which is one; and also that property which causeth the same Person really and truly to differ from the other two. Every Person hath his own subsistence which no other besides hath,† although there be others besides that are of the same Substance. As no man but Peter can be the person which Peter is, yet Paul hath the self-same nature which [with] Peter. Again, Angels have every of them the nature of pure and invisible Spirits, but every Angel is not that Angel which appeared in a dream to Joseph. Now when God became Man, lest we should err in applying this to the Person of the Father, or of the Spirit, St. Peter's confession unto Christ was, "Thou art the Son of the living God;" and St. John's exposition thereof was plain, that it is the "Word" which was made Flesh.‡ "The Father and the Holy Ghost (saith Damascen) have no communion with the Incarnation of the Word, otherwise than only by approbation and assent."§ Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the Word and Deity are one subject, we must beware we exclude not the nature of God from Incarnation, and so make the Son of God incarnate not to be very God. For, undoubtedly, even the Nature of God itself in the only Person of the Son is incarnate, and hath taken to itself Flesh.|| Wherefore, Incarnation may neither be granted

the Son,
who is
very
God.*

Matt.
xvi. 16.
John
i. 14.

* Isai. ix. 6. Jer. xiii. 6. Rom. ix. 5. John xvi. 15. v. 21. Col. ii. 9. 1 John v. 20.

† Πρόσωπον, ἡγουν, ὑπόστασις ἐστὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας, τὸ ἴδιον παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινοῦς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ φύσις ἐκάστου πράγματος, ἴδιαι δὲ εἰσιν αἱ ὑποστάσεις. Suid. Ἡ οὐσία δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὑφίσταται, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἰδιάζοντος ἔχει ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπόκειται. Damasc. de Orthod. Fide, lib. iii. cap. 6.

‡ "Ὁς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ Λόγος οὐ βητὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρου φάσμα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θείας οὐσία γεννητή. Ign. Epist. ad Magnes.

§ Κατ' οὐδένᾳ λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῇ σαρκώσει τοῦ Λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. Damasc. c. 11.

|| "In illo Divinitas est Unigeniti facta participes mortalitatis nostræ, ut et nos participes ejus immortalitatis essemus." Aug. Epist. 57.

to any Person but only one, nor yet denied to that Nature which is common unto all three. Concerning the cause of which incomprehensible mystery, forasmuch as it seemeth a thing unconsonant that the world should honour any other as the Saviour, but him whom it honoureth as the Creator of the world, and in the wisdom of God it hath not been thought convenient to admit any way of saving man but by man himself, though nothing should be spoken of the love and mercy of God towards man, which this way are become such a spectacle as neither men nor Angels can behold without a kind of heavenly astonishment, we may hereby perceive there is cause sufficient why divine nature should assume human, that so "God might be in Christ reconciling to himself the world." And if some cause be likewise required, why rather to this end and purpose the Son, than either the Father or the Holy Ghost, should be made man, could we which are born the children of wrath, be adopted the sons of God through grace, any other [way] than the natural Son of God being Mediator between God and us? It became therefore him, by whom all things are, to be the way of salvation to all,* that the institution and restitution of the world might be both wrought by one hand. The world's salvation was without the Incarnation of the Son of God a thing impossible; not simply impossible, but impossible, it being presupposed, that the will of God was no otherwise to have it saved, than by the death of his own Son. Wherefore, taking to himself our flesh, and by his Incarnation making it his own flesh, he had now of his own, although from us, what to offer unto God for us. And as Christ took manhood, that by it he might be capable of death, whereunto he humbled himself; so, because manhood is the proper subject of compassion and feeling pity, which maketh the sceptre of Christ's regency even in the Kingdom of Heaven amiable, he which without our nature could not on earth suffer for the sins of the world, doth now also, by means thereof, both make intercession to God for sinners, and exercise dominion over all men with a true, a natural, and a sensible touch of mercy.

2 Cor.
v. 19.

Heb.
ii. 10.

Heb.
iv. 15.

The mis-
interpre-
tations

52. It is not in man's ability either to express perfectly, or conceive the manner how this was brought to pass. But the

* [Consult the Text.]

strength of our Faith is tried by those things wherein our wits and capacities are not strong. Howbeit, because this divine mystery is more true than plain, divers, having framed the same to their own conceits and fancies, are found in their expositions thereof more plain than true: insomuch, that by the space of five hundred years after Christ, the Church was almost troubled with nothing else, saving only with care and travail to preserve this Article from the sinister construction of Heretics: whose first mists when the light of the Nicene Council had dispelled, it was not long ere Macedonius transferred unto God's most Holy Spirit the same blasphemy wherewith Arius had already dishonoured his co-eternally begotten Son; not long ere Apollinarius began to pare away from Christ's humanity.* In refutation of which impieties, when the Fathers of the Church, Athanasius, Basil, and the two Gregories, had by their painful travails sufficiently cleared the truth, no less for the Deity of the Holy Ghost, than for the complete humanity of Christ, there followed hereupon a final conclusion, whereby those Controversies, as also the rest which Paulus Samosatenus, Sabellius, Photinus, Aetius, Eunomius, together with the whole swarm of pestilent Demi-Arians had from time to time stirred up sithence the Council of Nice, were both privately, first at Rome in a smaller Synod, and then at Constantinople, in a general famous Assembly, brought to a peaceable and quiet end; seven-score Bishops and ten agreeing in that Confession, which by them set down, remaineth at this present hour a part of our Church Liturgy, a memorial of their fidelity and zeal, a sovereign preservative of God's People from the venomous infection of Heresy. Thus in Christ the verity of God, and the complete substance of man, were with full agreement established throughout the world, till such time as the Heresy of Nestorius broached itself, "dividing Christ into two Persons, the Son of God, and the Son of Man; the one a Person begotten of God before all worlds, the other also a Person born of the Virgin Mary, and in special favour chosen to be made intire to the Son of God above all men, so that whosoever will honour God, must together honour Christ, with whose Person God hath vouchsafed to join himself in

which
Heresy
hath
made of
the man-
ner how
God and
Man are
united
in one
Christ.

A. D.
325.

A. D.
381.

* Μηδὲ γὰρ δεηθῆναι φησὶ τὴν σάρκα ἐκείνην ἀνθρωπίνου νοὸς ἡγεμονευομένην διὰ τοῦ αὐτῇ ἐνδεδουκότος θεοῦ. Suid.

so high a degree of gracious respect and favour.* But that the self-same Person which verily is man, should properly be God also, and that by reason not of two Persons linked in amity, but of two Natures, human and divine, conjoined in one and the same Person, the God of Glory may be said as well to have suffered death, as to have raised the dead from their graves, the Son of Man as well to have made as to have redeemed the world, Nestorius in no case would admit. That which deceived him was want of heed to the first beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. "The Word (saith St. John) was made flesh, and dwelt in us." The Evangelist useth the plural number, men for manhood, "*us*" for the nature whereof we consist, even as the Apostle, denying the assumption of Angelical nature, saith likewise in the plural number, "He took not Angels', but the seed of Abraham." It pleased not the Word, or Wisdom of God, to take to itself some one person amongst men, for then should that one have been advanced which was assumed, and no more; but Wisdom, to the end she might save many, built her house of that nature which is common unto all,† she made not this or that man her habitation, but "*dwelt in us.*" The seeds of herbs and plants at the first, are not in act, but in possibility, that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Son of God had taken to himself a man now made and already perfected, it would of necessity follow, that there are in Christ two Persons, the one assuming, and the other assumed; whereas the Son of God did not assume a man's person unto his own, but a man's nature to his own Person; and therefore took *semen*, "the seed of Abraham," the very first original element of our nature, before it was come to have any personal human subsistence.‡ The flesh and the conjunction of the flesh with God began both at one instant; his making and taking to himself our flesh was but one act, so that in Christ there is no personal subsistence but one, and that from everlasting. By taking only the nature of man, he still continueth one Person, and changeth but the manner of

John
i. 14.

Heb.
ii. 16.

* Οὐκ ἔτι τῇ ἐνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν. Cyril. Epist. ad Eulog. Οὐκ ἔλεγε γὰρ ἑνωσιν τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς Ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε καὶ διαίρεσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἄνθρωπον καὶ Θεὸν ἀπεκάλει τὸν Χριστὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ σχέσει καὶ τῇ οἰκειώσει κατὰ τὸ ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ἀρέσκειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλίας. Leont. de Sect.

† [Eph. ii. 21, 22.]

‡ Ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις οὐ προϋπήρχε τῆς λήψεως. Theod. Dial. Ἄτρεπτος.

his subsisting, which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh. Forasmuch therefore as Christ hath no personal subsistence but one whereby we acknowledge him to have been eternally the Son of God, we must of necessity apply to the *Person* of the Son of God, even that which is spoken of Christ according to his human nature. For example, according to the flesh he was born of the Virgin Mary, baptized of John in the river Jordan, by Pilate adjudged to die, and executed by the Jews. We cannot say properly, that the Virgin bore, or John did baptize, or Pilate condemn, or the Jews crucify, the nature of man, because these all are personal attributes; his Person is the subject which receiveth them, his nature that which maketh his Person capable or apt to receive. If we should say, that the person of a man in our Saviour Christ was the subject of these things, this were plainly to entrap ourselves in the very snare of the Nestorian's Heresy, between whom and the Church of God there was no difference, saving only that Nestorius imagined in Christ as well a personal human subsistence, as a divine; the Church acknowledging a substance both divine and human, but no other personal subsistence than divine, because the Son of God took not to himself a man's person, but the nature only of a man. Christ is a Person both divine and human, howbeit not therefore two Persons in one; neither both these in one sense, but a Person divine, because he is *personally* the Son of God; human, because *he hath* really the *nature* of the children of men. In Christ, therefore, God and man, "There is (saith Paschasius) a twofold substance, not a twofold Person, because one Person extinguisheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct." For the personal being which the Son of God already had, suffered not the substance to be personal which he took, although, together with the nature which he had, the nature also which he took continueth. Whereupon it followeth against Nestorius, that no person was born of the Virgin but the Son of God, no person but the Son of God baptized, the Son of God condemned, the Son of God and no other person crucified; which one only point of Christian belief, The infinite worth of the Son of God, is the very ground of all things believed concerning life and salvation, by that which Christ either did or suffered as man in our behalf. But forasmuch as

Pasch.
de Spir.
Sanct.

An.
Dom.
431.

St. Cyril, the chiefest of those two hundred Bishops assembled in the Council of Ephesus, where the Heresy of Nestorius was condemned, had in his writings against the Arians avouched, that "the Word" or "Wisdom" of God hath "but one nature," which is eternal, and whereunto he assumed flesh (for the Arians were of opinion, that besides God's own eternal Wisdom, there is a Wisdom which God created before all things, to the end he might thereby create all things else; and that this created Wisdom was the Word which took flesh): again, forasmuch as the same Cyril had given instance in the body and the soul of man, no farther than only to enforce by example against Nestorius, that a visible and invisible, a mortal and an immortal, substance, may united make "one person;" the words of Cyril were in process of time so taken, as though it had been his drift to teach, that even as in us the body and the soul, so in Christ God and man make but "*one nature.*" Of which error, six hundred and thirty Fathers in the Council of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches. For as Nestorius, teaching rightly that God and man are distinct natures, did thereupon misinfer, that in Christ those natures can by no conjunction make one Person; so Eutyches, of sound belief as touching their true personal copulation, became unsound, by denying the difference which still continueth between the one and the other nature. We must therefore keep warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of Persons, wherein Nestorius went awry; and also this later confusion of Natures, which deceived Eutyches. These natures, from the moment of their first combination, have been and are for ever inseparable.* For even when his soul forsook the tabernacle of his body, his Deity forsook neither body nor soul. If it had, then could we not truly hold, either that the Person of Christ was buried, or that the Person of Christ did raise up itself from the dead. For the body separated from the Word, can in no true sense be termed the Person of Christ; nor is it true to say, that the Son of God in raising up that body, did raise up himself, if the body were not both with him, and of him, even during the time it lay in the sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the soul, otherwise we are plainly and inevitably Nestorians. The very Person of Christ,

* Ἀχώριστον προσήκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ τῷ τάφῳ. Theodor. Dial. Ἀπασθής.

therefore, for ever one and the self-same, was only, touching bodily substance, concluded within the grave, his soul only from thence severed; but by personal union his Deity still unseparably joined with both.

53. The sequel of which conjunction of Natures in the Person of Christ, is no abolishment of natural properties appertaining to either substance; no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another, finally, no such mutual infusion, as really causeth the same natural operations or properties to be made common unto both substances; but whatsoever is natural to Deity, the same remaineth in Christ uncommunicated unto his manhood, and whatsoever natural to manhood, his Deity thereof is incapable. The true properties and operations of his Deity are, to know that which is not possible for *created* natures to comprehend; to be simply the highest Cause of all things, the Well-spring of immortality and life; to have neither end nor beginning of days; to be every where present, and enclosed no where; to be subject to no alteration nor passion; to produce of itself those effects which cannot proceed but from infinite Majesty and Power. The true properties and operations of his manhood are such as Irenæus reckoneth up: "If Christ (saith he) had not taken flesh from the very earth, he would not have coveted those earthly nourishments wherewith bodies which be taken from thence are fed. This was the nature which felt hunger after long fasting, was desirous of rest after travail, testified compassion and love by tears, groaned in heaviness, and with extremity of grief even melted away itself into bloody sweats."* To Christ we ascribe both working of wonders and suffering of pains; we use concerning him speeches as well of humility, as of divine glory; but the one we apply unto that nature which he took of the Virgin Mary, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not, therefore, imagine, that the properties of the weaker nature have vanisht with the presence of the more glorious, and have been therein swallowed up as in a gulf. We dare not in this point give ear to them who over boldly affirm, "That the nature which Christ took weak and feeble from us, by being mingled with Deity,

That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either.

Greg. Nys. Epist. ad

* Ταῦτα πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένης. Iren. lib. iii. advers. Hæres. Christ did all these ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμιμα. Greg. Nazian. Orat. ii. de Filio. Τὸς μὲν ταπεινὸς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἀνηγμένους καὶ θεοπερεσιῶς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι Λόγῳ. Theod. Dial. Ἀσύγχυτος.

Theo-
phil.
Alex-
andr.

became the same which Deity is; that the assumption of our substance unto his, was like the blending of a drop of vinegar with the huge ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those properties which severed it hath; because sithence the instant of their conjunction all distinction of the one from the other is extinct, and whatsoever we can now conceive of the Son of God, is nothing else but mere Deity:" which words are so plain and direct for Eutyches, that I stand in doubt, they are not his whose name they carry. Sure I am, they are far from truth, and must of necessity give place to the better-advised sentences of other men.

Hilar.
de Trin.
lib. ix.

"He which in himself was appointed (saith Hilary) a Mediator to save his Church, and, for performance of that mystery of mediation between God and man, is become God and man, doth now, being but one, consist of both those natures united, neither hath he, through the union of both, incurred the damage or loss of either; lest, by being born a man, we should think he hath given over to be God; or, that because he continueth God, therefore he cannot be man also; whereas the true belief which maketh a man happy, proclaimeth jointly God and man, confesseth the Word and flesh together." Cyril more plainly: "His two natures have knit themselves the one to the other, and are in that nearness as incapable of confusion as of distraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference between them; flesh is not become God, but doth still continue flesh, although it be now the flesh of God." Yea, "Of each substance (saith Leo) the properties are all preserved and kept safe."* These two natures are as causes and original grounds of all things which Christ hath done. Wherefore some things he doth as God, because his Deity alone is the well-spring from which they flow; some things as man, because they issue from his mere human nature; some things jointly as both God and man, because both natures concur as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each nature do cleave only to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Christ cannot *naturally* be as God the same which he *naturally* is as man; yet both natures may very well concur unto *one effect*, and Christ in that respect be truly said to *work* both as God and as man one and the self-same

Cyr.
Epist.
ad Nest.

* "Salva proprietate utriusque naturæ, suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas." Leo Epist. ad Flav.

thing. Let us, therefore, set it down for a rule or principle so necessary, as nothing more, to the plain deciding of all doubts and questions about the union of natures in Christ, That of both Natures there is a *co-operation* often, an *association* always, but never any mutual *participation*, whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other. Which rule must serve for the better understanding of that which Damascene hath touching cross and circulatory speeches, wherein there are attributed to God such things as belong to manhood, and to man such as properly concern the Deity of Christ Jesus, the cause whereof is the *association* of natures in one subject. A kind of mutual commutation there is, whereby those concrete names, *God* and *Man*, when we speak of Christ, do take interchangeably one another's room, so that for truth of speech, it skilleth not whether we say, that the Son of God hath created the world, and the Son of Man by his death hath saved it; or else, that the Son of Man did create, and the Son of God die to save the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the manhood of Christ claimeth, or to man what his Deity hath right unto, we understand by the name of *God*, and the name of *Man*, neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole person of Christ, in whom both natures are.* When the Apostle saith of the Jews, that they crucified the Lord of Glory, and when the Son of Man, being on earth, affirmeth, that the Son of Man was in Heaven at the same instant; there is in these two speeches that mutual circulation before-mentioned. In the one, there is attributed to God, or "the Lord of ¹ Cor. ii. 8. Glory," death, whereof divine nature is not capable; in the other, ubiquity unto man, which human nature admitteth ^{John iii. 13.} not. Therefore, by "the Lord of Glory," we must needs understand the whole Person of Christ, who, being Lord of Glory, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature for which he is termed the Lord of Glory. In like manner, by "the Son of Man," the whole Person of Christ must necessarily be meant, who, being man upon earth, filled Heaven with his glorious presence, but not according to that nature for

* Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἑκατέρας φύσεως τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν ἰδίων, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. Damasc. de Orthod. Fid. lib. iii. c. 4. "Verum est duarum in Christo naturarum alteram suas alteri proprietates impertire, enunciando videlicet, idque non in abstracto sed in concreto solum, divinas homini non humanitati, humanas non deitati sed Deo tribui. Cujus hæc est ratio, quia, cum suppositum prædicationis sit ejusmodi, ut utramque naturam in se contineat, sive ab una sive ab altera denominetur, nihil refert."

which the title of Man is given him. Without this caution, the Fathers, whose belief was sincere, and their meaning most sound, shall seem in their writings, one to deny what another constantly doth affirm. Theodoret disputeth, with great earnestness, that "God" cannot be said to suffer. But he thereby meaneth Christ's *divine Nature* against Apollinarius which held even Deity itself passible.* Cyril on the other side against Nestorius as much contendeth, that whosoever will deny "very God" to have suffered death, doth forsake the faith. Which, notwithstanding, to hold, were Heresy, if the name of God in this assertion did not import, as it doth, the Person of Christ, who being verily God, suffered death, but in the flesh, and not in that substance for which the name of God is given him.

What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his flesh with Deity.

54. If then both natures do remain with their properties in Christ thus distinct, as hath been shewed, we are, for our better understanding what either nature receiveth from other, to note, that Christ is by three degrees a receiver: first, in that he is the Son of God; secondly, in that his human nature hath had the honour of union with Deity bestowed upon it; thirdly, in that by means thereof sundry eminent graces have flowed as effects from Deity into that nature which is coupled with it. On Christ, therefore, there is bestowed the gift of Eternal Generation, the gift of Union, and the gift of Uncion. By the gift of Eternal Generation, Christ hath received of the Father one, and in number the self-same substance, which the Father hath of himself unreceived from any other.† For every beginning is a father unto that which cometh of it, and every offspring is a son unto that out of which it groweth.‡ Seeing, therefore, the Father alone is originally§ that Deity which Christ

* *Θρητὴν τοῦ Τιού κατασκευάζουσι τὴν θεότητα.* Greg. Nyss. de Sectator. Apollinar. Epist. ad Flav.

† "Nativitas Dei non potest non eam, ex qua profecta est, tenere naturam. Neque enim aliud quam Deus subsistit, qui non aliunde quam ex Deo Deus subsistit." Hilar. de Trin. lib. v.

"Cum sit gloria, sempiternitate, virtute, regno, potestate, hoc quod Pater est, omnia tamen hæc non sine auctore sicut Pater, sed ex Patre tanquam Filius sine initio et æqualis habet." Ruffin. in Symb. Apost. cap. 9. "Filius aliunde non deduco, sed de substantia Patris omnem a Patre consecutum potestatem." Tertull. contra Prax.

‡ Ephes. iii. 15. *πᾶσα πατρίδι*, quicquid alteri quovis modo dat esse.

§ Jac. i. 17. *Πατήρ τοῦ φωτός καὶ πνεύματος ἀληθοῦς.* Pachym. in Dionys. de cœl. Hierar. cap. 1. "Pater est principium totius divinitatis, quia ipse a nullo est. Non enim habet de quo procedat, sed ab eo et Filius est genitus et Spiritus Sanctus procedit." Aug. de Trinit. lib. iv. cap. 20. "Hinc Christus deitatis loco nomen ubique Patris usurpat, quia Pater nimirum est *πρωταῖος θεός*."

originally* is not† (for Christ is God by being of God;‡ light by issuing out of light);§ it followeth hereupon, that whatsoever Christ hath common unto him with his heavenly Father, the same of necessity must be *given* him,|| but naturally and eternally given;¶ not bestowed by way of benevolence and favour, as the other gifts both are. And, therefore, where the Fathers give it out for a rule, That whatsoever Christ is said in Scripture to have *received*, the same we ought to apply only to the manhood of Christ; ** their assertion is true of all things which Christ hath received *by grace*; but to that which he hath received of the Father by eternal nativity or birth it reacheth not.†† Touching Union of Deity with manhood, it is by grace, because there can be no greater grace shewed towards man, than that God should vouchsafe to unite to man's nature

* "Pater tota substantia est, Filius vero derivatio totius et propagatio." Tertull. contra Prax.

† [One foundation of Christian Faith professed by the English Church is this, There is one true and living God, &c. Article I.; And, Although we acknowledge the three Persons to be God and Lord, yet the Godhead of the Father and the Son is all one, &c. Quicunque vult, in the Book of Common Prayer (or the Creed of St. Athanasius). Here we crave of you Master Hoo. to explain your own meaning where you say, 'The Father alone is originally that Deity which Christ originally is not.' how the Godhead of the Father and of the Son be all one, and yet originally not the same Deity! And then teach us how far this differeth from the Heresy of Arius, who saith of God the Son, There was when he was not, who yet granteth that he was before all creatures, 'of things which were not.' Socrat. lib. i. c. 5. Whether such words weaken not the eternity of the Son in the opinion of the simple, or at least make the Son inferior to the Father in respect of the Godhead; or else teach the ignorant, there be many Gods?"—*A Christian Letter*, p. 6.]

‡ "Quod enim Deus est, ex Deo est." Hilar. de Trin. lib. v. "Nihil nisi natum habet Filius." Hilar. de Trin. lib. iv.

§ Ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης. Heb. i. 3. Ἔστιν ἀπόρρεια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής—ἀπαύγασμα—φωτὸς ἀδίου. Sap. vii. 25, 26.

|| "Nihil in se diversum ac dissimile habent natus et generans." Hilar. de Synod. advers. Aria.

¶ "In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud." Vincent. Lyr. cap. 19.

¶ "Ubi auctor æternus est, ibi et nativitas æternitas est: quia sicut nativitas ab auctore est, ita et ab æterno auctore æterna nativitas est." Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii. "Sicut naturam præstat Filio sine initio Generatio: ita Spiritus Sancti præstat essentiam sine initio Processio." Aug. de Trin. lib. v. cap. 15.

** "Ὅσα λέγει ἡ γραφή ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ ἔδοξάσθη, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ λέγει, οὐ τὴν θεότητα. Theod. fol. 42. et ex Greg. Nazian. Orat. ii. de Fil. ibid. 44.

†† [All prolix discussions or attempts at explaining the doctrine of the Trinity, or the mode of subsistence, either in Deity or in the constitution of the Person of Christ, are of doubtful utility. "In so far as these things are at all revealed, they are matters of fact requiring belief; in so far as they remain mysteries, endeavouring to explain them is useless and absurd. The statements of Scripture on these subjects are all very short, and abundantly more intelligible than any human dissertations which have ever been written on them.... When OWEN speaks of the 'Eternal Generation of the Divine Person of the Son, being a necessary internal act of the Divine Nature, in the Person of the Father,' he uses language both unscriptural and unintelligible. This is travelling out of the Record, the only effect of which in all cases, is 'darkening counsel by words without knowledge.' Job xxxviii. 2. The language of the ancient Creeds, and the discussions of the Schoolmen, have done more to stumble men at the Doctrine of the Trinity, than all other things put together. How difficult, but how important is it, to follow Revelation fully, and to be satisfied within its limits!"—*Life of John Owen, D. D.* By the Rev. W. ORME. 1820. 8vo. p. 411.]

John
iii. 35.

Col. i.
19.

Phil.
ii. 9.
John
v. 26.

1 John
v. 20.
Hic est
verus
Deus,
et vita
aeterna.

[John
i. 14.]

the person of his only-begotten Son. Because "the Father loveth the Son" as man, he hath by uniting Deity with manhood, "*given* all things into his hands." It hath "*pleased* the Father, that in him all fulness should dwell." The "name" which he hath "above all names" is *given* him. "As the Father hath life in himself," the "Son in himself hath life also" by the *gift* of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Christ a fountain of life, is that *conjunction* of the nature of God with the nature of man in the Person of Christ, which "gift"* (saith Christ to the woman of Samaria) "if thou didst know," and in *that respect* understand "who it is" which asketh water of thee, "thou wouldest ask of him, that he might give thee living water." The union therefore of the flesh with Deity, is to *that flesh* a gift of principal grace and favour. For, by virtue of this grace, man is really made God, a creature is exalted above the dignity of all creatures, and hath all creatures else under it. This admirable union of God with man can enforce in that higher nature no alteration, because unto God there is nothing more natural, than not to be subject to any change.† Neither is it a thing impossible, that "the Word being made flesh," should be that which it was not before as touching the manner of subsistence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the same it was, because the Incarnation of the Son of God consisteth *merely in the union* of natures, which union doth add perfection to the weaker, to the nobler no alteration at all. If, therefore, it be demanded what the Person of the Son of God hath attained by assuming manhood; surely, the whole sum of all is this, to be as we are, truly, really, and naturally man, by means whereof he is made capable of meaner offices than otherwise his Person could have admitted; the only gain he thereby purchased for himself, was to be capable of loss and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be said concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, that as our nature hath in no respect changed his,

* John iv. 10.

† "Ὅσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινὸν ἐστὶ τὸ θνήσκειν, οὕτω τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἀτρέπτον τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον. Theodor. Dial. "Ἀτρέπτος. "Periculum status sui Deo nullum est." Tertull. de Carn. Chr. "Majestati Filii Dei corporea Nativitas nihil contulit, nihil abtulit." Leo de Nativit. Ser. vii. Μένει δ' ἡν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Θεὸς μένει καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάζων διαφέρειν. Theophil. "In formam servi transisse non est naturam perdidisse Dei." Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii,

so from his to ours as little alteration hath ensued? The very cause of his taking upon him our nature, was to change it, to better the quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no sort to abolish the substance which he took; nor to infuse into it the natural forces and properties of his Deity. As, therefore, we have shewed, how the Son of God by his Incarnation hath changed the manner of that personal subsistence which before was solitary, and is now in the association of flesh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; so neither are the *properties of man's nature* in the Person of Christ, by force and virtue of the same conjunction so much altered as not to stay within those limits which our substance is bordered withal; nor the *state and quality* of our substance so unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from so near copulation with Deity. - God from us can receive nothing, we by him have obtained much. For albeit the natural properties of Deity be not communicable to man's nature, the supernatural gifts, graces, and effects thereof are. The honour which our flesh hath by being the flesh of the Son of God, is in many respects great. If we respect but that which is common unto us with him, the glory provided for him and his in the Kingdom of Heaven, his right and title thereunto, even in that he is man, differeth from other men's, because he is that man of whom God is himself a part. We have right to the same inheritance with Christ, but not the same right which he hath; his being such as we cannot reach, and ours such as he cannot stoop unto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, Resurrection; to be the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heir of all things; to be that Supreme Head whereunto all power, both in Heaven and in earth, is given; these are not honours common unto Christ with other men: they are titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a mere man, yet true of Christ, even in that he is man, but man with whom Deity is personally joined, and unto whom it hath added those excellencies which make him more than worthy thereof. Finally, sith God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into himself, yet by making it his own inseparable habitation, we cannot now conceive how God

should, without man, either exercise divine power,* or receive the glory of divine praise. For man is in both an associate of Deity.† But to come to the grace of Unction: did the parts of our nature, the soul and body of Christ, receive, by the influence of Deity wherewith they were matcht, no ability of operation, no virtue, or quality above nature? Surely, as the sword which is made fiery doth not only cut by reason of the sharpness which simply it hath, but also burn by means of that heat which it hath from fire; so, there is no doubt but the Deity of Christ hath inabled that nature which it took of man, to do more than man in this world hath power to comprehend; forasmuch as (the bare essential properties of Deity excepted) he hath imparted unto it all things, he hath replenisht it with all such perfections, as the same is any way apt to receive, at the least, according to the exigence of that economy or service for which it pleased him in love and mercy to be made man. For as the parts, degrees, and offices of that mystical administration did require, which he voluntarily undertook, the beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly either restrain or enlarge themselves.‡ From hence we may somewhat conjecture, how the powers of that soul are illuminated, which being so inward unto God, cannot choose but be privy unto all things which God worketh, and must therefore of necessity be indued with knowledge so far forth universal, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity itself. The soul of Christ, that saw in this life the face of God, was here, through so visible presence of Deity, filled with all manner of graces and virtues in that unmatchable degree of perfection, for which, of him we read it written, “That God with the oil of gladness anointed§ him above|| his fellows.”¶ And as God hath in Christ unspeakably glorified the nobler, so likewise the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily

Luke
ii. 40.

Col.
ii. 3.

Isa.
xi. 2.

* Μετέχει ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας. Theod.

† Ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὕψτων τῶν πάντων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὐτὴ τὸν ἐνωθέντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως. Gregor. Nyss. apud. Theod. Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς σῆς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκάθισεν ἐπάνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. Chrys. in Psal. xli.

‡ Ἐνυχνάζοντος μὲν τοῦ Λόγου ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι καὶ σταυροῦσθαι καὶ ὑπομένειν, συγγυμνομένου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικᾶν καὶ ὑπαμένειν καὶ χρηστεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. Theod. et Iren. lib. iii. advers. Hæres. Matt. xxvii. 46.

§ Isa. lxii. 1. Luke iv. 18. Acts iv. 27.

|| Heb. i. 9.

¶ 2 Cor. i. 21. 1 John ii. 20. 27.

substance of man. Where also that must again be remembered which we noted before, concerning degrees of the influence of Deity proportionable unto his own purposes, intents, and counsels. For in this respect his body, which by natural condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of everlasting immunity from death, passion, and dissolution, till God, which gave it to be slain for sin, had for righteousness' sake restored it to life, with certainty of endless continuance. Yea, in this respect the very glorified body of Christ retained in it the scars and marks of former mortality. But shall we say, that in Heaven his glorious body, John
xx. 27. by virtue of the same cause, hath now power to present itself in all places, and to be every where at once present? We nothing doubt, but God hath, many ways above the reach of our capacities, exalted that body which it hath pleased him to make his own, that body wherewith he hath saved the world, that body which hath been and is the root of eternal life; the instrument wherewith Deity worketh, the sacrifice which taketh away sin, the price which hath ransomed souls from death, the leader of the whole army of bodies that shall rise again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy, Heaven hath endowed it with celestial power, that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the Angels of Heaven adore it. Notwithstanding, a body still it continueth, a body consubstantial with our bodies, a body of the same both nature and measure which it had on earth.* To gather therefore into one sum all that hitherto hath been spoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his Deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being joined in one. Four principal Heresies there are, which have in those things withstood the truth: Arians, by bending themselves against the Deity of Christ; Apollinarians, by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; Nestorians, by renting Christ asunder, and dividing him into two Persons; the followers of Eutyches, by confounding in his Person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been four most famous ancient

* Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ θέλει δόξης μεστὸν, σῶμα δὲ θύμῳ τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχον περιγραφὴν. Theod. fol. 80.

General Councils: the Council of Nice, to define against Arians; against Apollinarians, the Council of Constantinople; the Council of Ephesus, against Nestorians; against Eutychians, the Chalcedon Council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελῶς, ἀδιαίρετως, δυνάμει, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly*: the first, applied to his being God; and the second, to his being man; the third, to his being of both One; and the fourth, to his still continuing in that One both; we may fully, by way of abridgment, comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the foresaid Heresies. Within the compass of which four heads, I may truly affirm, that all Heresies which touch but the Person of Jesus Christ, whether they have risen in these later days, or in any age heretofore, may be with great facility brought to confine themselves. We conclude, therefore, that to save the world it was of necessity the Son of God should be thus incarnate, and that God should so be in Christ, as hath been declared.

Of the personal presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted he is every where present according to the flesh.

55. Having thus far proceeded in speech concerning the Person of Jesus Christ, his two natures, their conjunction, that which he either is or doth in respect of both, and that which the one receiveth from the other; sith God in Christ is, generally, the medicine which doth cure the world, and Christ in us is that receipt of the same medicine whereby we are every one particularly cured, inasmuch as Christ's Incarnation and Passion can be available to no man's good which is not made partaker of Christ, neither can we participate him without his Presence; we are briefly to consider how Christ is present, to the end it may thereby better appear how we are made partakers of Christ, both otherwise, and in the Sacraments themselves. All things are in such sort divided into finite and infinite, that no one substance, nature, or quality, can be possibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are stinted, all the effects that proceed from them, all the powers and abilities whereby they work; whatsoever they do, whatsoever they may, and whatsoever they are, is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and also the preservation thereof. Measure is that which perfecteth all things, because every thing is for some end; neither can that thing be available to any end which is not proportionable thereunto, and to

proportion as well excesses as defects are opposite. Again, forasmuch as nothing doth perish, but only through excess or defect of that, the due proportioned measure whereof doth give perfection, it followeth, that measure is likewise the preservation of all things. Out of which premises we may conclude, not only that nothing created can possibly be unlimited, or can receive any such accident, quality, or property as may really make it infinite (for then should it cease to be a creature), but also that every creature's limitation is according to his own kind; and, therefore, as oft as we note in them any thing above their kind, it argueth, that the same is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cause more powerful than they are. Such as the substance of each thing is, such is also the presence thereof. Impossible it is, that God should withdraw his presence from any thing, because the very substance of God is infinite. Psalm cxxxix. 7, 8. Jer. xxiii. 24. He filleth Heaven and earth, although he take up no room in either, because his substance is immaterial, pure, and of us in this world so incomprehensible, that albeit no part of us be ever absent from him who is present whole unto every particular thing, yet his presence with us we no way discern farther than only that God is present;* which partly by Reason, and more perfectly by Faith, we know to be firm and certain. Seeing, therefore, that presence every where is the sequel of an infinite and incomprehensible substance (for what can be every where, but that which can no where be comprehended?), to inquire, whether Christ be every where, is to inquire of a natural property, a property that cleaveth to the Deity of Christ. Which Deity being common unto him with none but only the Father and the Holy Ghost, it followeth, that nothing of Christ which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the soul nor the body of Christ, and, consequently, not Christ as man, or Christ according to his human nature, can possibly be every where present, because those phrases of limitation and restraint do either point out the principal subject whereunto every such attribute adhereth, or else they intimate the radical cause out of which it groweth. For example, when we say that Christ as man, or according

* " Ideo Deus ubique esse dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum absens est; ideo totus, quia non parti rerum partem sui præsentem præbet, et alteri parti alteram partem, sed non solum universitati Creaturæ, verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter adest." Aug. Epist. lvii.

to his human nature, suffered death, we shew what nature was the proper subject of mortality; when we say, that as God, or according to his Deity, he conquered death, we declare his Deity to have been the cause by force and virtue whereof he raised himself from the grave. But neither is the manhood of Christ that subject whereunto universal presence agreeth, neither is it the cause original by force whereof his Person is enabled to be every where present. Wherefore, Christ is essentially present with all things, in that he is very God, but not present with all things as Man, because manhood and the parts thereof can neither be the cause nor the true subject of such presence. Notwithstanding, somewhat more plainly to shew a true immediate reason wherefore the manhood of Christ can neither be every where present, nor cause the Person of Christ so to be; we acknowledge that of St. Augustine concerning Christ most true, "In that he is personally the Word, he created all things; in that he is naturally Man, he himself is created of God;"* and it doth not appear that any one creature hath power to be present with all creatures. Whereupon, nevertheless, it will not follow, that Christ cannot therefore be thus present because he is himself a creature; forasmuch as only infinite presence is that which cannot possibly stand with the essence or being of any creature: as for presence with all things that are, with the whole race, mass, and body of them, is finite, Christ by being a creature is not in *that respect* excluded from possibility of presence with them. That which excludeth him therefore, as man, from so great largeness of presence, is only his being *man*, a creature of *this particular kind* whereunto the God of Nature hath set those bounds of restraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute unto it any thing more than a creature of *that sort* can admit, were to give it another nature, to make it a creature of some other kind than in truth it is. Furthermore, if Christ, in that he is man, be every where present, seeing this cometh not by the nature of manhood itself, there is no other way how it should grow, but either by the grace of union with Deity, or by the grace of unction

* "Quod ad Verbum attinet, Creator est; quod ad hominem, creatura est." Aug. Epist. 57. "Deus qui semper est, et semper erat, fit creatura." Leo de Nativ. "Multi timore trepidant ne Christum esse creaturam dicere compellantur; nos proclamamus non esse periculum dicere, Christum esse creaturam." Hier. in Epist. ad Eph. c. ii.

received from Deity. It hath been already sufficiently proved, that by force of Union the properties of both natures are imparted *to the Person only* in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature really conveyed or translated into the other; it hath been likewise proved, that natures united in Christ continue the very same which they are where they are not united. And concerning the grace of Unction, wherein are contained the gifts and virtues which Christ as man hath above men, they make him really and habitually a man more excellent than we are, they take not from him the nature and substance that we have, they cause not his soul nor body to be of another kind than ours is. Supernatural endowments are an advancement, they are no extinguishment of that nature whereto they are given. The substance of the body of Christ hath no Presence, neither can have, but only local. It was not therefore every where seen, nor did it every where suffer death, every where it could not be intombed, it is not every where now, being exalted into Heaven. There is no proof in the world strong enough to enforce that Christ had a true body, but by the true and natural properties of his body. Amongst which properties, definite or local Presence is chief. “How is it true of Christ (saith Tertullian) that he died, was buried, and rose again, if Christ had not that very flesh, the nature whereof is capable of these things, flesh mingled with blood, supported with bones, woven with sinews, embroidered with veins?” If his majestical body have now any such new property, by force whereof it may every where really even *in substance* present itself, or may at once be in many places; then hath the majesty of his estate extinguisht the verity of his nature. “Make thou no doubt or question of it (saith St. Augustine) but that the man Christ Jesus is now in that very place from whence he shall come in the same form and substance of flesh which he carried thither, and from which he hath not taken nature, but given thereunto immortality. According to this form he spreadeth not out himself into all places. For it behooveth us to take great heed, lest while we go about to maintain the glorious Deity of him which is man, we leave him not the true bodily substance of a man.” According to St. Augustine’s opinion, therefore, that majestical body which we make to be every where present, doth thereby

Tertul.
de Car.
Chr.

Aug.
Epist.
57.

cease to have the substance of a true body. To conclude; we hold it in regard of the fore-alleged proofs, a most infallible truth, that Christ, as man, is not every where present. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Christ is every where present as man, which peradventure in some sense may be well enough granted. His human substance in itself is naturally absent from the earth; his soul and body not on earth, but in Heaven only: yet because this substance is inseparably joined to that personal Word, which by his very divine essence is present with all things; the nature which cannot have in itself universal presence, hath it *after a sort*, by being *no where severed* from that which every where is present. For inasmuch as that infinite Word is not divisible into parts, it could not in part, but must needs be wholly, incarnate; and, consequently, wheresoever the Word is, it hath with it manhood, else should the Word be in part, or somewhere God only and not Man, which is impossible. For *the Person of Christ is whole*, perfect God and perfect Man, wheresoever; although the parts of his manhood being finite, and his Deity infinite, we cannot say that the *whole of Christ* is simply every where, as we may say that his Deity is, and that his Person is by force of Deity. For, *somewhat of the Person of Christ* is not every where in that sort; namely, his manhood, the *only conjunction* whereof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the actual *position* restrained and tied to a certain place; yet presence *by way of conjunction* is in some sort presence. Again, as the manhood of Christ may after a sort be every where said to be present, because that Person is every where present from whose divine substance manhood is no where severed; so the same universality of presence may likewise seem in another respect applicable thereunto, namely, by *co-operation* with Deity, and that in *all* things. The light, created of God in the beginning, did first by itself illuminate the world; but after that the sun and moon were created, the world sithence hath *by them* always enjoyed the same. And that Deity of Christ, which before our Lord's Incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now work nothing wherein the nature which it hath assumed is either absent from it or idle. Christ, as Man, hath "all power both in Heaven and Earth" given him. He hath as Man, not as God only,

supreme dominion over quick and dead ; for so much his
 Ascension into Heaven and his Session at the right hand
 of God do import. The Son of God which did first
 humble himself by taking our flesh upon him, descended
 afterwards much lower, and became according to the flesh
 obedient so far as to suffer death, even the death of the
 Cross, for all men, because such was his Father's will.
 The former was an humiliation of Deity, the latter an
 humiliation of manhood ; for which cause there followed
 upon the latter an exaltation of that which was humbled :
 for with power he created the world, but restored it by
 obedience. In which obedience, as according to his man-
 hood he had glorified God on earth ; so God hath glorified
 in Heaven that nature which yielded him obedience ; and
 hath given unto Christ, even in that he is man, such fulness
 of power over the whole world, that he which before ful-
 filled in the state of humility and patience whatsoever God
 did require, doth now reign in glory till the time that all
 things be restored. He which came down from Heaven,
 and descended into the lowest parts of the earth, is
 ascended far above all Heavens ; that sitting at the right
 hand of God, he might from thence fill all things with the
 gracious and happy fruits of his saving presence. Ascen-
 sion into Heaven is a plain local translation of Christ,
 according to his manhood, from the lower to the higher
 parts of the world. Session at the right hand of God is the
 actual exercise of that regency and dominion wherein the
 manhood of Christ is joined, and matched with the Deity
 of the Son of God. Not that his manhood was before
 without the possession of the same power, but because the
 full use thereof was suspended, till that humility, which had
 been before as a veil to hide and conceal majesty, were
 laid aside. After his rising again from the dead, then did
 God " set him at his right hand in heavenly places, far
 above all principality, and power, and might, and domi-
 nation, and every name that is named, not in this world
 only, but also in that which is to come ; and hath put all
 things under his feet, and hath appointed him over all the
 Head to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him
 that filleth all in all." The sceptre of which spiritual regi-
 ment over us in this present world is at the length to be
 yielded up into the hands of the Father which gave it ; that

Rom.
xiv. 9.Phil.
ii. 9.
Heb.
ii. 9.
Rev.
v. 12.Lake
xxi. 27.
Acts
iii. 21.
Ephes.
iv. 9, 10.Ephes. i.
20-22.Psalm
viii. 6.
Heb.
ii. 8.1 Cor.
xv. 24.

is to say, the use and exercise thereof shall cease, there being no longer on earth any militant Church to govern. This government, therefore, he exerciseth both as God and as Man: as God, by essential presence with all things; as Man, by co-operation with that which essentially is present. Touching the manner how he worketh as man in all things; the principal powers of the soul of man are the will and the understanding, the one of which two in Christ assenteth unto all things, and from the other nothing which Deity doth work is hid; so that by knowledge and assent the soul of Christ is present with all things which the Deity of Christ worketh. And even the body of Christ itself, although the definite limitation thereof be most sensible, doth notwithstanding admit in some sort a kind of infinite and unlimited presence likewise. For his body being a part of that nature, which whole nature is presently joined unto Deity wheresoever Deity is, it followeth, that his bodily substance hath every where a presence of true conjunction with Deity. And forasmuch as it is, by virtue of that conjunction, made the body of the Son of God, by whom also it was made a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, this giveth it a *presence of force and efficacy* throughout all generations of men. Albeit therefore nothing be *actually* infinite in substance but God only, in that he is God; nevertheless, as every number is infinite by possibility of addition, and every line by possibility of extension infinite, so there is no stint which can be set to the value or merit of the sacrificed body of Christ, it hath no measured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is also itself infinite in *possibility of application*. Which things indifferently every way considered, that gracious promise of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ concerning presence with his to the very "end of the world," I see no cause but that we may well and safely interpret he doth perform, both as God, by essential presence of Deity, and as Man, in that order, sense, and meaning, which hath been shewed.

[Matt.
xxviii.
20.]

The
union or
mutual
partici-
pation
which is
between
Christ

56. We have hitherto spoken of the Person and of the Presence of Christ. Participation is that mutual inward hold which Christ hath of us and we of him, in such sort that each possesseth other by way of special interest, property, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication

whereof, we may, from that which hath been before sufficiently proved, assume to our purpose these two principles, That every original cause imparteth itself unto those things which come of it; and, Whatsoever taketh being from any other, the same is after a sort in that which giveth it being. It followeth hereupon, that the Son of God being Light of light, must needs be also Light in light.* The Persons of the Godhead, by reason of the unity of their substance, do as necessarily remain one within another, as they are of necessity to be distinguished one from another, because two are the issue of one, and one the offspring of the other two; only of three, one not growing out of any other. And sith they all are but one God in number, one indivisible essence or substance, their distinction cannot possibly admit separation. For how should that subsist *solitarily* by itself, which hath no substance, but *individually* the very same whereby others subsist with it; seeing that the multiplication of substances *in particular* is necessarily required to make those things subsist apart, which have the self-same general nature, and the Persons of that Trinity are not three particular substances to whom one *general* nature is common, but three that subsist by one substance which *itself is particular*; yet they all three have it, and their several ways of having it are that which maketh their personal distinction? The Father therefore is in the Son, and the Son in him; they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Father's offspring, which is the Son, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally also in the Son, no way severed or divided by reason of the sole and single unity of their substance. The Son in the Father, as light in that light out of which it floweth without separation; the Father in the Son, as light in that light which it causeth and leaveth not. And because in this respect his eternal being is of the Father, which eternal being is his life, therefore he by the Father liveth. Again, sith all things do accordingly love their offspring as themselves are more or less contained in it, he which is thus the only-begotten must needs be in this degree the only-beloved of the Father. He therefore which is in the

and the
Church
of
Christ,
in this
present
world.

* "In the bosom of the Father," John i. 18. "Ecce dico alium esse Patrem, et alium Filium; non divisione alium, sed distinctione." Tertull. contra Prax. "Nec in numerum pluralem defuit incoस्पerea generatio, nec in divisionem cadit, ubi qui nascitur nequaquam a generante separatur." Ruffin. in Symbol.

Father by eternal derivation of being and life from him, must needs be in him through an eternal affection of love. His Incarnation causeth him also as man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that he is man, he receiveth life from the Father as from the fountain of that ever-living Deity, which in the Person of the Word hath combined itself with manhood, and doth thereunto impart such life as to no other creature besides him is communicated. In which consideration, likewise, the love of the Father towards him is more than it can be towards any other; neither can any attain unto that perfection of love which he beareth towards his Heavenly Father. Wherefore, God is not so in any, nor any so in God as Christ; whether we consider him as the personal Word of God, or as the natural Son of man. All other things that are of God, have God in them, and he them in himself likewise. Yet because their substance and his wholly differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongst themselves, is in no sort like unto that before-mentioned. God hath his influence into the very essence of all things, without which influence of Deity supporting them, their utter annihilation could not choose but follow. Of him all things have both received their first being, and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his offspring, his influence is in them, and the personal wisdom of God is for that very cause said to excel in nimbleness or agility, to pierce into all intellectual, pure, and subtile spirits, to go through all, and to reach unto every thing which is. Otherwise, how should the same wisdom be that which supporteth, beareth up, and sustaineth all? Whatsoever God doth work, the hands of all three Persons are jointly and equally in it, according to *the order of that connexion* whereby they each depend upon other. And, therefore, albeit in that respect the Father be first, the Son next, the Spirit last, and consequently nearest unto every effect which groweth from all three; nevertheless, they all being of one essence, are likewise all of one efficacy. Dare any man unless he be ignorant altogether how inseparable the Persons of the Trinity are, persuade himself that every of them may have their sole and several possessions, or that we, being not partakers of all, can have fellowship with any one?

Luke
iii. 22.
John iii.
34, 35.
v. 20.
x. 17.
xiv. 31.
xv. 10.

Wisd.
vii. 23,
24.

Heb.
i. 3.

John
xiv. 22.

The Father as Goodness, the Son as Wisdom, the Holy Ghost as Power, do all concur in every particular, outwardly issuing from that one only glorious Deity which they all are. For that which moveth God to work is Goodness; and that which ordereth his work is Wisdom; and that which perfecteth his work is Power. All things which God in their times and seasons hath brought forth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a work unbegun is in the artificer which afterward bringeth it unto effect. Therefore, whatsoever we do behold now in this present world, it was inwrapped within the bowels of divine Mercy, written in the book of eternal Wisdom, and held in the hands of omnipotent Power, the first foundations of the world being as yet unlaied. So that all things which God hath made, are in that respect the "offspring" of God, they are *in him* as effects in their highest cause; he likewise actually is *in them*, the assistance and influence of his Deity is *their life*. Let hereunto *saving efficacy* be added, and it bringeth forth a special offspring amongst men, containing them to whom God hath himself given the gracious and amiable name of "sons." We are by nature the sons of Adam. When God created Adam he created us; and as many as are descended from Adam, have in themselves the root out of which they spring. The sons of God we neither are all, nor any one of us otherwise than only by grace and favour. The sons of God have God's own natural Son as a second Adam from Heaven, whose race and progeny they are by spiritual and heavenly birth. God therefore loving eternally his Son, he must needs eternally in him have loved and preferred before all others, them which are spiritually sithence descended and sprung out of him. These were in God as in their Saviour, and not as in their Creator only. It was the purpose of his *saving* Goodness, his *saving* Wisdom, and his *saving* Power, which inclined itself towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admission to life, have by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the artificer is in the work which his hand doth presently frame. Life, as all other gifts and benefits, groweth originally from the Father, and cometh not to us but by the Son; nor by the Son to any of us in particular, but through the Spirit. For this cause the Apostle wisheth to the Church of Corinth, "The

Acts
xvii. 28.
John i.
4. 10.
Isai.
xl. 26.

1 John
iii. 1.

1 Cor.
xv. 47.

Ephes.
i. 3, 4.

1 John
v. 11.

Rom.
viii. 10.

2 Cor.
xiii. 13.

2 Pet.
i. 4.

Col.
ii. 19.

1 Cor.
xii. 12.

Ephes.
v. 30.

John
xv. 9.
1 John
v. 12.

John
xv. 5, 6.

John
xiv. 19.
Ephes.
v. 23.

John
xiv. 20.
xv. 4.

Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost." Which three St. Peter comprehendeth in one, "The participation of divine Nature." We are therefore in God through Christ eternally, according to that intent and purpose whereby we were chosen to be made his in this present world, before the world itself was made: we are in God, through the knowledge which is had of us, and the love which is borne towards us from everlasting. But in God we actually are no longer than only from the time of our actual adoption into the body of his true Church, into the fellowship of his children. For his Church he knoweth and loveth; so that they which are in the Church, are thereby known to be in him. Our being in Christ by eternal fore-knowledge saveth us not without our actual and real adoption into the fellowship of his saints in this present world. For in him we actually are by our actual incorporation into that society which hath him for their Head; and doth make together with him one Body (he and they in that respect having one name); for which cause, by virtue of this mystical conjunction, we are of him, and in him, even as though our very flesh and bones should be made continuuate with his. We are in Christ, because he knoweth and loveth us, even as parts of himself. No man actually is in him, but they in whom he actually is; for "he which hath not the Son of God, hath not life." "I am the vine, and you are the branches: he which abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit;" but the branch severed from the vine withereth. We are, therefore, adopted sons of God to eternal life by participation of the only-begotten Son of God, whose life is the well-spring and cause of ours. It is too cold an interpretation whereby some men expound our being in Christ to import nothing else, but only that the self-same nature which maketh us to be men, is in him, and maketh him man as we are. For what man in the world is there, which hath not so far forth communion with Jesus Christ? It is not this that can sustain the weight of such sentences as speak of the mystery of our coherence with Jesus Christ. The Church is in Christ, as Eve was in Adam. Yea, by grace we are every of us in Christ and in his Church, as by nature we are in those our first parents. God made Eve of the rib of Adam: and his Church he frameth out of the very

flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side of the Son of man. His body crucified, and his blood shed for the life of the world, are the true elements of that heavenly being, which maketh us such as himself is of whom we come. ^{1 Cor. xv. 48.} For which cause the words of Adam may be fitly the words of Christ concerning his Church, "Flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bones;" a true native extract out of mine own body. So that in him, even according to his manhood, we, according to our heavenly being, are as branches in that root out of which they grow. To all things he is life, and ^{John i. 4.} to men light, as the Son of God; to the Church, both life and light eternal, by being made the Son of man for us, and ^{vi. 57.} by being in us a Saviour, whether we respect him as God or as man. Adam is in us as an original cause of our nature, and of that corruption of nature which causeth death; Christ ^{Heb. v. 9.} as the cause original of restauration to life. The person of Adam is not in us, but his nature, and the corruption of his nature derived into all men by propagation; Christ having Adam's nature, as we have, but incorrupt, deriveth not nature but incorruption, and that immediately from his own Person, into all that belong unto him. As, therefore, we are really partakers of the body of sin and death received from Adam; so except we be truly partakers of Christ, and as really possessed of his Spirit, all we speak of eternal life is but a dream. That which quick'neth us is the Spirit of ^{1 Cor. xv. 22—} the second Adam, and his flesh that wherewith he quick'neth. ^{43.} That which in him made our nature uncorrupt, was the union of his Deity with our nature. And in that respect the sentence of death and condemnation, which only taketh hold upon sinful flesh, could no way possibly extend unto him. This caused his voluntary death for others to prevail with God, and to have the force of an expiatory sacrifice. The blood of Christ, as the Apostle witnesseth, doth therefore take away sin, because "through the eternal Spirit he offered ^{Heb. ix. 14.} himself unto God without spot." That which sanctified our nature in Christ, that which made it a sacrifice available to take away sin, is the same which quick'neth it, raised it out of the grave after death, and exalted it unto glory. Seeing, therefore, that Christ is in us as a quick'ning Spirit, the first degree of communion with Christ must needs consist in the participation of his Spirit, which Cyprian in that respect ^{Cyp. de Cerna. Dom. cap. 6.} well termeth *germanissimam societatem*, the highest and truest

Cyrl. in
Ioan.
lib. x.
cap. 13.

society that can be between man and him, which is both God and man in one. These things St. Cyril duly considering, reproveth their speeches which taught, that only the Deity of Christ is the Vine whereupon we by faith do depend as branches, and that neither his flesh nor our bodies are comprised in this resemblance. For, doth any man doubt, but that even from the flesh of Christ our very bodies do receive that life which shall make them glorious at the latter day; and for which they are already accompted parts of his blessed body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they shall live, were it not that here they are joined with his body which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cause of immortality, a cause by removing through the death and merit of his own flesh that which hindered the life of ours. Christ is therefore, both as God and as man, that true Vine whereof we both spiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily substance with ours is a thing which the ancient Fathers disclaim.* Yet the mixture of his flesh with ours they speak of, to signify what our very bodies, through mystical conjunction,† receive from that vital efficacy which we know to be in his; and from bodily mixtures they borrow divers similitudes, rather to declare the truth, than the manner, of coherence between his sacred and the sanctified bodies of saints.‡ Thus much no Christian man will deny, that when Christ sanctified his own flesh, giving as God and taking as man the Holy Ghost, he did not this for himself only, but for our sakes, that the grace of sanctification and life, which was first received in him, might pass from him to his whole race, as malediction came from Adam unto all mankind. Howbeit, because the work of his Spirit to those effects is in us prevented by sin and death possessing us before; it is of necessity, that as well our present sanctification unto newness of life, as the future restauration of our bodies, should presuppose a participation of the grace, efficacy, merit, or virtue of his body and blood; without which foundation first laid, there is no place for

* "Nostra quippe et ipsius conjunctio nec miscet personas nec unit substantias, sed affectus consociat et confederat voluntates." Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

† "Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, et non percipere vitam, quæ a corpore Domini et sanguine alitur?" Iren. lib. iv. advers. Hæres. cap. 34.

‡ "Unde considerandum est non solum *σχεῖς* seu conformitate affectionum, Christum in nobis esse; verum etiam participatione naturali (id est, reali et vera), quemadmodum si quis igne liquefactam ceram alii ceræ similiter liquefactæ ita miscuerit ut unum quid ex utrisque factum videatur; sic communicatione Corporis et Sanguinis Christi ipse in nobis eat, et nos in ipso." Cyrl. in Ioan. lib. x. cap. 13.

those other operations of the Spirit of Christ to ensue. So that Christ imparteth plainly himself by degrees. It pleaseth him in mercy to accompt himself incomplete and maimed without us.* But most assured we are, that we all receive of his fulness, because he is in us as a moving and working cause; from which many blessed effects are really found to ensue, and that in sundry both kinds and degrees, all tending to eternal happiness. It must be confest, that of Christ, working as a Creator, and a Governor of the world by providence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace whereby he inhabiteth whom he saveth. Again, as he dwelleth not by grace in all, so neither doth he equally work in all them in whom he dwelleth. “Whence is it (saith St. Augustine)^{Aug. Epist. 57.} that some be holier than others are, but because God doth dwell in some more plentifully than in others?” And because the divine substance of Christ is equally in all, his human substance equally distant from all, it appeareth that the participation of Christ, wherein there are many degrees and differences, must needs consist in such effects, as being derived from both natures of Christ really into us, are made our own; and we, by having them in us, are truly said to have him from whom they come: Christ also more or less, to inhabit and impart himself, as the graces are fewer or more [*more*], greater or smaller, which really flow into us from Christ. Christ is whole with the whole Church, and whole with every part of the Church, as touching his Person, which can no way divide itself, or be possess’d by degrees and portions. But the participation of Christ importeth, besides the presence of Christ’s Person, and besides the mystical copulation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, a true actual influence of grace whereby the life which we live according to godliness is his; and from him we receive those perfections wherein our eternal happiness consisteth. Thus we participate Christ, partly by imputation, as when those things which he did and suffered for us are imputed unto us for righteousness; partly by habitual and real infusion, as when grace is inwardly bestowed while we are on earth, and afterwards more fully both our souls and bodies made like unto his in glory. The first thing of his so infused into our hearts in this life is the Spirit of Christ;^{Rom. viii. 9.}

* Ephes. i. 23. Ecclesia complementum ejus qui implet omnia in omnibus. τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

Gal.
iv. 6.

1 John
iii. 9.
Ephes.
i. 14.
Rom.
viii. 23.

1 Cor.
xii. 27.
Ephes.
iv. 15.
Rom.
xii. 5.
Ephes.
iv. 25.

whereupon, because the rest of what kind soever do all both necessarily depend and infallibly also ensue; therefore the Apostles term it, sometime the seed of God, sometime the pledge of our heavenly inheritance, sometime the hansom or earnest of that which is to come. From hence it is, that they which belong to the mystical body of our Saviour Christ, and be in number as the stars of heaven, divided successively, by reason of their mortal condition, into many generations, are notwithstanding coupled every one to Christ their Head, and all unto every particular person amongst themselves, inasmuch as the same Spirit which anointed the blessed soul of our Saviour Christ, doth so formalize, unite, and actuate his whole race, as if both he and they were so many limbs compacted into one body, by being quickened all with one and the same soul. That wherein we are partakers of Jesus Christ by imputation, agreeth equally unto all that have it. For it consisteth in such acts and deeds of his, as could not have longer continuance than while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong unto any other, but to him from whom they came; and therefore, how men, either then, or before, or sithence, should be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but only by imputation. Again, a deed must either not be imputed to any, but rest altogether in him whose it is; or, if at all it be imputed, they which have it by imputation, must have it such as it is, whole. So that degrees being neither in the personal presence of Christ, nor in the participation of those effects which are ours by imputation only; it resteth, that we wholly apply them to the participation of Christ's infused grace; although, even in this kind also, the first beginning of life, the seed of God, the first-fruits of Christ's Spirit, be without latitude. For we have hereby only the being of the Sons of God, in which number how far soever one may seem to excel another, yet touching this that all are sons, they are all equals, some happily better sons than the rest are, but none any more a son than another. Thus, therefore, we see, how the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; how they both are in all things, and all things in them; what communion Christ hath with his Church, how his Church and every member thereof is in him by original derivation, and he personally in them by way of mystical association, wrought through the gift of the Holy Ghost, which they that are his receive from

him, and together with the same what benefit soever the vital force of his body and blood may yield; yea, by steps and degrees they receive the complete measure of all such divine grace as doth sanctify and save throughout, till the day of their final exaltation, to a state of fellowship in glory with him, whose partakers they are now in those things that tend to glory. As for any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours, the participation which we have of Christ includeth no such kind of gross surmise.

57. It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to shew the Use of the holy Sacraments, assign unto them no end, but only to *teach* the mind by other senses that which the Word doth teach by Hearing. Whereupon, how easily neglect and careless regard of so heavenly mysteries may follow, we see in part by some experience had of those men with whom that opinion is most strong. For where the Word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing we have to learn, if all the benefit we reap by Sacraments be instruction, they which at all times have opportunity of using the better mean to that purpose will surely hold the worse in less estimation. And unto infants, which are not capable of instruction, who would not think it a mere superfluity that any Sacrament is administered, if to administer the Sacraments be but to teach receivers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore, undoubtedly, some other more excellent and heavenly Use. Sacraments, by reason of their mixt nature, are more diversly interpreted and disputed of than any other part of Religion besides; for that in so great store of properties belonging to the selfsame thing, as every man's wit hath taken hold of some especial consideration above the rest, so they have accordingly seemed one to cross another, as touching their several opinions about the necessity of Sacraments; whereas in truth their disagreement is not great. For, let respect be had to the Duty which every communicant doth undertake, and we may well determine concerning the Use of Sacraments, that they serve as bonds of obedience to God, strict obligations to the mutual exercise of Christian charity, provocations to godliness, preservations from sin, memorials of the principal benefits of Christ; respect the Time of their institution, and it thereby appeareth, that God hath annexed them for ever unto the New Testament, as

The Necessity of Sacraments unto the participation of Christ.

other Rites were before with the Old; regard the Weakness which is in us, and they are warrants for the more security of our belief; compare the Receivers of them with such as receive them not, and Sacraments are marks of distinction to separate God's own from strangers; so that in all these respects, they are found to be most necessary. But their chiefest force and virtue consisteth not herein, so much as in that they are heavenly Ceremonies which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his Church; first, as Marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or Saving Grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof; and, secondly, as Means Conditional, which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth Grace.* For, sith God in

* [“It is an Article of our Faith, that The Sacraments instituted of Christ are not only marks of Christian Profession; but rather certain testimonies and effectual signs of grace, and of the good will of God towards us, by which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only stir up, but also confirm our Faith towards himself; Article XXV. Which, by the Reverend Fathers of our Church, is interpreted thus; ‘Sacraments are visible words, seals of righteousness, and tokens of grace’ (Apolog. Eccl. Angl. cap. x. div. 1): ‘The soul of man, and not the creature of bread or water, receives the grace of God, &c.: The grace of God is not in the visible signs but in the soul’ (Def. of the Apol. Part II. p. 204): ‘The substance of all Sacraments, is the Word of God, which St. Paul calleth Verbum reconciliationis, the Word of atonement; this Word is the instrument of remission of sin: The Sacraments are the seals affixed unto the same: the Priest is the mean’ (Ibid. p. 134). And speaking of all the Faithful to be one body, all endued with one Spirit (Eph. iv. 4), they further say, ‘This marvellous conjunction and incorporation is first begun and wrought by Faith, &c. Afterward the same corporation is assured unto us and increased in our Baptism, &c.’ (Reply to Hard. Ans. by Jewel, Art. I. p. 36). And for that we are very unperfect of ourselves, and therefore must daily proceed forward, that we may grow unto a perfect man in Christ (Eph. iv. 13), ‘Therefore hath God appointed that the same incorporation should be often renewed and confirmed in us by the use of the holy mysteries; wherein must be considered, that the said holy mysteries do not begin, but rather continue and confirm, this incorporation’ (Ibid.) Here we demand, How it may appear unto us, that you broach not a new doctrine, divers and contrary to our belief in England; when you say that, ‘The Sacraments’ chiefest force and virtue consisteth in this, That they are heavenly Ceremonies which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his Church; first, as Marks to know when God doth impart the vital or Saving Grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof; and, secondly, as Means Conditional, which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth Grace.’ And in another place, ‘It is a branch of belief, that Sacraments are in their place no less required than belief itself. For when our Lord and Saviour promiseth eternal life, is it any otherwise than as he promised restitution of health unto Naaman the Syrian, namely, with this condition, ‘Wash and be clean’ (Book V. sect. 60): and in another place you say, that ‘Both the Word and Sacraments have generative force and virtue’ (Sect. 50. p. 171). By which words we are greatly amazed that our Church hath left out in her Creed, and the Reverend Fathers have not taught us, that which is, as you say, the ‘chiefest force and virtue’ of the Sacraments! Where find you, that God ‘ordained the Sacraments’ to tell us ‘when God giveth grace;’ and that they are ‘Means Conditional,’ and as necessary as Faith? Teach us, we pray you, by holy Scripture, these three chief virtues of the Sacraments. The furthest that they say, as we gather, is to make them seals of assurance, by which the Spirit worketh invisibly to strengthen our Faith; and they seem to square their Faith by holy Scripture, which propoundeth Abraham to be an example of the true way of justifying, and a pattern to all the children of God (Rom. iv. 1—23); namely, that he was first justified by Faith, and after received the Sacrament as a sign, to be a seal of the righteousness of his Faith (ver. 10, 11). Shew, therefore, Whether we ought not to go further than our Church, or holy Scripture, unless we will leave out ‘the chiefest virtue’ of the Sacraments? Moreover, they say, ‘the grace of God is not in the visible signs;’ you say, they are ‘Means

himself is invisible, and cannot by us be discerned working, therefore when it seemeth good in the eyes of his heavenly wisdom that men for some special intent and purpose should take notice of his glorious presence, he giveth them some plain and sensible token whereby to know what they cannot see. For Moses to see God and live was impossible; yet ^{Exod. iii. 2.} Moses by fire knew where the glory of God extraordinarily was present. The Angel by whom God indued the waters ^{John v. 4.} of the pool, called Bethesda, with supernatural virtue to heal, was not seen of any; yet the time of the Angel's presence [was] known by the troubled motions of the waters themselves. The Apostles, by fiery tongues which they ^{Acts ii. 3.} saw, were admonished when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was upon them. In like manner it is with us. Christ and his Holy Spirit, with all their blessed effects, though entering into the soul of man we are not able to apprehend or express how, do notwithstanding give notice of the times when they use to make their access, because it pleaseth Almighty God to communicate by sensible means those blessings which are incomprehensible. Seeing, therefore, that Grace is a consequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which he that hath receiveth from God himself, the Author of Sacraments, and not from any other natural or supernatural quality in them; it may be hereby both understood, that Sacraments are necessary, and

Conditional: they say, that grace (which they call, 'this marvellous conjunction and incorporation'), is 'first begun and wrought by Faith,' and 'afterward is assured and increased' by the Sacraments; you say, 'the Sacraments have the generative force and virtue as well as the Word:' they say, that 'the substance of all Sacraments is the Word,' &c. and, that 'the Sacraments are the seals affixed to the same;' which being borrowed from the Apostle, out of the former recited place, Rom. iv. doth argue, that the necessity of the Sacraments is not comparable to that of Faith: for by this, he proveth Abraham to be justified by Faith, without Works, because he first was justified by Faith before he received the Sacrament, and that the Sacrament was but a sign and seal of his Faith; so that he excludeth the Sacrament as it is a Work, and as you call it, a 'moral Instrument of Salvation' (p. 206), from all co-partnership with Faith in the matter of Justification. You make it a 'Means Conditional,' and no less 'required' than Faith itself; and, of as absolute necessity as that to Naaman, 'Wash and be clean.' These things, good Master Hoo. we cannot reconcile, and therefore we are suitors unto you to aid us in the same, and to make your mind to appear not to overturn the Faith of our Church; and herein, to tell us, Where you find, that the grace of God is tied to any time, as, namely, the time of the Sacraments? Or, Whether the Sacraments teach us some other time? And, Whether the condition of Sacraments make not for the additament of Works unto Faith, in that which the English Church holdeth to be only and properly Faith? And, lastly, Whether such speeches be not merely Popish and accursed mixture of human folly, giving a further grace to the blessed Sacraments than God hath ordained? and herein, explain unto us, Whether a man dying without Faith, and yet receiveth the Sacraments, can be saved; or, that a man having Faith, and never any Sacrament, may not be saved? or, Whether any can be saved, if the condition of Salvation be the upright and perfect performance of all moral duties which God requireth expressly in his Word?"—*A Christian Letter*, p. 26.]

Wisd.
xvi. 7.

that the manner of their necessity to life supernatural is not in all respects as food unto natural life, because they contain *in themselves* no vital force or efficacy; they are not physical, but *moral* Instruments of salvation, duties of service and worship; which unless we perform as the Author of grace requireth, they are unprofitable: for, all receive not the grace of God, which receive the Sacraments of his grace. Neither is it *ordinarily* his will to bestow the grace of Sacraments on any but by the Sacraments; which grace also, they that receive by Sacraments or with Sacraments, receive it from him, and not from them. For of Sacraments, the very same is true which Solomon's wisdom observeth in the Brazen Serpent, "He that turned towards it, was not healed by the thing he saw, but by thee, O Saviour of all."*. This is therefore the Necessity of Sacraments. That saving grace which Christ originally is, or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by Sacraments he severally deriveth into every member thereof. Sacraments serve as the Instruments of God, to that end and purpose; moral instruments, the use whereof is in our hands, the effect in his; for the use we have his express commandment, for the effect his conditional promise; so that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparent assurance; as contrariwise, where the signs and Sacraments of his grace are not either through contempt unreceived, or received with contempt, we are not to doubt, but that they really give what they promise, and are what they signify. For we take not Baptism, nor the Eucharist, for bare *resemblances* or memorials of things absent, neither for *naked signs* and testimonies assuring us of grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the Sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life,† which grace the Sacraments

* "Spiritus Sancti munus est gratiam implere mysterii." Ambros. in Luc. cap. iii. "Sanctificatis elementis effectum non propria ipsorum natura præbet, sed virtus divina potentius operatur." Cypr. de Chriam.

† ["Even in the Apostolic age had the Rite of Baptism been converted into an instrument of party, so as to draw from St. Paul the strong language, 'I thank God that I baptised none of you but Crispus and Gaius; lest any should say that I had baptized in mine own name. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel.' 1 Cor. i. 14, 15, 17. How ill do these words accord with the extravagant notions maintained with regard to this ordinance as forming a chief purpose of the Christian Ministry! Would the Apostle have expressed himself thus, if by baptizing he could have *regenerated* those to whom he was sent, or have had the satisfaction of delivering to whosoever partook of that Sacrament, a 'grace available

represent or signify.* There have grown in the doctrine concerning Sacraments many difficulties for want of distinct explication, what kind or degree of grace doth belong unto each Sacrament. For by this it hath come to pass, that the true immediate cause why Baptism, and why the Supper of our Lord is necessary, few do rightly and distinctly consider. It cannot be denied but sundry the same effects and benefits which grow unto men by the one Sacrament, may rightly be attributed unto the other. Yet then doth Baptism challenge to itself but the inchoation of those graces, the consummation whereof dependeth on mysteries ensuing. We receive Christ Jesus in Baptism once, as the first beginner; in the Eucharist often, as being by continual degrees the finisher of our life. By Baptism, therefore, we receive Christ Jesus, and from him that saving grace which is proper unto Baptism: by the other Sacrament we receive him also, imparting therein himself and that grace which the Eucharist properly bestoweth. So that each Sacrament having both that which is general or common, and that also which is peculiar unto itself, we may hereby gather, that the participation of Christ, which properly belongeth to any one Sacrament, is not otherwise to be obtained, but by the Sacrament whereunto it is proper.

58. Now even as the soul doth organize the body, and give unto every member thereof that substance, quantity, and shape, which nature seeth most expedient; so the inward grace of Sacraments may teach what serveth best for their outward form; a thing in no part of Christian Religion, much less here, to be neglected. Grace intended by Sacraments, was a cause of the choice, and is a reason of the fitness, of the elements themselves. Furthermore, seeing that the grace which here we receive, doth no way depend upon the natural force of that which we presently behold, it was of necessity, that words of express declaration, taken from the very mouth of our Lord himself, should be added unto visible elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do most assuredly bring to pass. In writing

The substance of Baptism; the Rite or Solemnities thereunto belonging, and that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.

unto eternal life?" His views of the efficacy of this Rite, must assuredly have been very different from those of modern Divines, who seem so much more deeply initiated into the mysteries of the Christian Priesthood!"—CONDER, *Prot. Nonconf.* Vol. II. p. 438.]

* "Dum homini bonum invisibile redditur, foris ei ejusdem significatio per species visibiles adhibetur, ut foris excitetur et intus reparetur. In ipsa vasis specie virtus exprimitur medicinæ." Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 3. "Si ergo vasa sunt spiritualis gratiæ Sacramenta, non ex suo sanant, quia vasa ægrotum non curant, sed medicina." Idem, lib. i. cap. 4.

and speaking of the blessed Sacraments, we use for the most part under the name of their *substance*, not only to comprise that whereof they outwardly and sensibly consist, but also the secret grace which they signify and exhibit.* This is the reason wherefore commonly in definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or stricter to abridge the number of Sacraments, we find Grace expressly mentioned as their true essential form;† Elements as the matter whereunto that form doth adjoin itself. But if that be separated which is secret, and that considered alone which is seen, as of necessity it must in all those speeches that make distinction of Sacraments from Sacramental Grace, the name of a Sacrament in such speeches can imply no more than what the *outward substance* thereof doth comprehend. And, to make complete the outward substance of a Sacrament, there is required an outward Form, which form sacramental Elements receive from sacramental Words. Hereupon it groweth, that many times there are three things said to make up the substance of a Sacrament; namely, the Grace which is thereby offered, the Element which shadoweth or signifieth grace, and the Word which expresseth what is done by the element.‡ So that, whether we consider the outward by itself alone, or both the outward and inward substance of any Sacrament, there are in the one respect but two essential parts, and in the other but three, that concur to give Sacraments their full being. Furthermore, because definitions are to express but the most immediate and nearest parts of nature, whereas other principles farther off, although not specified in defining, are notwithstanding in nature implied and presupposed, we must note, that inasmuch as Sacraments are actions religious and mystical, which nature they have not unless they proceed from a serious meaning, and what

* "Eucharistia duabus ex rebus constat, terrena et cœlesti." Iren. advers. Hæres. lib. iv. cap. 34. "Arcanarum rerum symbola non nudis signis, sed signis simul et rebus constant." Helvet. Confes. Prior. Art. 2.

† "Sacramentum est, cum res gesta visibilis longe aliud invisibile intus operatur." Isid. Etym. lib. i. "Sacramentum est, per quod, sub tegumento rerum visibilium, divina virtus salutem secretius operatur." Greg. Mag. "Sacramentum est signum significans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum." Occa. Sent. lib. iv. d. 1. "Sacramentum proprie non est signum cujuslibet rei sacræ, sed tantum rei sacræ sanctificantis homines." Tho. xii. q. 101, 4. et q. 102, 5. "Sacramentum est signum passionis Christi, gratiæ et gloriæ: ideo est commemoratio præteriti, demonstratio præsentis, et prognosticon futuri." Tho. iii. q. 60, 3. "Sacramenta sunt signa et symbola visibilia rerum internarum et invisibilium, per quæ, ceu per media, Deus virtute Spiritus Sancti in nobis agit." Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Item Bohem. Conf. cap. 11.

‡ "Sacramenta constant verbo, signis, et rebus significatis." Confes. Helvet. Post. c. 19.

every man's private mind is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine, therefore always in these cases the known intent of the Church generally doth suffice; and where the contrary is not manifest, we may presume that he which outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church* of God.† Concerning all other Orders, Rites, Prayers, Lessons, Sermons, actions, and their circumstances whatsoever, they are to the outward substance of Baptism but things accessory, which the wisdom of the Church of Christ is to order according to the exigence of that which is principal. Again, considering that such Ordinances have been made to adorn the Sacrament, not the

* "Si aliquid Ministri agere intendant, puta sacris illudere mysteriis, vel aliud quod Ecclesiæ non consentiat, nihil agitur: sine fide enim spiritualis potestas exerceri quidem potest, sine Ecclesiæ intentione non potest." Lancel. Inst. Jur. Can. lib. ii. Tit. ii. 5. Hoc tamen.

† ["The Church of England affirmeth, that, By the malice of the wicked men which are over administration of the Sacraments, the effect of the things ordained by Christ is not taken away, or the grace of God's gifts diminished, as touching them which receive by Faith and orderly the things offered unto them; which for the institution of Christ and his promise, are effectual, although they be administered by evil men; Article XXVI. Whereupon the Reverend Fathers define a Sacrament to be 'A reverend and holy mystery ordained of God; wherein he by his holy Word and promise doth both stir up and practise the Faith of his people, and by the operation of the Holy Ghost, increase his grace in them,' &c. (Tho. Bp. of Lincoln. Sermon I. on 1 Cor. x. 1). And of the intention of the Church, they say, 'This is the very dungeon of uncertainty: the heart of man is unsearchable, if we stay upon the intention of mortal man, we may stand in doubt of our own Baptism' (Jewel. Rep. to Hard. Art. I. p. 34). You seem to speak otherwise, where you say, 'We must note, that inasmuch as Sacraments are actions religious and mystical, which nature they have not unless they proceed from a serious meaning, and what every man's private mind is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine, therefore always in these cases the known intent of the Church generally doth suffice; and where the contrary is not manifest, we may presume that he which outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God.' Here we desire to be instructed, How these two opinions can stand together: the one, which saith the Sacraments 'are effectual through the institution of Christ and his promise;' the other, which tieth it to the good 'meaning' of the Priest, or 'of the Church:' again, the one saith, 'the intention' of the Church 'is the very dungeon of uncertainty,' to make us 'doubt of our Baptism;' the other, that the 'Sacraments have not the nature to be religious and mystical, without a serious meaning,' that is, the 'intent of the Church.' These things we pray you to reconcile, and therewithal to shew us how the 'intent of the Church' can give them their nature to be 'actions religious and mystical,' and yet our Reverend Fathers say, they be 'holy mysteries ordained of God.' Resolve, therefore, Whether the virtue of the Sacrament depend upon 'the institution and promise' of God; or upon the good 'meaning' of the Priest, or of the Church; or upon both? And, Whether they cannot have the 'nature' of 'religious actions and mystical,' without the 'intent' of the Priest, or 'of the Church?' and so, Whether the Church may ordain a mystery; or, that the mysteries ordained of God have not their 'nature' and form with the presupposed 'intent of the Church?' Whether God in ordaining these mysteries were holpen by the 'serious meaning' of the Church; or did except that they should not be mysteries, without the liking and allowing of the Church, by their good 'meaning?' And, lastly, Whether your assertion be not mere Popery, a human invention, and an inducement unto that which is called Fides implicita, that it should suffice a man to believe as the Church believeth, &c.? And herewithal shew us, what comfort we can have in the use of the Sacraments, if they cannot be 'actions religious and mystical,' unless they 'proceed from' the 'intent, and purpose of the Church,' being, as our Reverend Fathers esteem, 'the very dungeon of uncertainty.'"—*A Christian Letter*, p. 29.]

Sacrament to depend on them;* seeing also, that they are not of the substance of Baptism, and that Baptism is far more necessary than any such incident Rite or Solemnity ordained for the better administration thereof; if the case be such as permitteth not Baptism to have the decent complements of Baptism, better it were to enjoy the body without his furniture, than to wait for this till the opportunity of that for which we desire it be lost.† Which premises standing, it seemeth to have been no absurd collection, that in cases of necessity, which will not suffer delay till Baptism be administered with usual solemnities, (to speak the least) it may be tolerably given without them, rather than any man without it should be suffered to depart this life.

The ground in Scripture whereupon a Necessity of outward Baptism hath been built.

59. They which deny that any such case of Necessity can fall, in regard whereof the Church should tolerate Baptism without the decent Rites and Solemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that such tolerations have risen from a false interpretation which *certain men*‡ have made of the Scripture, grounding a necessity of external Baptism upon the words of our Saviour Christ; “Unless a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.” For by “Water and the Spirit,” we are in that place to understand (as they imagine) no more, than if the Spirit alone had been mentioned, and Water not spoken of. Which they think is plain, because elsewhere it is not improbable that “the Holy Ghost and fire,” do but signify the Holy Ghost in operation resembling fire. Whereupon they conclude, that seeing “fire” in one place may be, therefore “water” in another place is but a metaphor; “Spirit,” the interpretation thereof; and so the words do

* “Accessorium non regulat principale, sed ab eo regulatur.” 42. De Regul. Jur. in Sext. lib. iii. ff. quod jussu.

† “Et si nihil facile mutandum est ex solennibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit, veniendum est.” Lib. cxxxiii. de Reg. Jur.

‡ [“Hereupon, John iii. 5, St. Augustine absurdly concludeth, that all not baptized are condemned; Ep. 106, ad Bonifa.: as of our Saviour’s words, John vi. 53, he concludeth, that whatsoever he be which receiveth not the Sacrament of the Supper, is damned; Lib. de Meritis, et Remis. Peccat. 1. cap. 24.” T. C. lib. i. p. 143. To this Dr. Whitgift replied, “The place in John by you alleged hath divers Interpretations, and the most part of the ancient writers do take ‘water,’ in that place, for material and elemental water; as Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Cyril, and sundry others. . . . But because I do mislike, as much as you, the opinion of those that think infants to be condemned which are not baptized, therefore I will not contend with you either in the interpretation of that place, or in any other thing that you have spoken touching this error.” *Def. of the Ans.* p. 516. Yet in page 524 Dr. W. asks, “What Christian would willingly suffer his child to die without the Sacrament of Regeneration; the lack whereof, though it be not a necessary, yet may it seem to be a probable token and sign of Reprobation?”]

only mean, that "Unless that a man be born again of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."* I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do the substance of metals, maketh of any thing what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing. Or howsoever such voluntary exercise of wit might be borne with otherwise; yet in places which usually serve, as this doth, concerning regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost, to be alleged for grounds and principles, less is permitted. To hide the general consent of antiquity, agreeing in the literal interpretation, they cunningly affirm, that "certain" have taken those words as meant of material water, when they know that of all the Ancient there is not one to be named that ever did otherwise either expound or allege the place, than as implying external Baptism. Shall that which hath always received this and no other construction be now disguised with a toy of novelty?† Must we needs, at the only shew of a critical conceit, without any more deliberation, utterly condemn them of error, which will not admit that "fire" in the words of John is quenched with the name of the Holy Ghost; or, with the name of the Spirit, "water" dried up in the words of Christ? When the Letter of the Law hath two things plainly and expressly specified, "water and the Spirit;" water as a duty required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God bestoweth; there is danger in presuming so to interpret it, as if the clause which concerneth ourselves were more than needeth. We may, by such rare expositions, attain perhaps in the end to be thought witty, but with ill advice. Finally, if at the time‡ when that

* "Private Baptism first rose upon a false interpretation of the place in St. John, ch. iii. 5. 'Unless a man be born again of water, and of the Spirit,' &c. where certain do interpret the word water, for the material and elemental water, whereas our Saviour Christ taketh water there, by a borrowed speech, for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it shadoweth out. For even, as in another place, Matt. iii. 11. by 'fire and the Spirit,' he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifyeth as the fire doth; so in this place, by water and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing else but the Spirit of God, which cleanseth the filth of sin, and cooleth the broiling heat of an unquiet conscience, as water washeth the thing that is foul, and quencheth the heat of the fire." T. C. lib. i. p. 143.

† "Minime sunt mutanda, quæ interpretationem certam semper habuerunt." D. lib. i. tit. 2. lib. xxiii.

‡ "John baptized with water, but you shall within few days be baptized with the Holy Ghost." Acts i. 5.

Baptism which was meant by John came to be really and truly performed by Christ himself, we find the Apostles that had been, as we are, before baptized, new "baptized with the Holy Ghost," and in this their later Baptism as well as a visible descent "of fire," as a secret miraculous infusion of the Spirit; if on us he accomplish likewise the heavenly work of our new birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with "water" thereunto adjoined, sith the faithfulest expounders of his words are his own deeds, let that which his hand hath manifestly wrought, declare what his speech did doubtfully utter.

What kind of Necessity in outward Baptism hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ; and what the true necessity thereof indeed is.

60. To this they add, that as we err by following a wrong construction of the place before alleged; so our second oversight is, that we thereupon infer a Necessity over rigorous and extreme.* The true necessity of Baptism, a few propositions considered will soon decide. All things which either are known *causes* or set *means*, whereby any great good is usually procured, or men delivered from grievous evil, the same we must needs confess necessary.† And, if *regeneration* were not in this very sense a thing necessary to eternal life, would Christ himself have taught Nicodemus, that to see the Kingdom of God is impossible, saving only for those men which are born from above?‡ His words following in the next sentence are a proof sufficient, that to our regeneration his "Spirit" is no less necessary, than regeneration itself necessary unto life. Thirdly, unless as the Spirit is a necessary inward cause, so "water" were a necessary outward mean to our regeneration, what construction should we give unto those words wherein we are said to be new-born, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, even of "water?" Why are we taught, that with water God doth purify and cleanse his Church? Wherefore do the Apostles of Christ term Baptism a bath of regeneration? What purpose had they in giving men advice to receive

Ver. 5.

Ephes. v. 26.

Tit. iii. 5.

* "Secondly, this error (of private Baptism) came by a false and unnecessary conclusion drawn from that place. For, although the Scripture should say, that none can be saved, but those which have the Spirit of God, and are baptized with material and elemental water, yet ought it to be understood of those which can conveniently and orderly be brought to Baptism; as the Scripture, saying, that whoso doth not believe the Gospel is condemned already, John iii. 18, meaneth this sentence of those which can hear the Gospel, and have discretion to understand it when they hear it; and cannot here shut under this condemnation, either those that are born deaf and so remain, or little infants, or natural fools that have no wit to conceive what is preached." T. C. lib. i. p. 143.

† Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται, οὐ ἂν ἐν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς συναιτίον· καὶ ὧν ἂν ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι, ἢ τι κακὸν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢ στερηθῆναι. "Necessarium id dicitur, sine quo, ut concausa, fieri non potest ut vivatur: et ea sine quibus fieri nequit ut bonum aut sit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoveatur, aut non adsit." Arist. Metaph. lib. v. cap. 5.

‡ John iii. 3.

outward Baptism, and in persuading them, it did avail to ^{Acts} "remission of sins?" If outward Baptism were a cause in ^{ii. 38.} itself possessed of that power, either natural or supernatural, without the present operation whereof no such effect could possibly grow; it must then follow, that seeing effects do never prevent the necessary causes out of which they spring, no man could ever receive grace before Baptism: which being apparently both known, and also confest to be otherwise in many particulars, although in the rest we make not Baptism a cause of grace; yet the grace which is given them with their Baptism,* doth so far forth depend on the very outward Sacrament, that God will have it embraced, not only as a Sign or token what we receive, but also as an Instrument or mean whereby we receive grace, because Baptism is a Sacrament which God hath instituted in his Church, to the end that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into Christ;† and so through his most precious merit obtain, as well that saving grace of imputation which taketh away all former guiltiness,‡ as also that infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness§ of life.¶ There are

* "Fideles salutem ex istis Elementis non quærunt, etiamsi in istis quærunt. Non enim ista tribuunt quod per ista tribuitur." Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 3.

† "Susceptus a Christo, Christumque suscipiens, non idem fit post lavacrum qui ante baptismum fuit; sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi." Leo, Sermon. xiv. de Pas. Dom.

‡ "Caro abluatur, ut anima emaculetur." Tertull. de Carn. Resur. "Homo per aquam baptismi licet a foris idem esse videatur, intus tamen alter efficitur; cum peccato natus, sine peccato renascitur; prioribus perit, succedentibus proficit; deterioribus exiit, in meliora innovatur; persona tingitur, et natura mutatur." Euseb. Emis. de Epiphany. Homil. iii.

§ "Τρισσὴν γέννησιν ἡμῖν ὁ δὲ λόγος, τὴν ἐκ σώματος, τὴν ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τὴν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δύναμις οὐ κόσμον κατακλυσμένη ὡς πάλαι, τῆς δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἑκάστον ἁμαρτίας κάθαρσις, ἔχουσα. Greg. Naz. Hom. de Sanct. Bapt.

¶ "Unde, genitalis auxilio, superioris ævi labe deteresa, in expliatum pectus ac purum desuper se lumen infundit." Cypr. ad Donat. "Ὁ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τὴν ἔφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλπὶδα τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἐντίθουσιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καθίστησι κοινωνοὺς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεῆς τὴν μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. Theod. Epit. Divin. Dogmat. "Baptizari est purgari a sordibus peccatorum, et donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam novam et innocentem." Confess. Helvet. cap. 20.

|| ["When we speak of the communications of Divine Grace, one of two things must be implied; either the bestowment of that sovereign favour which regards the subject of it as justified, and the effect of which is a change of state; or, the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, renewing or sanctifying its affections, or imparting fresh vitality to the principle of spiritual life. The notion that any means of grace can contribute to the former of these results, is clearly at variance with the doctrine of Justification by Faith; (Yet this notion has Hooker for its advocate: his language is at any rate very equivocal. The language of the Church Catechism refers us, without any qualification, to a change of state as positively consequent upon Baptism; 'Wherein I was made a member of Christ, a child of God,' &c.) for, in order to partake in this respect of the character of means, in order to have any effect upon our state, otherwise than as promoting a change of character, they

that elevate too much the ordinary and immediate means of life, relying wholly upon the bare conceit of that eternal election, which notwithstanding includeth a subordination of means, without which we are not actually brought to enjoy what God secretly did intend; and therefore to build upon God's election, if we keep not ourselves to the ways which he hath appointed for men to walk in, is but a self-deceiving vanity. When the Apostle saw men called to the participation of Jesus Christ, after the Gospel of God embraced, and the Sacrament of life received, he feareth not then to put them in the number of elect Saints; he then accompteth them delivered from death and clean purged from all sin. Till then, notwithstanding their pre-ordination unto life, which none could know of, saving God; what were they in the Apostle's own accompt, but children of wrath, as well as others, plain aliens, altogether without hope, strangers, utterly without God in this present world? So that by Sacraments, and other sensible tokens of grace, we may boldly gather, that he whose mercy vouchsafeth now to bestow the means, hath also long sithence intended us that whereunto they lead. But let us never think it safe to presume of our own last end by bare conjectural collections of his first intent and purpose, the means failing that should come between. Predestination bringeth not to life without the grace of external vocation, wherein our Baptism is implied. For as we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church

Eph.
i. 1.

Eph.
v. 8.

Eph. ii.
3. 12.

Rom.
viii. 30.

must have a justifying efficacy; or at least, must be a condition of Justification. But such a condition would clearly be of a meritorious nature, a 'deed of the Law,' Rom. iii. 28, utterly worthless as a means of obtaining 'the righteousness of God,' ver. 22; nay, since a condition must take place antecedently to what it is designed to procure, a deed abhorrent to God as the self-righteous work of a man unjustified. Justification knows no degrees, no conditions. At what moment the human soul passes the awful boundary of the kingdom of darkness and is translated into that of the Redeemer, and enters upon the life of God, is known only to Him who knoweth all things. It may be long before the spirit is conscious of the change, or its certain fruits appear; but the change cannot in itself be gradual; and as the cause of that change cannot be in man himself, so no work of his can accelerate or perfect that which has its origin in the sovereign determinations of Infinite Compassion, and the only means of which is the perfect work, the finished righteousness of a Saviour. That such a change necessarily or usually takes place at Baptism, is disproved by the incontestable argument of fact; that it ever does, cannot be attributable to the efficacy of the Rite; for, whatever encouragement there may be to hope that the Almighty will put honour upon his own institutions, in granting the prayer of faith at that solemn juncture, the proof of such a change being attendant upon the ordinance, seeing that Scripture contains no promise to that effect, can never be obtained. If such a change has previously taken place, then is not the Sacrament either the means or the condition of the grace. Any change which can be made in the state of the individual by the outward Rite, must be simply relative to the circumstances of external privilege and Christian profession."—CONDER, *Prot. Nonconf.* Vol. II. pp. 424—426.]

of God but by new birth; nor according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation new-born, but by that Baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians. In which respect, we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's House, the first apparent beginning of life,* a seal perhaps to the grace of election before received;† but to our sanctification here, a step that hath not any before it.‡ There were of the old Valentinian

* Ἀρχὴ μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 10.

† "He which is not a Christian before he come to receive Baptism, cannot be made a Christian by Baptism; which is only the seal of the grace of God before received." T. C. lib. iii. p. 134.

‡ ["The Church of England professeth, that Baptism is a sign of Regeneration, by which as by an instrument, they which rightly receive Baptism are ingrafted into the Church: the promises of remission of sins and of our adoption to be the children of God by the Holy Spirit, are visibly sealed; our faith is confirmed, and by the force of the calling upon the Name of God, grace is increased; Article XXVII. Which, the Reverend Fathers of our Church do expound in this sense; 'The children of the Faithful are born holy, and notwithstanding by nature they be the children of anger, yet, by God's free election, they be pure and holy.' (Jewel. Def. of Apol. Part II. p. 150.) This is St. Paul's undoubted doctrine, which notwithstanding, he never despised the Sacraments of Christ. And that 'A man may stand in the state of Salvation, and out of all danger of damnation, before he be baptized.' (Bp. Babingt. on Gen. xvii. 12.) And the contrary to this, they call 'Fearful doctrine, injurious to thousands of poor infants, and blasphemous against the bottomless Mercy of a sweet and tender Father, who hath said, 'I will be thy God and thy child's' (Gen. xvii. 7. Acts ii. 39), not adding any condition of Baptism, if it cannot be had as it ought: and hereupon, they affirm that Sacraments make not the Covenants, but only seal them; and that God hath not thus enthralled his grace (that there is such necessity, that either Women; or all sorts of persons, should dispense the holy Mysteries, to the end that no poor creature might be cast away for want of it), nor taught his Church in his Word, but quite contrary, as we see by telling Abraham his Covenant reached to his seed, and by deferring the seal of the same, to wit, Circumcision, to the eighth day. (This is disputed at large by Bp. Bab. in Gen. xvii. 12.) You, Master Hoo. speak, to our understanding, a far different language; namely, 'Predestination bringeth not to life without the grace of external vocation, wherein our Baptism is implied, &c.' (The Reader is referred for the two consecutive sentences, to Hooker, above; which shortens this Note.) And again, 'The fruit of Baptism dependeth only upon the Covenant which God hath made; that God by Covenant requireth in the elder sort, Faith and Baptism; in children, the Sacrament of Baptism alone.' (Sec. 62.) And in another place, 'We have for Baptism no day set, as the Jews had for Circumcision; neither have we by the Law of God, but only by the Church's discretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptism, therefore, even in the meaning of the Law of Christ, belongeth unto infants capable thereof from the very instant of their birth. Which if they have not howsoever, rather than lose it by being put off because the time, the place, or some such like circumstance doth not solemnly enough concur, the Church, as much as in her lieth, wilfully casteth away their souls.' (Sec. 60. fin.) Here we are at our wit's end, not knowing what to believe: for, if our English confession be true, that 'Baptism is a sign of Regeneration,' and 'visibly sealeth our remission of sins and adoption,' and 'increaseth grace,' &c. we know not what to make of that you say, Baptism to be 'the first apparent beginning of life, a seal perhaps of the grace of election,' and that there is 'no step of sanctification before' Baptism! And again, if it be true as you say, 'Predestination bringeth not life without the grace of external vocation, wherein Baptism is implied,' what shall we think of that our Reverend Fathers say, A man 'by God's free election is holy and pure,' and, that 'before Baptism, a man may stand in the state of Salvation?' And if our Church's doctrine be true, that Baptism is a seal of remission of sins, and that the Sacraments make not the Covenants, but are seals of the Covenants; how can yours be true, that 'by Covenant God requireth Faith and Baptism in the elder, and Baptism alone in children?' Is Baptism part of the Covenant, and more than a seal? And seeing our Reverend Fathers affirm, that God and well ordered Churches forbid Baptism by Women; and, that God hath not intralld his Church to such urgent necessity; and, that such doctrine is fearful, injurious, and blasphemous, and our

Iren.
contra
Heres.
lib. i.
c. 18.

2 Kings
v. 14.

Numb.
xxi. 8.
Mark
xvi. 16.

Heretics some which had knowledge in such admiration, that to it they ascribed all, and so despised the Sacraments of Christ, pretending that as ignorance had made us subject to all misery, so the full redemption of the inward man, and the work of our restauration, must needs belong unto "knowledge only." They draw very near unto this error, who fixing wholly their minds on the known necessity of Faith, imagine that nothing but Faith is necessary for the attainment of all grace.* Yet is it a branch of belief, that Sacraments are in their place no less required than belief itself. For when our Lord and Saviour promiseth eternal life, is it any otherwise than as he promised restitution of health unto Naaman the Syrian, namely, with this condition, "Wash, and be clean?"† or, as to them which were stung of serpents, health, by beholding the Brazen Serpent? If Christ himself which giveth salvation do require Baptism; it is not for us that look for salvation to sound and examine him, whether unbaptized men may be saved; but seriously to do that which is required, and religiously to fear the danger which may grow by the want thereof.‡ Had Christ only declared his will to have all men baptized, and not

sweet and tender Father hath said, I will be thy God and thy child's, not adding any condition of Baptism, if it cannot be had as it ought; how can it be well in you to make it a bloody and 'wilful casting away of souls,' if the Church provide not that Children 'have Baptism howsoever?' And here we pray you to teach us, Whether the Covenant and Sacraments in the Gospel be not the same in nature, virtue, and substance, that they were under the Law; or, that our Sacraments have more necessity? And, if so, Why our Reverend Fathers disavow the necessity of Baptism to be done any otherwise than as it ought, because God appointed Circumcision till the eighth day? Is there a further grace in our Sacraments, or have they not somewhat in the work wrought, which the Sacraments of the Law had not? We pray you, therefore, plainly and distinctly to shew us your mind, Whether Righteousness cometh by Baptism, or by Faith? And seeing notwithstanding all these hard and peremptory speeches, you sometimes say, that 'Grace is not absolutely tied to Sacraments' (p. 219): and, the necessity of receiving, not so absolute as that of administering the Sacraments (p. 220): we would fain know, which you hold and affirm; what manner of 'necessity' you mean? For, if Grace be not 'absolutely tied unto Sacraments,' and 'necessity of receiving Sacraments be not absolute,' we know not what should make 'necessity of administering absolute;' but that as our Reverend Fathers say, we are not intrahled to appoint or suffer it to be done by Women or Lay persons, if it cannot be had as it ought: and if God have not added any such condition of Baptism, where borrowed you that distinction? We cannot tell where to find you, or how to take your meaning, or at the least that your mind concurrerth with the doctrine of the Church of England; we expect therefore, and pray you to declare faithfully these things unto us.—*A Christian Letter*, p. 30.]

* "Hic scelestissimi illi provocant quæstiones. Adeo dicunt, baptismus non est necessarius quibus fides satis est." Tertull. de Baptis. "Huic nulla proderit fides, qui, cum possit, non percipit Sacramentum." Bern. Epist. lxx. ad Hugon.

† [See Sec. 57, p. 204, Note *.]

‡ "Institutio Sacramentorum quantum ad Deum Auctorem, dispensationis est; quantum vero ad hominem obedientem, necessitatis. Quoniam in potestate Dei est præter ista hominem salvare, sed in potestate hominis non est sine istis ad salutem pervenire." Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 5.

acquainted us with any cause why Baptism is necessary, our ignorance in the reason of that he injoineth might perhaps have hindered somewhat the forwardness of our obedience thereunto; whereas now being taught that Baptism is necessary to take away sin, how have we the fear of God in our hearts, if care of delivering men's souls from sin do not move us to use all means for their Baptism? Pelagius, which denied utterly the guilt of Original Sin, and *in that respect* the necessity of Baptism, did notwithstanding both baptize infants, and acknowledge their Baptism necessary for entrance into the Kingdom of God.* Now the Law of Christ, which in these considerations maketh Baptism necessary, must be con sidered and understood according to rules of natural equity.† Which rules if they themselves did not follow in expounding the Law of God, would they ever be able to prove, that "the Scripture, in saying, 'Whoso believeth not the Gospel of Christ, is condemned already,' meaneth this sentence of those which can hear the Gospel, and have discretion when they hear, to understand it; neither ought it to be applied unto infants, deaf men, and fools?" That which teacheth them thus to interpret the Law of Christ, is natural equity. And (because equity so teacheth) it is on all parts gladly confest, that *there may be in divers cases* life by virtue of inward Baptism, even where outward is not found. So that if any question be made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this possibility. For example, to think that a man whose Baptism the crown of Martyrdom preventeth, doth lose in that case the happiness which so many thousands enjoy, that only have had the grace to believe, and not the honour to seal the testimony thereof with death, were almost barbarous. Again, when some certain opinionative men in St. Bernard's time, began privately to hold that, because our Lord hath said, "Unless a man be born again of water," therefore life, without either actual Baptism, or "Martyrdom" instead of Baptism, cannot "possibly" be obtained at the hands of God; Bernard, considering, that the same equity which had moved them to think the necessity of Baptism no bar against the happy estate of unbaptized Martyrs, is as forcible for the

[Mark
xvi. 16.]T. C.
lib. i.
p. 148.[John
lit. 18.]Berna.
Epist.
76. ad
Hugo-
nem.

* "Pelagius asserere arrepta impietate præsumit non propter vitam, sed propter regnum cælorum baptismum parvulis conferendum." Euseb. Emis. Hom. v. de Pasch.

† "Benignius leges interpretandæ sunt, quo voluntas earum conservetur." L. Benigna. D. de Legib. et Senatusc.

warrant of their salvation, in whom, although there be not the sufferings of holy Martyrs, there are the virtues which sanctified those sufferings, and made them precious in God's sight, professed himself an enemy to that severity and strictness which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs only. For, saith he, if a man desirous of Baptism be suddenly cut off by death, in whom there wanted neither sound faith, devout hope, nor sincere charity (God be merciful unto me, and pardon me, if I err), but verily of such a one's salvation, in whom there is no other defect besides his faultless lack of Baptism, despair I cannot, nor induce my mind to think his faith void, his hope confounded, and his charity fallen to nothing, only because he hath not that which not contempt but impossibility withholdeth. "Tell me, I beseech you (saith Ambrose), what there is in any of us more than to will, and to seek for our own good. Thy servant Valentinian, O Lord, did both." For Valentinian the emperor died before his purpose to receive Baptism could take effect. "And is it possible, that he which had purposely thy Spirit given him to desire grace, should not receive thy grace which that Spirit did desire? Doth it move you that the outward accustomed Solemnities were not done? As though converts that suffer Martyrdom before Baptism did thereby forfeit their right to the crown of eternal glory in the Kingdom of Heaven. If the blood of Martyrs in that case be their Baptism, surely his religious desire of Baptism standeth him in the same stead." It hath been therefore constantly held,* as well touching other believers, as Martyrs, that Baptism, taken away by necessity, is supplied by desire of Baptism, because with equity this opinion doth best stand.† Touching infants

* "Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria injuriam semel dicavit animum in Martyrium, mihi videtur implevisse. Summi ergo meriti est semel fixisse sententiam; atque ideo, ut dixi, ratio principatum obtinet passionis; et si sors perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta quæ voluit pati." Joseph. lib. de Imper. Ration.

† ["Hooker plainly insinuateth the absolute necessity of outward Baptism, at least in wish or desire; which is the distinction of the Schoolmen, and followed by the modern Papists, to cloak their superstition. But whatsoever shew it hath, it was rightly impugned in the Council of Trent (Hist. lib. ii.) by Marinarus, who alleged against it, that the Angel said to Cornelius, his prayers were acceptable to God, before ever he knew of the Sacrament of Baptism (Acts x. 3, 4); so that having no knowledge of it, he could not be said to have received it, no not in vow or wish: and that many holy Martyrs were converted in the heat of persecution, by seeing the constancy of others, and presently taken and put to death, of whom one cannot say, but by divination, that they knew the Sacraments and made a vow." *A Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies, &c.* (by G. Gillespie, of Edinb.) 1660. 4to. Part III. chap. i. p. 119. Probably Marinarus might allude to Origen, who (in Hom. iii. vol. ii.) says, "All who have been baptized with water were not also baptized

which die unbaptized, sith they neither have the Sacrament itself; nor any sense or conceit thereof, the judgment of many hath gone hard against them. But yet seeing Grace is not absolutely tied unto Sacraments; and besides, such is the lenity of God, that unto things altogether impossible he bindeth no man; but, where we cannot do what is enjoined us, accepteth our will to do instead of the deed itself: again, forasmuch as there is in their Christian parents, and in the Church of God, a presumed desire, that the Sacrament of Baptism might be given them, yea, a purpose also that it shall be given; remorse of equity hath moved divers of the School-Divines* in these considerations, ingenuously to grant, that God, all-merciful to such as are not in themselves able to desire Baptism, imputeth the secret desire that others have in their behalf, and accepteth the same as theirs, rather than casteth away their souls for that which no man is able to help. And of the will of God to impart his grace unto infants without Baptism, in that case the very circumstance of their natural birth may serve as a just argument, whereupon it is not to be misliked, that men in charitable presumption do gather a great likelihood of their salvation, to whom the benefit of Christian parentage being given, the rest, that should follow is prevented by some such casualty, as man hath himself no power to avoid. For we are plainly taught of God, that the seed of faithful parentage is holy from the very birth. Which albeit we may not so understand, as if the children of believing parents were without sin; or grace from baptized parents derived by propagation; or God, by covenant and promise, tied to save any in mere regard of their parents' belief: yet seeing, that to all professors of the name of Christ this pre-eminence above Infidels is freely given, the fruit of their bodies bringeth into the world with

1 Cor.
vii. 14.

with the Holy Spirit. For I find in the divine Scriptures some Catechumens accounted worthy of the Holy Spirit; and others, after Baptism, unworthy of the gifts of the Spirit. Cornelius was a Catechumen, and before he came to the water deserved to receive the Holy Spirit. Simon had been baptized, but because he asked hypocritically, he was refused the gift of the Holy Spirit. And I would not that you should doubt that there are now some Catechumens, to whom it may be said, 'Thine alms and thy prayers are come up to heaven,' Acts x. 4; and, again, among the people of the Faithful, there are some sinners, to whom it may be said, 'O full of all subtilty, thou child of the Devil, thou enemy of all righteousness;' Acts xiii. 10."]

* Gers. Serm. in Nativit. Beatæ Mar. Cajetan. in 3. Tho. ix. 68. art. 1. et 2. Biel. in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. Tilman. Segeberg. de Sacr. cap. 1. Elisius Neapol. in Clyp. advers. Hæres. cap. de Baptis.

it a present interest and right to those means wherewith the ordinance of Christ is that his Church shall be sanctified, it is not to be thought that he which, as it were, from Heaven, hath nominated and designed them unto holiness by special privilege of their very birth, will himself deprive them of regeneration and inward grace, only because necessity depriveth them of outward Sacraments. In which case, it were the part of charity to hope, and to make men rather partial than cruel judges, if we had not those fair apparencies which here we have. Wherefore a necessity there is of receiving, and a necessity of administering, the Sacrament of Baptism; the one peradventure not so absolute as some have thought, but out of all peradventure the other more strait and narrow than that the Church, which is by office a mother unto such as crave at her hands the sacred mystery of their new birth, should repel them, and see them die unsatisfied of these their ghostly desires, rather than give them their souls' Rites with omission of those things that serve but only for the more convenient and orderly administration thereof.* For as on the one side we grant, that those sentences of Holy Scripture which make Sacraments most necessary to eternal life, are no prejudice to their salvation that want them by some inevitable necessity, and without any fault of their own; so it ought, in reason, to be likewise acknowledged, that forasmuch as our Lord himself maketh Baptism necessary; necessary whether we respect the good received by Baptism, or the testimony thereby yielded unto God of that humility and meek obedience, which, reposing wholly itself on the absolute authority of his commandment and on the truth of his heavenly promise, doubteth not but from creatures despicable in their own condition and substance to obtain grace of inestimable value, or rather not from them, but from him, yet by them as by his appointed means; howsoever he, by the secret ways of his own incomprehensible mercy, may be thought to save without Baptism, this cleareth not the Church from guiltiness of blood, if, through her superfluous scrupulosity, lets and impediments of less regard should cause a grace of so great moment to be withheld, wherein our merciless strictness may be our own

* "It is in question, whether there be any such necessity of Baptism, as that, for the ministering thereof, the common decent Orders should be broken." T. C. lib. iii. p. 218.

harm, although not theirs towards whom we shew it; and we for the hardness of our hearts may perish, albeit they through God's unspeakable mercy do live. God, which did not afflict that Innocent whose circumcision Moses had over long deferred, took revenge upon Moses himself for the injury which was done through so great neglect; giving us thereby to understand, that they, whom God's own mercy saveth without us, are on our parts notwithstanding, and as much as in us lieth, even destroyed, when under unsufficient pretences we defraud them of such ordinary outward helps as we should exhibit.* We have for Baptism no day set, as the Jews had for Circumcision; neither have we by the Law of God, but only by the Church's discretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptism, therefore, even in the meaning of the Law of Christ, belongeth unto infants capable thereof from the very instant of their birth.† Which if they have not howsoever, rather than lose it by being put off because the time, the place, or some such like circumstance doth not solemnly enough concur, the Church, as much as in her lieth, wilfully casteth away their souls.‡

61. The Ancient, it may be, were too severe, and made the Necessity of Baptism more absolute than reason would, as touching Infants. But will any man say,§ that they,

Exod.
iv. 24.

What
things
in Bap-
tism
have

* ["Not the want, but the contempt or neglect only of the holy Sacrament, can draw any the least appearance of the Lord's wrath: neither is that either neglect or contempt prejudicial to the Infant, but to the Parents only whose fault it is; which, notwithstanding, can be none, where they seek to their uttermost that it may be baptized of the Minister of the Church, orderly and conveniently; no more than it was prejudicial, either to the child or parents under the Law, when the infant died before the eighth day, which was the time appointed for the administration of the Sacrament of Circumcision: for as the eighth day was to them, so is a convenient and orderly time to us." T. C. lib. iii. p. 124.]

† "In omnibus obligationibus, in quibus dies non ponitur, presentis die debetur." Lib. xiv. D. de Reg. Jur.

‡ [See back, p. 215, Note †. "Sound Divines have thought that the Puritan Cartwright had much the advantage over his learned opponent upon the subject of Baptism. The reader will find much less of argument upon this subject than is usual with Hooker. He gives no deductions from the nature of the Priesthood, and the reason of the thing, but makes an impassioned appeal to the feelings upon the notion that the child without Baptism is liable to perish; which is in other words, the notion of the absolute necessity of Baptism."—*Remarks upon a Report of the Judgment delivered by the Right Hon. Sir J. Nicholl, upon the Admission of Articles &c. against the Rev. W. W. Wickes.* 1810. 8vo. p. 59.]

§ "The authors themselves of that error, that they cannot be saved which are not baptized, did never seek a remedy of the mischief in women's or private Baptism." T. C. lib. i. p. 146. "What plainer testimony can there be than that of Augustine, which noteth the use of the Church to have been, 'to come [run, sic T. C.] to the Church with their children in danger of death,' and that when some had opinion that their children could not be saved if they were not baptized? (Cont. Lit. Parm. lib. ii. cap. 13.)—I would also know of him what he will answer to that which is noted of a Christian Jew desperately sick of the palsy, that was with his bed carried to the place of Baptism. (Socr. lib. vii. cap. 4.)—What will he answer to this? that those which were baptized in their beds, were thereby made unapt to have any place

been dispensed with by the Fathers respecting Necessity. notwithstanding their too much rigour herein, did not in that respect sustain and tolerate defects of local, or of personal Solemnities belonging to the Sacrament of Baptism? The Apostles themselves did neither use nor appoint for Baptism any certain time. The Church for general Baptism heretofore made choice of two chief days in the year; the Feast of Easter, and the Feast of Pentecost. Which custom when certain Churches in Sicily began to violate without cause, they were by Leo Bishop of Rome advised, rather to conform themselves to the rest of the world in things so reasonable, than to offend men's minds through needless singularity; howbeit, always providing, that nevertheless in apparent peril of death, danger of siege, straits of persecution, fear of shipwreck, and the like exigents, no respect of times should cause this singular defence of true safety to be denied unto any. This of Leo did but confirm that sentence which Victor had many years before given, extending the same exception as well unto *places* as times. That which St. Augustine speaketh of women hasting to bring their children to the Church when they saw danger, is a weak proof, that when *necessity* did not leave them so much time, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their own home. Which answer dischargeth likewise their example of a sick Jew carried in bed to the place of Baptism, and not baptized at home in private. The cause why such kind of Baptism barred men afterwards from entering into Holy Orders, the reason wherefore it was objected against Novatian, in what respect and how far forth it did disable, may be gathered by the twelfth Canon set down in the Council of Neocæsarea after this manner: "A man which hath been baptized in sickness, is not after to be ordained Priest." For it may be thought, "That such do rather at that time, because they see no other remedy, than of a voluntary mind, lay hold on the Christian Faith, unless their true and sincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifest, or else the scarcity of others enforce the Church to admit them." They bring in Justinian's imperial Constitution, but to what purpose? seeing it only forbiddeth men to have the mysteries of

amongst the Clergy, as they call them, (Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 48.) doth it not leave a note of infamy in those which had procured that Baptism should be administered in private houses?—What, unto the Emperor's decree, which, upon authority of the ancient Laws, and of the Apostles, forbiddeth, that the holy things should be administered in any man's private house? (Just. Novel. 57.)" T. C. lib. iii. 219.

Leo,
Epist.
iv. ad
Episc.
Sicil.

Vict.
Ep. ad
Theoph.
Alex-
and. in
Pontif.
Damas.

God administered in their private Chapels, lest under that pretence Heretics should do secretly those things which were unlawful. In which consideration he therefore commandeth, that if they would use those private Oratories otherwise than only for their private Prayers, the Bishop should appoint them a Clerk whom they might entertain for that purpose. This is plain by later Constitutions made in the time of Leo: "It was thought good (saith the Emperor), in their judgment which have gone before, that in private Chapels none should celebrate the Holy Communion but Priests belonging unto greater Churches. Which Order they took as it seemeth for the custody of Religion, lest men should secretly receive from Heretics, instead of the food, the bane of their souls, pollution in place of expiation." Again, "Whereas a sacred Canon of the sixth reverend Synod requireth Baptism, as others have likewise the holy Sacrifices and Mysteries, to be celebrated only in Temples hallowed for public use, and not in private Oratories; which strict decrees appear to have been made heretofore in regard of Heretics which entered closely into such men's houses as favoured their opinions, whom, under colour of performing with them such religious offices, they drew from the soundness of true Religion: now that perverse opinions, through the grace of Almighty God, are extinct and gone, the cause of former restraints being taken away, we see no reason but that private Oratories may henceforward enjoy that liberty, which to have granted them heretofore had not been safe." In sum, all these things alleged are nothing, nor will it ever be proved while the world doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in cases of extreme necessity hath made for private Baptism always more than against it. Yea, "Baptism by any man, in case of necessity," was the voice of the whole world heretofore.* Neither is Tertullian, Epiphanius, Augustine, or any other of the ancient, against it. The boldness of such, as, pretending Tecla's example, took openly upon them both Baptism and all other public functions of Priesthood, Tertullian severely controlleth, saying, "To give Baptism is, in

Leo,
Const.
iv.

Leo,
Const.
xv.

Tertul.
de Bap.

* "To allow of Women's baptizing, is not only contrary to the learned writers now, but also contrary to all learned antiquity, and contrary to the practice of the Church, whilst there was any tolerable estate. [Tertul. de Virg. veland. et lib. de Bapt. Epipha. lib. i. et ii. cont. Hærea.]" T. C. lib. i. p. 145. "St. Augustine, although he seem to allow of a Layman's Baptism in time of necessity (Cont. Epist. Parm. lib. ii. cap. 13); yet there he mentioneth not Women's Baptism; and in the fourth Council of Carthage, can. 100, it is simply, without exception, decreed, that a Woman ought not to baptize." T. C. lib. i. p. 145

Tertul.
de Bap.

Epi-
phan. c.
Heres.
l. i. l. ii.

truth, the Bishop's right. After him it belongeth unto Priests and Deacons; but not to them without authority from him received. For so the honour of the Church requireth, which being kept preserveth peace. Were it not in this respect, the Laity might do the same; all sorts might give, even as all sorts receive." But because emulation is the mother of schisms, "Let it content thee (which art of the order of Laymen) to do it in necessity, when the state of time, or place, or person, thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldness privileged that help, when the circumstance of other men's dangers craveth it." What he granteth generally to Lay-persons of the House of God, the same we cannot suppose he denieth to any sort or sex contained under that name, unless himself did restrain the limits of his own speech; especially seeing that Tertullian's rule of interpretation is elsewhere, "Specialties are signified under that which is general, because they are therein comprehended."* All which Tertullian doth deny is, that Women may be called to bear, or publicly take upon them to execute offices of Ecclesiastical Order, whereof none but men are capable.† As for Epiphanius, he striketh on the very self-same anvil with Tertullian. And in necessity, if St. Augustine allow as much unto Laymen as Tertullian doth, his "not mentioning" of Women is but a slender proof that his meaning was to exclude Women. Finally, the Council of Carthage, likewise, although it make no express submission, may be very well presumed willing to stoop, as other positive Ordinances do, to the countermands of Necessity. Judge therefore what the Ancient would have thought, if in their days it had been heard, which is published in ours, that because "the substance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the Institution of God, which is the form, and as it were the life, of the Sacrament;" therefore, first, "if the whole Institution be not kept, it is no Sacrament;" and, secondly, if Baptism be private, his Institution is broken, inasmuch as, "according to the Orders which he hath set for Baptism, it should be done in the congregation," from whose Ordinance in this point "we ought not to swerve, although we know that

* "Subjectum est generali speciale. In ipso significatur, quia in ipso continetur." Tertull. de veland. Virg. "Posito genere, supponitur species." Azo. in lib. ii. C. de Transact.

† "Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed ne docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii, sortem sibi vindicare." Tertull. de veland. Virg.

Infants should be assuredly damned without Baptism.* O Sir, you that would spurn thus at such, as in case of so dreadful extremity should lie prostrate before your feet; you that would turn away your face from them at the hour of their most need; you that would dam up your ears, and harden your heart as iron against the unresistible cries of supplicants, calling upon you for mercy with terms of such invocation, as that most dreadful perplexity might minister, if God by miracle did open the mouths of Infants to express their supposed necessity; should first imagine yourself in their case, and them in yours. This done, let their supplications proceed out of your mouth, and your answer out of theirs. Would you then contentedly hear, "My son, the Rites and Solemnities of Baptism must be kept; we may not do ill that good may come of it;† neither are souls to be delivered from eternal death and condemnation, by breaking Orders which Christ hath set;" would you in their case yourself be shaken off with these answers, and not rather embrace, enclosed with both your arms, a sentence, which now is no Gospel unto you, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice?" To acknowledge Christ's Institution the ground of both Sacraments, I suppose no Christian man will refuse: for it giveth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they consist, the form of their administration it teacheth, and it blesseth them with that grace whereby to us they are both pledges and instruments of life. Nevertheless, seeing Christ's Institution containeth, besides that which maketh complete the essence or nature, other things that only are parts, as it were, of the furniture of Sacraments; the difference between these two must unfold that which the general terms of indefinite speech would confound. If the place appointed for Baptism be a part of Christ's Institution, it is but his Institution as *sacrifice*, Baptism his Institution as *mercy*, in this case. He which requireth both mercy and sacrifice, rejecteth his own Institution of sacrifice,

Matt.
ix. 13.

* "The substance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the Institution and Word of God, which is the form, and, as it were, the life, of the Sacrament." T.C. lib. i. p. 144. "Although part of the Institution be observed, yet if the whole Institution be not, it is no Sacrament." T.C. lib. i. p. 144. "The Orders which God hath set, are, that it should be done in the congregation, and by the Minister." T.C. lib. i. p. 146. "And I will further say, that although the infants which die without Baptism, should be assuredly damned (which is most false), yet ought not the Orders which God hath set in his Church to be broken after this sort." T.C. lib. i. p. 146.

† "Nostrum peccatum alterius salutem consulere non debemus." Aug. lib. cont. Mend. cap. 17.

where the offering of sacrifice would hinder mercy from being shewed. External circumstances, even in the holiest and highest actions, are but the "lesser things of the Law," whereunto those actions themselves being compared, are *the greater*; and, therefore, as the greater are of such importance, that they *must be done*: so in that extremity before supposed, if our accompt of the lesser, which are *not to be omitted*, should cause omission of that which is more to be accompted of, were not this our strict obedience to Christ's Institution touching "mint and cummin," a disobedience to his Institution concerning love? But sith no Institution of Christ hath so strictly tied Baptism to public Assemblies, as it hath done all men unto Baptism, away with these merciless and bloody sentences, let them never be found standing in the books and writings of a Christian man; they savour not of Christ, nor of his most gracious and meek Spirit, but, under colour of exact obedience, they nourish cruelty and hardness of heart.

Whether
Baptism
by W.
men be
true
Baptism,
good and
effectual
to them
that re-
ceive it.

1 Tim.
ii. 12.
1 Cor.
xiv. 34.

62. To leave private Baptism, therefore, and to come unto Baptism by Women, which they say is no more a Sacrament than any other ordinary washing or bathing of a man's body:* the reason whereupon they ground their opinion herein is such, as, making Baptism by Women void because Women are no Ministers in the Church of God, must needs generally annihilate the Baptism of all unto whom their conceit shall apply this exception, whether it be in regard of sex, of quality, of insufficiency, or whatsoever. For if want of calling do frustrate Baptism, they that baptize without calling do nothing, be they Women or Men. To make Women teachers in the House of God, were a gross absurdity, seeing the Apostle hath said, "I permit not a Woman to teach:" and again, "Let your Women in Churches be silent." Those extraordinary gifts of speaking with tongues and prophesying, which God at that time did not only bestow upon men, but on Women also, made it the harder to hold them confined with[in] private bounds: whereupon the Apostle's Ordinance was necessary against Women's public admission to teach. And because, when Law hath begun some one thing or other well, it giveth

On this point, whether he be a Minister or no, dependeth not only the dignity, but the being, of the Sacrament. So that I take the Baptism of Women to be no more the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, than other daily or ordinary washing of the Child." T. C. lib. i. p. 144.

good occasion either to draw by judicious exposition out of the very Law itself, or to annex to the Law by authority and jurisdiction things of like conveniency, therefore Clement extendeth this Apostolic Constitution to Baptism: "For (saith he) if we have denied them leave to teach, how should any man dispense with nature, and make them Ministers of holy things; seeing this unskilfulness is a part of the Grecians' impiety, which for the service of Women-Goddesses have Women-Priests?" I somewhat marvel, that men which would not willingly be thought to speak or write but with good conscience, dare hereupon openly avouch Clement for a witness, "That as, when the Church began not only to decline, but to fall away from the sincerity of Religion, it borrowed a number of other profanations of the Heathens, so it borrowed this, and would needs have Women-Priests, as the Heathens had; and that this was one occasion of bringing Baptism by Women into the Church of God."* Is it not plain in their own eyes, that first, by an evidence which forbiddeth Women to be Ministers of Baptism, they endeavour to shew how Women were admitted unto that function in the wane and declination of Christian piety; secondly, that by an evidence rejecting the Heathens, and condemning them of impiety, they would prove such affection towards Heathens, as ordereth the affairs of the Church by the pattern of their example; and, thirdly, that out of an evidence which nameth the Heathens as being in some part a reason why the Church had no Women-Priests, they gather the Heathens to have been one of the first occasions why it had? So that, throughout every branch of this testimony, their issue is *yea*; and their evidence directly *no*. But to Women's Baptism in private by occasion of urgent necessity, the reasons that only concern ordinary Baptism in public are no just prejudice; neither can we by force thereof disprove the practice of those Churches, which (necessity

Clem.
Const.
Apostol.
lib. iii.
cap. 9.

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 144.

* [T. C. adds, "It appeareth by your Clement, if he can speak any truth." Dr. Whitgift therefore had cited him, but the slur T. C. casts on the name of Clement is accounted for by Mosheim (Eccl. Hist. cent. 1. Part. II. chap. ii. sect. 19), who says, "The learned are now unanimous in regarding the other writings which bear the name of Clemens, namely, the Apostolic Canons, the Apostolic Constitutions, &c. as spurious productions ascribed by some impostor to this venerable prelate, in order to procure them a high degree of authority." Hence it is clear that T. C. only quoted from the Apostolic Constitutions as authority to Dr. W. who had so used them. But what shall be said for Hooker, who, not questioning their genuineness, introduces his quotation with sage gravity, and follows it up with a profound deduction; "And because, when Law hath, &c.?" With the same amplitude of authority he uses the Apostolic Canons hereafter.]

requiring) allow Baptism in private to be administered by Women.* We may not, from Laws that prohibit any thing with restraint, conclude absolute and unlimited prohibitions: although we deny not, but they which utterly forbid such Baptism, may have perhaps wherewith to justify their orders against it. For, even things lawful are well prohibited, when there is fear lest they make the way to unlawful more easy.† And it may be, the liberty of Baptism by Women at such times doth sometimes embolden the rasher sort to do it where no such necessity is. But whether of permission besides Law, or in presumption against Law, they do it, is it thereby altogether frustrate, void, and as though it were never given?‡ They which have not at the first their right Baptism, must of necessity be rebaptized, because the Law of Christ tieth all men to receive Baptism. Iteration of Baptism once given hath been always thought a manifest contempt of that ancient Apostolic aphorism, "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism:" Baptism not only one, inasmuch as it hath every where the same substance, and offereth unto all men the same grace, but one also, for that it ought not to be received by any one man above once. We serve that Lord which is but one, because no other can be joined with him: we embrace that Faith which is but one, because it admitteth no innovation: that Baptism we receive which is but one, because it cannot be received often. For how should we practise iteration of Baptism, and yet teach, that we are by Baptism born anew; that by Baptism we are admitted unto the heavenly society of Saints; that those things be really and effectually done by Baptism, which are no more possible to be often done, than a man can naturally be often born,§ or civilly be often

Ephes.
iv. 5.

* ["Where doth this Church of England allow any woman to baptize?" *WHITGIFT, Ans. to Adm.* p. 93. In *STRYPE's Annals*, Vol. I. p. 501, is the copy of a Licence granted by Archbishop Parker in 1567 to Eleonor Pead to be a midwife, with the oath; "Also that in the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism, in the time of necessity, I will use apt and the accustomed words of the Sacrament, &c." "To your objection of the Magistrates allowing the practice of Baptising by Women (*T. C. lib. i. p. 139*) I answer, first, that your general proposition is untrue, as I think, for all the Magistrates of this Realm do not so; secondly, that if they did, yet it followeth not that they do it by the authority of the Book; for many things be permitted as tolerable, which are not established by any Law."—*WHITGIFT, Def. of the Ans.* p. 504.]

† "Licita prohibentur, ne si permitterentur, eorum occasione perveniantur ad illicita." *L. neque tamen. Just. de Asuth. Tut. lib. Officium. D. de rei Vind.*

‡ [See a Note to Sect. 78.]

§ "Una est nativitas de terra, alia de cœlo; una de carne, alia de Spiritu; una de æternitate, alia de mortalitate; una de masculo et femina, alia de Deo et Ecclesia. Sed ipsæ dum singulares sunt. Quo modo enim uterus non potest repeti, sic nec Baptismus iterari." *Prosp.*

adopted into any one's stock and family? This also is the cause, why they that present us unto Baptism are intitled for ever after our Parents in God, and the reason why there we receive new names, in token that by Baptism we are made new creatures. As Christ hath therefore died and risen from the dead but once, so the Sacrament which both extinguisheth in him our former sin, and beginneth in us a new condition of life, is by one only actual administration for ever available; according to that in the Nicene Creed, "I believe one Baptism for remission of sins." And because second Baptism was ever abhorred in the Church of God, as a kind of incestuous birth,* they that iterate Baptism are driven, under some pretence or other, to make the former Baptism void. Tertullian, the first that proposed to the Church;† Agrippinus, the first in the Church that accepted;‡ and against the use of the Church, Novatian, the first that publicly began to practise Rebaptization; did it therefore upon these two grounds,—a true persuasion that Baptism is necessary; and a false, that the Baptism which others administered was no Baptism. Novatianus his conceit was, that none can administer true Baptism but the true Church of Jesus Christ; that he and his followers alone were the Church; and for the rest, he accompted them wicked and profane persons, such as by Baptism could cleanse no man, unless they first did purify themselves, and reform the faults wherewith he charged them. At which time St. Cyprian, with the greatest part of African Bishops, because they likewise thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptize, and were of nothing more certainly persuaded than that Heretics are as rotten branches cut off from the life and body of the true Church, gathered hereby, that the Church of God both may with good consideration and ought, to reverse that Baptism which is given by Heretics. These held and practised their own opinion, yet with great protestations often made that they neither loved a whit the less, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrary mind. In requital of which ingenious moderation, the rest that withstood them, did it in peaceable sort, with very good regard had of them, as of men in error, but not in Heresy. The Bishop of Rome

Enseb.
lib. vii.
c. 1—3.
Cyp.
Epist.
70—76.

Senten. 331. "Eja, fratres, lacteum genitalis fontis ad laticem convolate, ut semper vobis aqua sufficiat, hoc ante omnia scientes, quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rursus haurire." Zeno. Invit. ad Font.

* August. de Bapt. cont. Don. lib. ii. cap. 14.

† Tert. de Bapt.

‡ Cyp. Epist. 71.

against their novelties upheld, as beseemed him, the ancient and true Apostolic Customs, till they which unadvisedly before had erred, became in a manner all reconciled friends unto truth, and saw that Heresy in the Ministers of Baptism could no way evacuate the force thereof:* such Heresy alone excepted, as, by reason of unsoundness in the highest articles of Christian Faith, presumed to change, and by changing to maim the substance, the form of Baptism.† In which respect, the Church did neither simply disannul, nor absolutely ratify, Baptism by Heretics. For the Baptism which Novatianists gave stood firm; whereas they whom Samosatenians‡ had baptized were rebaptized. It was likewise ordered in the Council of Arles, that if any Arian did reconcile himself to the Church, they should admit him without new Baptism, unless by examination they found him not baptized in the name of the Trinity.§ Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, maketh report, how there lived under him a man of good reputation, and of very ancient continuance in that Church, who, being present at the Rites of Baptism, and observing with better consideration than ever before, what was there done, came, and with weeping submission craved of his Bishop not to deny him Baptism, the due of all which profess Christ, seeing it had been so long sithence his evil hap to be deceived by the fraud of Heretics, and at their hands (which till now he never thoroughly and duly weighed) to take a Baptism full fraught with blasphemous impieties, a Baptism in nothing like unto that which the true Church of Christ useth. The Bishop was greatly moved thereat, yet durst not adventure to rebaptize, but did the best he could to put him in good comfort, using much persuasion with him not to trouble himself with things which were past and gone, nor after so long continuance in the fellowship of God's people to call now in question his first entrance. The poor man that saw himself in this sort answered, but not satisfied, spent afterwards his life in

Enseb.
Eccles.
Hist.
lib. vii.
cap. 8.

* "Illi ipsi Episcopi, qui rebaptizandos Hæreticos cum Cypriano statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revoluti, novum emisere decretum." Hieron. cont. Lucifer. Vide et August. contr. Crescon. lib. iii. cap. 2, 3. et Epist. 48.

† "Dixisti fieri non posse ut in falso baptismo inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus absolvat. Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad solos Hæreticos pertinere, qui falsaverunt Symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos cum Deus unus sit, alter Patrem vult in Persona Filii cognosci, alter carnem adducens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: et cæteri hujusmodi, qui a Sacramentis Catholicis alieni noscuntur." Optat. lib. i.

‡ Synod. Nicæ. can. 19.

§ Synod. i. Arelat. can. 8.

continual perplexity, whereof the Bishop remained fearful to give release; perhaps too fearful, if the Baptism were such as his own declaration importeth. For that, the substance whereof was rotten at the very first, is never by tract of time able to recover soundness. And where true Baptism was not before given, the case of Rebaptization is clear. But by this it appeareth, that Baptism is not void in regard of Heresy; and therefore much less through any *other moral* defect in the Minister thereof. Under which second pretence, Donatists notwithstanding took upon them to make frustrate the Church's Baptism, and themselves to rebaptize their own fry. For whereas some forty years after the martyrdom of blessed Cyprian, the Emperor Dioclesian began to persecute the Church of Christ, and for the speedier abolishment of their Religion to burn up their Sacred Books; there were in the Church itself *traditors*, content to deliver up the Books of God by composition, to the end their own lives might be spared. Which men growing thereby odious to the rest whose constancy was greater, it fortuneed that after, when one Cecilian was ordained Bishop in the Church of Carthage, whom others endeavoured in vain to defeat by excepting against him as a *traditor*, they whose accusations could not prevail, desperately joined themselves in one, and made a Bishop of their own crew, accompting, from that day forward, their faction the only true and sincere Church. The first Bishop on that part was Majorinus, whose successor Donatus being the first who wrote in defence of their schism, the birds that were hatched before by others have their names from him. Arians and Donatists began both about one time. Which heresies, according to the different strength of their own sinews, wrought as hope of success led them: the one with the choicest wits, the other with the multitude, so far that, after long and troublesome experience, the perfectest view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certain determinate resolution, whether error may do more by the curious subtilty of sharp discourse, or else by the mere appearance of zeal and devout affection; the latter of which two aids gave Donatists beyond all men's expectation, as great a sway as ever any schism or heresy had within that reach of the Christian world, where it bred and grew: the rather, perhaps, because the Church, which neither greatly feared them, and besides had necessary cause to

Circa
An. 300.

Circa
An. 370.

bend itself against others that aimed directly at a far higher mark, the Deity of Christ, was contented to let Donatists have their foorth [*growth?*] by the space of threescore years and above; even from ten years before Constantine till the time that Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, published his Books against Parmenian. During which term, and the space of that schism's continuance afterwards, they had, besides many other secular and worldly means to help them forward, these special advantages: first, the very occasion of their breach with the Church of God, a just hatred and dislike of *traitors*, seemed plausible; they easily persuaded their hearers, that such men could not be holy as held communion and fellowship with them that betray Religion: again, when, to dazzle the eyes of the simple, and to prove that it can be no Church which is not holy, they had in show and sound of words the glorious pretence of the Creed Apostolic, "I believe the Holy Catholic Church," we need not think it any strange thing that with the multitude they gained credit: and avouching that such as are not of the true Church can administer no true Baptism, they had for this point whole volumes of St. Cyprian's own writing, together with the judgment of divers African Synods, whose sentence was the same with his. Whereupon the Fathers were likewise, in defence of their just cause, very greatly prejudiced; both for that they could not enforce the duty of men's communion with a Church confest to be in many things blameworthy, unless they should oftentimes seem to speak as half-defenders of the faults themselves, or at the least not so vehement accusers thereof as their adversaries; and to withstand iteration of Baptism, the other branch of the Donatists' Heresy, was impossible, without manifest and profest rejection of Cyprian, whom the world universally did in his lifetime admire as the greatest amongst Prelates, and now honour as not the lowest in the Kingdom of Heaven. So true we find it, by experience of all ages in the Church of God, that the Teacher's error is the people's trial, harder and heavier by so much to bear, as he is in worth and regard greater than mispersuadeth them. Although there was odds between Cyprian's cause and theirs, he differing from others of sounder understanding in that point, but not dividing himself from the body of the Church by schism, as did the Donatists: For which cause saith Vincentius, "Of one and the same opinion we judge

(which may seem strange) the authors Catholic and the followers Heretical; we acquit the masters, and condemn the scholars; they are heirs of Heaven which have written those Books, the defenders whereof are trodden down to the pit of hell." The invectives of Catholic writers, therefore, against them are sharp; the words of imperial edicts by Honorius and Theodosius, made to bridle them, very bitter; the punishments severe, in revenge of their folly. Howbeit, for fear (as we may conjecture) lest much should be derogated from the Baptism of the Church, and Baptism by Donatists be more esteemed of than was meet; if, on the one side, that which Heretics had done ill should stand as good; on the other side, that be reversed which the Catholic Church had well and religiously done; divers better minded than advised men, thought it fittest to meet with this inconvenience, by rebaptizing Donatists, as well as they rebaptized Catholics. For stay whereof, the same Emperors saw it meet to give their Law a double edge, whereby it might equally on both sides cut off not only Heretics which rebaptized whom they could pervert; but also Catholic and Christian Priests which did the like unto such as before had taken Baptism at the hands of Heretics, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatists were therefore, in process of time, though with much ado, wearied, and at length worn out, by the constancy of that truth which teacheth, that evil Ministers of good things are as torches, a light to others, a waste to none but themselves only; and that the foulness of their hands can neither any whit impair the virtue, nor stain the glory, of the mysteries of Christ. Now that which was done amiss by virtuous and good men; as Cyprian, carried aside with Hatred against Heresy; and was secondly followed by Donatists, whom envy and rancour, covered with show of godliness, made obstinate to cancel whatsoever the Church did in the Sacrament of Baptism; hath of later days, in another respect far different from both the former, been brought freshly again into practice: for the Anabaptist rebaptizeth, because in his estimation the Baptism of the Church is frustrate, for that we give it unto Infants which have not Faith; whereas, according unto Christ's Institution, as they conceive it, true Baptism should always presuppose actual belief in receivers, and is otherwise no Baptism. Of

Vincent.
Lirin.
adver.
Hæres.
cap. 11.

Vide C.
Theod.
lib. xvi.
tit. 6.
lib. Ad-
versa-
rius.
et lib.
Nallus,
circa
An. 405.

Si quis
C. Ne
Sanct.
Baptis.
circa
An. 412.

these three errors, there is not any but hath been able at the least to allege in defence of itself many fair probabilities. Notwithstanding, sith the Church of God hath hitherto always constantly maintained, that to rebaptize them which are known to have received true Baptism is unlawful; that if Baptism seriously be administered in the same element, and with the same form of words which Christ's Institution teacheth, there is no other defect in the world that can make it frustrate, or deprive it of the nature of a true Sacrament; and lastly, that Baptism is only then to be readministered, when the first delivery thereof is void in regard of the fore-alleged imperfections, and no other; shall we now in the case of Baptism, which, having both for matter and form the substance of Christ's Institution, is by a fourth sort of men voided for the only defect of Ecclesiastical authority in the Minister, think it enough that they blow away the force thereof with the bare strength of their very breath, by saying, "We take such Baptism to be no more the Sacrament of Baptism, than any other ordinary bathing to be a Sacrament?" It behoveth generally all sorts of men to keep themselves within the limits of their own vocation: and seeing God, from whom men's several degrees and pre-eminences do proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whose hands his pleasure is that we should receive both Baptism and all other public medicinable helps of soul, perhaps thereby the more to settle our hearts in the love of our ghostly superiors; they have small cause to hope that with him their voluntary services will be accepted, who thrust themselves into functions, either above their capacity, or besides their place, and over-boldly intermeddle with duties whereof no charge was ever given them. They that in any thing exceed the compass of their own order, do as much as in them lieth to dissolve that order which is the harmony of God's Church. Suppose, therefore, that in these and the like considerations, the Law did utterly prohibit Baptism to be administered by any other than persons thereunto solemnly consecrated, what necessity soever happen; are not many things firm,* being done, although in part done otherwise

Numb.
xvi. 10.
Levit.
x. 1.
1 Sam.
xiii. 11.
2 Sam.
vi. 6.
2 Chron.
xxvi. 16.
Heb.
v. 4.

* Q. 9. c. 2. Lugdunensis ex literis decret. de Matrim. contract. Damas. Burch. Reg. 109. "Prohibita fieri, si fiant, non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res favorabiles, contrarium obtinet."

than positive rigour and strictness did require? Nature, as much as is possible, inclineth unto validities and preservations. Dissolutions and nullities of things done, are not only not favoured, but hated, when either urged without cause, or extended beyond their reach. If therefore at any time it come to pass, that in teaching publicly, or privately, in delivering this blessed Sacrament of Regeneration, some unsanctified hand, contrary to Christ's supposed Ordinance, do intrude itself to execute that whereunto the Laws of God and his Church have deputed others; which of these two opinions seemeth more agreeable with equity, ours that disallow what is done amiss, yet make not the force of the Word and Sacraments, much less their nature and very substance, to depend on the Minister's authority and calling, or else theirs, which defeat, disannul, and annihilate both, in respect of that one only personal defect,* there being not any Law of God which saith, that if the Minister be incompetent, his Word shall be no Word, his Baptism no Baptism? He which teacheth and is not "sent," loseth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a Teacher: his usurped actions have in him the same nature which they have in others, although they yield him not the same comfort. And if these two cases be peers, the case of Doctrine and the case of Baptism both alike; sith no defect in their vocation that teach the Truth is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore should the want of a lawful calling in them that baptize make Baptism to me vain? They grant, that the matter and the form in Sacraments are the only parts of substance, and that if these two be retained, albeit other things besides be used which are inconvenient, the Sacrament notwithstanding is administered, but not sincerely.† Why persist they not in this opinion? When by these fair speeches they have put us in hope of agreement, wherefore sup they up their words again, interlacing such frivolous interpretations and glozes as disgrace their

* "As St. Paul saith, that a man cannot preach, which is not sent, (Rom. x. 15); no, not although he speak the words of the Scripture, and interpret them: so I cannot see how a man can baptize, unless he be sent to that end; although he pour water, and rehearse the words which are to be rehearsed in the Ministry of Baptism." T. C. lib. i. p. 144.

† "If either the matter of the Sacrament . . . or the form of it, which is the Institution (which things are only substantial parts), were wanting, there should then have been no Sacrament at all ministered. But they being retained, and yet other things used which are not convenient, the Sacrament is ministered, but not sincerely." T. C. lib. i. p. 166.

sentence? What should move them, having named the "matter" and the "form" of the Sacrament, to give us presently warning, that they mean by "the form" of the Sacrament "the Institution?" Which exposition dark'neth whatsoever was before plain. For whereas, in common understanding, that "form," which added to the element doth make a Sacrament, and is of the outward substance thereof, containeth only the words of usual application, they set it down (lest common dictionaries should deceive us), that "the form" doth signify, in their language, "the Institution;" which Institution in truth comprehendeth both form and matter.* Such are their fumbling shifts to enclose the Minister's vocation within the compass of some essential part of the Sacrament. A thing that can never stand with sound and sincere construction. For what if the Minister be "no circumstance, but a subordinate efficient cause" in the work of Baptism? What if the Minister's vocation be a matter "of perpetual necessity, and not a Ceremony variable as times and occasions require?" What if his calling be "a principal part of the Institution of Christ?" Doth it therefore follow, that the Minister's authority is "of the substance of the Sacrament,"† and as incident into the nature thereof, as the matter and the form itself, yea, more incident? For whereas, in case of necessity, the greatest amongst them professeth the change of the element of water lawful,‡ and others, which like not so well this opinion, could be better content that voluntarily the "words" of Christ's Institution were altered, and men baptized in "the name of Christ," without either mention made of the Father or of the Holy Ghost;§ nevertheless, in denying

T. C.
lib. iii.
p. 117.

Ibid.
p. 127.

* [Can it be that Hooker has descended from the legislative eminence of a Solon, to the level of a carper with Zoilus? Had he set the passage before his reader as it stands in T. C. then it would be seen that the Sacrament of the Supper is the subject, and that the connexion influenced the structure of the passage. "If either the matter of the Sacrament, as bread and wine, or the form of it, which is the Institution, &c." The next sentence shews that Popish additions to the "form" were in his mind; and shortly after he treats of "gesture" which some consider of the essence of the "form;" therefore T. C. intentionally used the word "Institution" as a restriction of the "form" to the Scriptural model.]

† "The Minister is of the substance of the Sacrament, considering that it is a principal part of Christ's Institution." T. C. lib. iii. p. 135.

‡ "Desit aqua, et tamen Baptismus alicujus differri cum ædificatione non possit, nec debeat; ego certe quovis alio liquore non minus rite, quam aqua, baptizarim." Beza, Epist. 2.

§ "Shew me why the breach of the Institution in the Form should make the Sacrament unavailable, and not the breach of this part (which concerneth the Minister)?" T. C. lib. iii. p. 138. "Howsoever some learned and godly give some liberty in the change of the elements of the Holy Sacrament; yet I do not see how that can stand." Ibid. "I would

that Baptism administered by private persons ought to be reckoned of as a Sacrament, they both agree. It may therefore please them both to consider, that Baptism is an action, in part Moral, in part Ecclesiastical, and in part Mystical: Moral, as being a duty which men perform towards God; Ecclesiastical, in that it belongeth unto God's Church as a public duty; finally, Mystical, if we respect what God doth thereby intend to work. The greatest Moral perfection of Baptism consisteth in men's devout obedience to the Law of God, which Law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and also that religious affection which God doth so much regard, that without it whatsoever we do is hateful in his sight; who therefore is said to respect *adverbs* more than *verbs*, because the end of his Law in appointing what we shall do is our own perfection; which perfection consisteth chiefly in the virtuous disposition of the mind, and approveth itself to him not by *doing*, but by *doing well*. Wherein appeareth also the difference between human and divine Laws; the one of which two are content with *opus operatum*, the other require *opus operantis*; the one do but claim the deed, the other especially the mind. So that, according to Laws which principally respect the heart of men, works of Religion being not religiously performed cannot morally be perfect. Baptism, as an Ecclesiastical work, is for the manner of performance ordered by divers Ecclesiastical Laws, providing that as the Sacrament itself is a gift of no mean worth, so the ministry thereof might in all circumstances appear to be a function of no small regard. All that belongeth to the Mystical perfection of Baptism outwardly, is the element, the word, and the serious application of both unto him which receiveth both; whereunto, if we add that secret reference which this action hath to life and remission of sins, by virtue of Christ's own compact solemnly made with his Church, to accomplish fully the Sacrament of Baptism there is not any thing more required. Now put the question, whether Baptism administered to Infants, without any spiritual calling, be unto them both a true Sacrament, and an effectual instrument of grace, or

rather judge him baptized, which is baptized into the name of Christ, without adding the Father and the Holy Ghost, when the element of water is added, than when the other word being duly kept, some other liquor is used." *Idem*, p. 137.

else an act of no more accompt than the ordinary washings are? The sum of all that can be said to defeat such Baptism is, that those things which have no being can work nothing; and that Baptism, without the power of Ordination, is as a judgment without sufficient jurisdiction, void, frustrate, and of no effect. But to this we answer, that the fruit of Baptism dependeth only upon the Covenant which God hath made; that God by Covenant requireth in the elder sort, Faith and Baptism; in children, the Sacrament of Baptism alone,* whereunto he hath also given them right by special privilege of birth within the bosom of the holy Church: that Infants, therefore, which have received Baptism complete, as touching the Mystical perfection thereof, are by virtue of his own Covenant and Promise cleansed from all sin; forasmuch as all other Laws, concerning that which in Baptism is either Moral or Ecclesiastical, do bind the Church which giveth Baptism, and not the Infant which receiveth it of the Church. So that, if any thing be therein amiss, the harm which groweth by violation of holy Ordinances, must altogether rest where the bonds of such Ordinances hold. For, that in actions of this nature it fareth not as in jurisdictions, may somewhat appear by the very opinion which men have of them. The nullity of that which a Judge doth by way of authority without authority, is known to all men, and agreed upon with full consent of the whole world; every man receiveth it as a general edict of Nature; whereas the nullity of Baptism, in regard of the like defect, is only a few men's new, ungrounded, and as yet unapproved, imagination. Which difference of generality in men's persuasion on the one side, and their paucity whose conceit leadeth them the other way, hath risen from a difference easy to observe in the things themselves. The exercise of unauthorized jurisdiction is a grievance unto them that are under it, whereas they that without authority presume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food, and the Ministers thereof as parents, or as nurses; at whose hands, when there is necessity, but no possibility, of receiving it, if that which they are not present to do in right of their office, be of pity and compassion done by

* [See Sec. 60, p. 215, Note 1.]

others; shall this be thought to turn celestial bread into gravel, or the medicine of souls into poison? Jurisdiction is a yoke which Law hath imposed on the necks of men in such sort, that they must endure it for the good of others, how contrary soever it be to their own particular appetites and inclinations; jurisdiction bridleth men against their wills; that which a Judge doth prevaieth by virtue of his very power; and therefore, not without great reason, except the Law hath given him authority, whatsoever he doth vanisheth. Baptism, on the other side, being a favour which it pleaseth God to bestow, a benefit of soul to us that receive it, and a grace which they that deliver are but as mere vessels, either appointed by others or offered of their own accord to this service; of which two, if they be the one, it is but their own honour; their own offence, to be the other: can it possibly stand with equity and right,* that the faultiness of their presumption in giving Baptism, should be able to prejudice us, who by taking Baptism have no way offended? I know there are many sentences found in the books and writings of the ancient Fathers, to prove both Ecclesiastical and also Moral defects in the Minister of Baptism a bar to the heavenly benefit thereof. Which sentences we always so understand, as Augustine understood in a case of like nature the words of St. Cyprian. When Infants baptized were, after their parents' revolt, carried by them in arms to the stews of Idols, those wretched creatures, as St. Cyprian thought, were not only their own ruin, but their children's also: "Their children (whom this their apostacy profaned) did lose what Christian Baptism had given them being newly born." "They lost (saith St. Augustine) the grace of Baptism, if we consider to what their parents' impiety did tend;" although the mercy of God preserved them, and will also in that dreadful day of accompt give them favourable audience, pleading in their own behalf, "The harm of other men's perfidiousness it lay not in us to avoid." After the same manner, whatsoever we read written, if it sound to the prejudice of Baptism, through any either Moral or Ecclesiastical defect therein, we conster it as equity and reason teacheth, with restraint

August.
Epist.
23.

* "Factum alterius alii nocere non debet." Ulp. lib. de pupillo, sect. Si Plurimum. Item, Alphen. lib. Paterfamilias. De Hære. Instit. "Maleficia tenent auctores suos, non alios," Lib. Sancimus, 22. C. de Pœn.

to the offender only; which doth, as far as concerneth himself and them which wittingly concur with him, make the Sacrament of God fruitless. St. Augustine's doubtful-ness,* whether Baptism by a Layman may stand, or ought to be readministered, should not be mentioned by them which presume to define peremptorily of that wherein he was content to profess himself unresolved. Albeit, in very truth, his opinion is plain enough; but the manner of delivering his judgment being modest, they make of a virtue an imbecility, and impute his calmness of speech to an irresolution of mind. His disputation in that place is against Parmenian, which held that a Bishop or a Priest, if they fall into any Heresy, do thereby lose the power which they had before to baptize; and that therefore Baptism by Heretics is merely void. For answer whereof, he first denieth that Heresy can more deprive men of power to baptize others, than it is of force to take from them their own Baptism; and in the second place, he farther addeth, that if Heretics did lose the power which before was given them by Ordination, and did therefore unlawfully usurp, as oft as they took upon them to give the Sacrament of Baptism, it followeth not, that Baptism by them administered without authority is no Baptism. For then, what should we think of Baptism by Laymen, to whom authority was never given? "I doubt (saith St. Augustine) whether any man which carrieth a virtuous and godly mind will affirm, that the Baptism which Laymen do in case of necessity administer should be iterated: For to do it unnecessarily, is to execute another man's office; necessity urging, to do it is then either no fault at all" (much less so grievous a crime that it should deserve to be termed by the name of Sacrilege),† "or, if any, a very pardonable fault. But suppose it even of very purpose usurped, and given unto any man, by every man that listeth; yet that which is given cannot possibly be denied to have been given, how truly soever we may say it hath not been given lawfully. Unlawful usurpation, a penitent affection must redress. If

* "Augustine standeth in doubt whether Baptism by a Layman be available, or no. (Cont. Lit. Parm. lib. ii. cap. 13.) Where by all likelihood he was out of doubt, that that which was ministered by a Woman, whose unaptness herein is double to that of a Layman, was of no effect." T. C. lib. iii. p. 136.

† "The sacrilege of private persons, Women especially, in administering the holy Sacrament of Baptism." T. C. lib. iii. p. 116.

not, the thing that was given shall remain to the hurt and detriment of him which unlawfully either administered or received the same; yet so, that in this respect it ought not to be reputed as if it had not at all been given." Whereby we may plainly perceive, that St. Augustine was not himself uncertain what to think, but doubtful whether any well-minded man in the whole world could think otherwise than he did. Their argument, taken from a stolen seal,* may return to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cause nothing. That which men give or grant to others, must appear to have proceeded of their own accord. This being manifest, their gifts and grants are thereby made effectual, both to bar themselves from revocation, and to asseure the right they have given. Wherein, for further prevention of mischiefs that otherwise might grow by the malice, treachery, and fraud, of men, it is both equal and meet, that the strength of men's deeds and the instruments which declare the same, should strictly depend upon divers Solemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reason in things that pass between God and us; because, sith we need not doubt, lest the treasures of his heavenly grace should without his consent be past by forged conveyances, nor lest he should deny at any time his own acts, and seek to revoke what hath been consented unto before; as there is no such fear of danger through deceit and falsehood in this case, so neither hath the circumstance of men's persons that weight in Baptism, which for good and just considerations in the custody of seals of office it ought to have. The grace of Baptism cometh by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the ministry of Baptism unto special men, it is for Order's sake in his Church, and not to the end that their authority might give being, or add more force, to the Sacrament itself. That Infants have right to the Sacrament in Baptism we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guileful and wrongful possessors of that whereunto they have right by the manifest will of the Donor, and are not parties unto any

* "As by the seal which the Prince hath set apart to seal his grants with, when it is stolen and set to by him that hath no authority, there groweth no assurance to the party that hath it: so, if it were possible to be the Seal of God, which a Woman should set to, yet for that she hath stolen it, and put it to, not only without, but contrary to, the Commandment of God, I see not how any can take any assurance by reason thereof." T. C. lib. iii. p. 139.

defect or disorder in the manner of receiving the same. And if any such disorder be, we have sufficiently before declared, that "*Delictum cum capite semper ambulat*, Men's own faults are their own harms." Wherefore, to countervail this and the like mischosen resemblances with that which more truly and plainly agreeth; the Ordinance of God, concerning their vocation that minister Baptism wherein the mystery of our regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the same analogy which Laws of Wedlock have to our first nativity and birth: so that if Nature do effect procreation, notwithstanding the wicked violation and breach even of Nature's Law, made that the entrance of all mankind into this present world might be without blemish; may we not justly presume that Grace doth accomplish the other, although there be faultiness in them that transgress the Order which our Lord Jesus Christ hath established in his Church? Some light may be borrowed from Circumcision, for explication what is true in this question of Baptism. Seeing then, that even they which condemn Sephora the wife of Moses, for taking upon her to circumcise her son, a thing necessary at that time for her to do, and as I think very hard to reprove in her,* considering how Moses, because himself had not done it sooner, was therefore stricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremity perform the office; whereupon, for the stay of God's indignation, there was no choice, but the action must needs fall into her hands; whose fact therein, whether we interpret as some have done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not so thoroughly acquainted with the exercise of the Jewish Rites, it much discontented her to see herself, through her husband's oversight, in a matter of his own Religion, brought unto these perplexities and straits, that either she must now endure him perishing before her eyes, or else wound the flesh of her own child; which she could not do but with some indignation, shewed in that she fumingly both

Exod.
iv. 24.

* "I say, that the unlawfulness of that fact doth appear sufficiently, in that she did it before her husband Moses, which was a Prophet of the Lord, to whom that office of Circumcision did appertain.... Besides, that she did cut off the foreskin of the Infant, not of mind to obey the Commandment of God, or for the salvation of the child, but in a choler only, to the end that her husband might be eased and have release: which mind appeareth in her, both by her words, and by casting away in anger the foreskin which she had cut off. And if it be said, that the event declared that the act pleased God, because that Moses forthwith waxed better, and was recovered of his sickness; I have shewed before, that if we measure things by the event, we shall oftentimes justify the wicked, and take the righteousness of the righteous from them." T. C. lib. i. p. 144.

threw down the foreskin at his feet, and upbraided him with the cruelty of his Religion. Or, if we better like to follow their more judicious exposition, which are not inclinable to think that Moses was matcht like Socrates, nor that Circumcision could now in Eleazar be strange unto her, having had Gersom, her elder son, before circumcised; nor that any occasion of choler could rise from a spectacle of such misery, as doth naturally move compassion and not wrath;* nor that Sephora was so impious, as in the visible presence of God's deserved anger to storm at the Ordinance and Law of God; nor that the words of the history itself can enforce any such affection, but do only declare how after the act performed she "touched" the feet of Moses, saying, "Sponsus tu mihi es sanguinum, Thou art unto me an husband of blood;"† which might be very well, the one done and the other spoken, even out of the flowing abundance of commiseration and love, to signify, with hands laid under his feet, that her tender affection towards him had caused her thus to forget womanhood, to lay all motherly affection aside, and to redeem her husband out of the hands of death with effusion of blood: the sequel thereof, take it which way you will, is a plain argument that God was satisfied with that she did; as may appear by his own testimony, declaring how there followed in the person of Moses present release of his grievous punishment, upon her speedy discharge of that duty which by him neglected had offended God; even, as after execution of justice by the hands of Phineas, the plague was immediately taken away, which former impunity of sin had caused. In which so manifest and plain cases, not to make that a reason of the event which God himself hath set down as a reason, were falsely to accuse whom he doth justify, and without any cause to traduce what we should allow; yet seeing they which will have it a breach of the Law of God for her to circumcise in that necessity, are not able to deny but Circumcision

Psalm
cvi. 30.

* "Mala passis non irascimur, sed compatimur." Boet. de Consol.

† Where the usual translation hath, Exod. iv. 25. "She cut away the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Thou art indeed a bloody husband unto me. So he departed from him. Then she said, O bloody husband, because of the Circumcision." The words, as they lie in the original, are rather to be thus interpreted; And she cut off the foreskin of her son: Which being done, she touched his feet (the feet of Moses), and said, Thou art to me an husband of blood (in the plural number, thereby signifying effusion of blood). And the Lord withdrew from him at the very time, when she said, A husband of blood, in regard of Circumcision.

being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent child which received it true Circumcision; why should that defect, whereby Circumcision was so little weakened, be to Baptism a deadly wound? These premisses therefore remaining, as hitherto they have been laid, because the Commandment of our Saviour Christ, which committeth jointly to public Ministers both Doctrine and Baptism,* doth no more, by linking them together, import that the nature of the Sacrament dependeth on the Minister's authority and power to preach the Word, than the force and virtue of the Word doth on licence to give the Sacrament; and considering that the work of external Ministry in Baptism is only a pre-eminence of honour, which they that take to themselves, and are not thereunto called as Aaron was, do but themselves in their own persons; by means of such usurpation, incur the just blame of disobedience to the Law of God; farther also, inasmuch as it standeth with no reason, that errors, grounded on a wrong interpretation of other men's deeds, should make frustrate whatsoever is misconceived, and that Baptism by Women should cease to be Baptism as oft as any man will thereby gather that children which die unbaptized are damned; which opinion, if the act of Baptism administered in such manner did enforce, it might be sufficient cause of disliking the same, but none of defeating or making it altogether void: last of all, whereas general and full consent of the godly learned in all ages doth make for validity of Baptism, yea, albeit administered in private, and even by Women; which kind of Baptism, in case of necessity, divers reformed Churches do both allow and defend; some others which do not defend, tolerate; few, in comparison, and they without any just cause, do utterly disannul and annihilate;† surely,

[Heb.
v. 4.]

* "Seeing they only are bidden in the Scripture to administer the Sacraments, which are bidden to preach the Word, and that the public Ministers have only this charge of the Word; and seeing that the administration of both these are so linked together, that the denial of licence to do one, is a denial to do the other; as of the contrary part, licence to one, is licence to the other; considering also that to minister the Sacraments, is an honour in the Church which none can take unto him, but he which is called unto it, as was Aaron: and further, forasmuch as the baptizing by private persons, and by Women especially, confirmeth the dangerous error of the condemnation of young children which die without Baptism: last of all, seeing we have the consent of the godly learned of all times against the Baptism by Women, and of the reformed Churches now, against the Baptism by private men; we conclude, that the administration of this Sacrament by private persons, and especially by Women, is merely both unlawful and void." T. C. lib. iii. p. 142.

† ["Mulieres posse aut debere baptizare infantulos, nullo modo prorsus assentimur." Grindal, Bishop of London, and Horn, Bishop of Winchester, in a joint Epistle to Bullinger and Gualter, Feb. 6, 1567. BURNET'S *Hist. Ref.* Part III. Collect. Rec. Num. 83, p. 343.]

howsoever, through defects on either side, the Sacrament may be without fruit, as well in some cases to him which receiveth, as to him which giveth it; yet no disability of either part can so far make it frustrate and without effect, as to deprive it of the very nature of true Baptism, having all things else which the Ordinance of Christ requireth. Whereupon we may consequently infer, that the administration of this Sacrament by Private persons, be it lawful or unlawful, appeareth not as yet to be merely void.*

* ["Baptism promiseth us no other cleansing, but by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ; which is figured by water, for the likeness of cleansing and washing." CALVIN's *Inst.* book iv. chap. 15. sect. 2. "We are therefore cleansed with his blood, because the merciful Father hath set him a Mediator to procure to us favour with him: but Regeneration we so only obtain by his death and resurrection, if being sanctified by the Spirit we be endued with a new and spiritual nature." *Ib.* sect. 6. "How false that is which some have taught, that by Baptism we be loosed and delivered from original sin, and from the corruption which was from Adam spread abroad into his whole posterity, and that we be restored into the same righteousness and pureness of nature which Adam should have obtained, if he had stood fast in the uprightness wherein he was created: for such teachers never understood what was original sin, nor what was original righteousness, nor what was the grace of Baptism." *Ib.* sect. 10. "We being in all parts of our nature defiled and corrupted, are already for such only, holden worthily condemned before God, to whom nothing is acceptable but righteousness, innocency, and cleanness. Yea Infants, although they have not brought forth the fruits of iniquity, yet have the seed thereof within them; therefore their whole nature cannot but be hateful and abominable to God. The Faithful are certified by Baptism, that this condemnation is taken away; forasmuch as the Lord doth by this Sign promise us, that full and perfect Forgiveness is granted both of the fault which should have been imputed to us, and of the pain which we should have suffered for the fault: they take hold also of Righteousness, but such as the people of God may obtain in this life, that is to say, by Imputation only; because the Lord of his own mercy taketh them for righteous and innocent." *Ib.* "We are baptized into the mortifying of our flesh, which is begun by Baptism in us, which we daily follow; but it shall be made perfect when we shall remove out of this Life to the Lord." *Ib.* sect. 11. "This, either relation or similitude, is the most sure rule of Sacraments, that in bodily things we should behold spiritual things as if they were presently set before our eyes; forasmuch as it hath pleased the Lord to represent them by such figures: not for that such graces are bound and enclosed in the Sacrament, that they should be given us by the force thereof; but only because the Lord doth by this token testify his will unto us, that is, that he will give us all these things." *Ib.* sect. 14. "The thing and the truth are present with the Sign, so far as God worketh by outward means: but we obtain nothing but so much as we receive by Faith. We ought by this Sacrament to testify that our affiance is in the mercy of God, and our cleanness in the forgiveness of sins, which is gotten us by Jesus Christ; and, that by it we enter into the Church of Christ, that we may with one consent of Faith and Charity live of one mind with all the Faithful; 1 Cor. xii. 13." *Ib.* sect. 15. "Nothing is added to the Sacrament, nor taken from it, by the worthiness of him by whose hand it is delivered. That it ought to be celebrated in the assemblies of the godly, proveth not that that which is faulty in part, should destroy the whole force thereof. When in old time Circumcision was corrupted, yet it ceased not to be taken for a sign of grace." *Ib.* sect. 16. "It is done amiss if Private men take upon themselves the administration. Christ did not command Women, nor yet every sort of men, that they should baptize." *Ib.* sect. 20. "Infants are not debarred from the kingdom of Heaven, whom it happeneth to depart out of this present life before that it be granted them to be baptized. The children of the Faithful are not therefore baptized, that they may then first be made the children of God, but rather that they be therefore received by a solemn Sign into the Church, because by the benefit of the Promise they did already belong to the body of Christ. Therefore if in omitting the Sign there be neither slothfulness, nor contempt, nor negligence, we are free from all danger. When we may not have the Sacraments of the Church, the grace of God is not so bound to them, but that we may obtain them by Faith out of the Word of the Lord." *Ib.* sect. 22.]

Interro-
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63. All that are of the race of Christ the Scripture nameth them, "Children of the Promise" which God hath made. The Promise of eternal Life is the seed of the Church of God. And because there is no attainment of life but through the only begotten Son of God, nor by him otherwise than being such as the Creed Apostolic describeth; it followeth, that the Articles thereof are principles necessary for all men to subscribe unto, whom by Baptism the Church receiveth into Christ's school. All points of Christian Doctrine are either demonstrable conclusions, or demonstrative principles. Conclusions have strong and invincible proofs, as well in the school of Jesus Christ, as elsewhere. And principles be grounds which require no proof in any kind of science, because it sufficeth, if either their certainty be evident in itself, or evident by the light of some higher knowledge; and in itself, such as no man's knowledge is ever able to overthrow. Now the Principles whereupon we do build our souls have their evidence where they had their original; and as received from thence, we adore them, we hold them in reverend admiration, we neither argue nor dispute about them, we give unto them that assent which the Oracles of God require. We are not, therefore, ashamed of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, because miscreants in scorn have upbraided us, that the highest point of our wisdom is, *Believe*.* That which is true, and neither can be discerned by sense nor concluded by mere natural principles, must have principles of revealed truth whereupon to build itself, and an habit of Faith in us, wherewith principles of that kind are apprehended. The mysteries of our Religion are above the reach of our understanding, above discourse of man's reason, above all that any creature can comprehend.† Therefore, the first thing required of him which standeth for admission into Christ's family, is Belief. Which Belief consisteth not so much in knowledge, as in acknowledgment of all things that heavenly Wisdom revealeth: the affection of Faith is above her reach, her love to God-ward above the comprehension which she hath of God. And because only for believers all things may be

* Apostatæ maledictum. Οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ πιστεῦσον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστὶ σοφίας. Naz. Orat. i. contr. Julian.

† Ὅτι ἡ πίστις ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον, ὑπὲρ κατὰληψιν κτιστῆς φύσεως τὰ ἡμέτερα. Just. Mart. Expos. Fid.

done, he which is goodness itself loveth them above all. Deserve we then the love of God, because we believe in the Son of God? What more opposite than Faith and Pride? When God had created all things, he looked upon them and loved them, because they were all as himself had made them. So the true reason wherefore Christ doth love believers is, because their belief is the gift of God; a gift than which, flesh and blood in this world cannot possibly receive a greater. And as to love them of whom we receive good things is duty, because they satisfy our desires in that which else we should want; so to love them on whom we bestow is nature, because in them we behold the effects of our own virtue. Seeing, therefore, no Religion enjoyeth Sacraments, the Signs of God's love, unless it have also that Faith whereupon the Sacraments are built; could there be any thing more convenient, than that our first admittance to the actual receipt of his grace in the Sacrament of Baptism should be consecrated with profession of Belief,* which is to the Kingdom of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth Infidels both from that and from all other saving grace? We find by experience, that, although Faith be an intellectual habit of the mind, and have her seat in the understanding; yet an evil moral disposition, obstinately wedded to the love of darkness, dampeth the very light of heavenly illumination, and permitteth not the mind to see what doth shine before it. Men "are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God."^[2 Tim. iii. 4.] Their assent to his saving truth is many times withheld from it, not that the truth is too weak to persuade, but because the stream of corrupt affection carrieth them a clean contrary way. That the mind therefore may abide in the light of Faith, there must abide in the will as constant a resolution to have no fellowship at all with the vanities and works of darkness. "Two covenants there are which Christian men (saith Isidore) do make in Baptism, the one concerning relinquishment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the Faith of Christ." In like sort St. Ambrose: "He which is baptized forsaketh the intellectual Pharaoh, the Prince of this world, saying, *Abrenuncio*; Thee, O Satan,

Matt.
xvi. 17.
John i.
12, 13.

[2 Tim.
iii. 4.]

Isid. de
Offic.
Eccles.
lib. ii.
cap. 24.

Ambros.
Hexam.
lib. i.
cap. 4.

* " Spiritus Sanctus habitator ejus templi non efficitur, quod antistitem non habet veram fidem." Hieron. adv. Lucif. c. 4.

and thy Angels, thy works and thy mandates, I forsake utterly." Tertullian having speech of wicked spirits; "These (saith he) are the Angels which we in Baptism renounce." The declaration of Justin the Martyr concerning Baptism sheweth how such as the Church in those days did baptize, made profession of Christian Belief, and undertook to live accordingly.* Neither do I think it a matter easy for any man to prove, that ever Baptism did use to be administered without Interrogatories of these two kinds. Whereunto St. Peter (as it may be thought) alluding, hath said, That the Baptism which *saveth* us, is not (as legal purifications were) a cleansing of the flesh from outward impurity, but *ἑρωτήριον*, "an interrogative trial of a good conscience towards God."

64. Now the fault which they find with us concerning Interrogatories is, our moving of these questions unto Infants which cannot answer them, and the answering of them by others as in their names.† The Anabaptist hath many pretences to scorn at the Baptism of Children: first, Because the Scriptures, he saith, do no where give commandment to baptize Infants: secondly, For that, as there is no commandment, so neither any manifest example shewing it to have been done either by Christ or his Apostles: thirdly, Inasmuch as the Word preached and the Sacraments must go together, they which are not capable of the one, are no fit receivers of the other: last of all, Sith the Order of Baptism, continued from the first beginning, hath in it those things which are unfit to be applied unto sucking Children, it followeth in their conceit, that the Baptism of such is no Baptism, but plain mockery. They with whom we contend are no enemies to the Baptism of Infants; it is not their desire that the Church should hazard so many souls, by letting them run on till they come to ripeness of understanding, that so they may be converted, and then baptized, as Infidels heretofore have been; they bear not towards God so unthankful minds, as

* "Οσοι ἂν πισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύσωσι ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βίωσιν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑποσχεῖνται, εἶχεσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν ὑποτεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προσηματημένων ἄφεσιν διδασκόμενοι· ἐπεὶτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἐνθα ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ τρέπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται. Justin. Apol.

† "They profane holy Baptism in toying foolishly; for that they ask questions of an Infant which cannot answer, and speak unto them, as was wont to be spoken unto men, and unto such as being converted, answered for themselves and were baptized. Which is but a mockery of God, and therefore against the Holy Scriptures, Gal. vi. 7." Admonition to the Parliament. The same defended in T. C. lib. i. p. 168.

not to acknowledge it even amongst the greatest of his endless mercies, that by making us his own possession so soon, many advantages, which Satan otherwise might take, are prevented, and (which should be esteemed a part of no small happiness) the first thing whereof we have occasion to take notice, is, how much hath been done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge. The Baptism of Infants they esteem as an Ordinance which Christ hath instituted, even in special love and favour to his own people: they deny not the practice thereof accordingly to have been kept, as derived from the hands, and continued from the days, of the Apostles themselves unto this present; only it pleaseth them not, that to Infants there should be Interrogatories proposed in Baptism. This they condemn as foolish, toyish, and profane mockery. But are they able to shew, that ever the Church of Christ had any public Form of Baptism without Interrogatories; or, that the Church did ever use at the solemn Baptism of Infants to omit those questions as needless in this case? Boniface, a Bishop in St. Augustine's time, knowing that the Church did universally use this custom of baptizing Infants with Interrogatories, was desirous to learn from St. Augustine the true cause and reason thereof. "If (saith he) I should set before thee a young Infant, and should ask of thee, whether that Infant when he cometh unto riper age will be honest and just, or no; thou wouldest answer (I know) that to tell in these things what shall come to pass, is not in the power of a mortal man. If I should ask, what good or evil such an Infant thinketh? thine answer hereunto must needs be again with the like uncertainty. If thou neither canst promise for the time to come, nor for the present pronounce any thing in this case; how is it, that when such are brought unto Baptism, their Parents there undertake what the child shall afterwards do? Yea, they are not doubtful to say, it doth that which is impossible to be done by Infants; at the least, there is no man precisely able to affirm it done. Vouchsafe me hereunto some short answer, such as not only may press me with the bare authority of custom, but also instruct me in the cause thereof." Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly be said for Infants at the time of their Baptism, that they do believe, the effect of St. Augustine's answer is Yea; but with this distinction, a present *actual habit of Faith there*

Aug.
Epist.
xxiii.

is not in them; there is delivered unto them that Sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof consisteth in answering to the Articles of Faith, *because* the habit of Faith, which afterwards doth come with years, is but a *farther* building up of the same edifice, the *first foundation whereof was laid by the Sacrament of Baptism*.^{*} For that which there we professed without any understanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do we *any* thing else but only bring unto ripeness the very seed that was sown before? We are *then believers*, because *then we begin to be* that which process of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actual belief, the very Sacrament of Faith is a shield as strong as, after this, the Faith of the Sacrament against all contrary infernal powers. Which whosoever doth think impossible, is undoubtedly farther off from Christian Belief, though he be baptized, than are these Innocents which at their Baptism, albeit they have no conceit or cogitation of Faith, are notwithstanding pure and free from all opposite cogitations; whereas the other is not free. If, therefore, without any fear or scruple we may accopt them and term them believers only for their outward profession's sake, which inwardly are farther from Faith than Infants; why not Infants much more at the time of their solemn initiation by Baptism, the Sacrament of Faith, whereunto they not only conceive nothing opposite, but have also that grace[†] given them which is the first and most effectual cause out of which our belief groweth? In sum, the whole Church is a multitude of Believers, all honoured with that title; even Hypocrites for their profession's sake, as well as Saints because of their inward sincere persuasion, and *Infants as being in the first degree of their ghostly motion towards the actual habit of Faith*: the first sort are faithful in the eye of the world; the second faithful in the sight of God; the last, in the ready direct way to become both, if all things after be suitable to these their present beginnings. "This (saith St. Augustine) would not happily content such persons as are incapable or

* "Sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei Sacramentum percipiendo." Aug.

† "Multum mirabilis res est, quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoscentium Deum sit inhabitator Deus; et quorundam cognoscentium non sit. Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent, qui, cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt: et ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli sanctificati Sacramento Christi, regenerati Spiritu Sancto, qui per etatem nondum possunt cognoscere Deum. Unde quem potuerunt illi nosse nec habere, isti potuerunt habere antequam nosse." Aug. Epist. 57.

unquiet; but to them which, having knowledge, are not troublesome, it may suffice. Wherein I have not for ease of myself objected against you that Custom only, than which nothing is more firm; but of a Custom most profitable, I have done that little which I could, to yield you a reasonable cause.* Were St. Augustine now living, there are which would tell him for his better instruction, that to say of a child, it is elect, and to say, it doth believe, are all one;† for which cause, sith no man is able precisely to affirm the one of any Infant in particular, it followeth, that “precisely” and *absolutely* we ought not to say the other. Which precise and absolute terms are needless in this case. We speak of Infants, as the rule of piety alloweth both to speak and think. They that can take to themselves, in ordinary talk, a charitable kind of liberty to name men of their own sort “God’s dear children” (notwithstanding the large reign of hypocrisy), should not methinks be so strict and rigorous against the Church for presuming as it doth of a Christian Innocent. For, when we know how Christ in general hath said, “that ^[Mark x. 14.] of such is the Kingdom of Heaven,” which Kingdom is the inheritance of God’s Elect; and do withal behold, how his providence hath called them unto the first beginnings of eternal Life, and presented them at the wellspring of New Birth, wherein Original Sin is purged; besides which Sin, there is no hinderance of their Salvation known to us, as themselves will grant; hard it were, that having so many fair inducements whereupon to ground, we should not be thought to utter, at the least, a truth as probable and allowable in terming any such particular Infant an Elect Babe, 2 John 1.

* [“Whether these things satisfied Boniface I know not. How can the Infant, offered to Baptism, be truly said therefore to have Faith, because he has the Sacrament of Faith, that is, Baptism, at the time when he has *not yet received* Baptism? Nay, who is for no other reason asked the question, than that he *may obtain* Baptism, which as yet he wants? The Minister, as though he thought it unlawful to baptize even an Infant, except it believes, demands, and which aggravates the absurdity, he demands of the Infant himself, Whether he believes? Tacitly implying, he may not baptize him unless he does so. Here the Godfather, that the Infant may be capable of Baptism, answers as his Surety, That he believes! When Boniface was in doubt how the Godfather could truly and certainly affirm this, Augustine answers, He could, though the Infant had not yet Faith; because when he says, He believes, he only means, he has the Sacrament of Faith. Is not this a brave solution of the difficulty? But the Infant has *not* what Augustine calls the Sacrament of Faith; nor if he had, would there be any occasion to offer him to be baptized. And, therefore, in that very sense Augustine puts upon the answer, the Godfather utters an untruth when he says the Infant believes, that is, has the Sacrament of Faith.”—M. DAILLE, *De Cult Lat. Relig.* 1671. 4to. p. 91.]

† “If Children could have Faith, yet, they that present the Child cannot precisely tell whether that particular Child hath Faith, or no: . . . we are to think charitably, and to hope it is one of the Church; but it can be no more precisely said that it hath Faith, than it may be said precisely to be elected.” T. C. lib. i. p. 169.

as in presuming the like of others whose safety nevertheless we are not *absolutely* able to warrant. If any, troubled with these scruples, be only for instruction's sake desirous to know yet some farther reason why Interrogatories should be ministered to Infants in Baptism, and be answered unto by others as in their names; they may consider, that Baptism implieth a Covenant or League between God and man; wherein, as God doth bestow presently remission of sins and the Holy Ghost, binding also himself to add, in process of time, what grace soever shall be farther necessary for the attainment of everlasting Life;* so every baptized soul, receiving the same grace at the hands of God, tieth likewise itself for ever to the observation of his Law, no less than the Jews by Circumcision bound themselves to the Law of Moses. The Law of Christ requiring therefore Faith and newness of life in all men, by virtue of the Covenant which they make in Baptism; is it toyish, that the Church in Baptism exacteth at every man's hands an express profession of Faith, and an irrevocable promise of obedience by way of a solemn stipulation?† That Infants may contract and covenant with God, the Law is plain. Neither is the reason of the Law obscure: for sith it tendeth, we cannot sufficiently express how much, to their own good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to begin the race of their lives herewith; they are, as equity requireth, admitted hereunto, and, in favour of their tender years, such formal complements of stipulation as, being requisite, are impossible by themselves in their own persons to be performed, leave is given that they may sufficiently discharge by others.‡ Albeit, therefore, neither deaf nor dumb men, neither furious persons nor Children, can receive any civil stipulation; yet this kind of ghostly stipulation they may through his indulgence, who, respecting the singular benefit thereof, accepteth Children brought unto him for that end, entereth into articles of Covenant with them, and in tender commiseration granteth that other men's professions and

Gal.
v. 3.

Gen.
xvii. 14.

* [See Sect. 79, Note from "*A Christian Letter*," p. 35.]

† "Stipulatio est verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur daturum facturumve se quod interrogatus est, respondet." Lib. v. sect. 1. ff. de Oblig. et Act. "In hac re olim talia verba tradita fuerunt: Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide jubes? Fide jubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam." Instit. de Verb. Oblig. lib. liii. tit. 15.

‡ "Accommodat illis Mater Ecclesia aliorum pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur; ut quoniam quod ægri sunt alio peccante prægravantur, sic cum sani fiant alio pro eis confitente salventur." Aug. Serm. 10. de Verb. Apost.

promises in Baptism made for them shall avail no less than if they had been themselves able to have made their own. None more fit to undertake this office in their behalf than such as present them unto Baptism. A wrong conceit that none may receive the Sacrament of Baptism, but they whose parents, at the least the one of them, are by the soundness of their Religion, and by their virtuous demeanour, known to be men of God, hath caused some to repel Children, whosoever bring them, if their parents be mispersuaded in Religion, or for other misdeserts excommunicated; some likewise for that cause to withhold Baptism, unless the Father, albeit no such exception can justly be taken against him, do notwithstanding make profession of his Faith, and avouch the Child to be his own.* Thus, whereas God hath appointed them Ministers of holy things, they make themselves inquisitors of men's persons a great deal farther than need is. They should consider, that God hath ordained Baptism in favour of mankind. To restrain favours is an odious thing; to enlarge them, acceptable both to God and man. Whereas therefore the Civil Law gave divers immunities to them that were Fathers of three Children, and had them living; those immunities they held, although their Children were all dead, if war had consumed them, because it seemed in that case not against Reason to repute them by a courteous construction of Law as live men, in that the honour of their service done to the Commonwealth would remain always:‡ can it hurt us, in exhibiting the

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 172.

* ["I see that Master Doctor (Whitgift) doth make of the holy Sacrament of Baptism (which is an entry into the House of God, and whereby only the family of God must enter) a common passage, wherein he will have clean and unclean, holy and prophane, as well those that are without the Covenant as those that be within it, to pass by: and so maketh the Church no household, but an Inn to receive whosoever cometh. I will answer therefore, . . . If one of the parents be neither drunkard nor adulterer, the child is holy by virtue of the covenant, for one of the parents' sake. If they be both, and yet not obstinate in their sin, whereby the Church hath not proceeded to Excommunication, (themselves being yet of the Church) their child cannot nor ought not to be refused. . . . If both be papists, or condemned heretics (if so be I may distinguish papists from heretics) and cut off from the Church, their children cannot be received, because they are not in the Covenant; if either of them be faithful, it ought to be received. . . . He asketh, What if they err in some points of matters of Faith? If it be but an error, and be not in those points which rase the foundations of Faith, because they still, notwithstanding their error, are to be counted amongst the Faithful, their children pertain unto the Promise. . . . What if the parents of the child be unknown? If it be, yet if godly men will present it to baptism, with promise of seeing it brought up in the fear of the Lord, forsomuch as it is found in a place where the Church is, and therefore by likelihood to appertain unto some that was of the Church; I think it may be baptized if the Church think it good, in this last case." T. C. lib. i. p. 172.]

‡ "Hi enim qui pro Rep. ceciderunt, in perpetuum per gloriam vivere intelliguntur." Instit. lib. ii. tit. 25. sect. 1.

graces which God doth bestow on men, or can it prejudice his glory, if the self-same equity guide and direct our hands? When God made his Covenant with such as had Abraham to their Father, was only Abraham's immediate issue, or only his lineal posterity according to the flesh, included in that Covenant? Were not Proselytes as well as Jews always taken for the sons of Abraham? Yea, because the very heads of families are fathers in some sort, as touching providence and care for the meanest that belong unto them, the servants which Abraham had bought with money were as capable of Circumcision, being newly born, as any natural Child that Abraham himself begat. Be it then, that Baptism belongeth to none but such as either believe presently, or else, being Infants, are the Children of *believing parents*: in case the Church do bring Children to the holy Font, whose natural parents are either unknown, or known to be such as the Church accurseth, but yet forgetteth not in that severity to take compassion upon their offspring, (for it is the Church* which doth offer them to Baptism by the ministry of presenters) were it not against both equity and duty to refuse the mother of believers herself, and not to take her in this case for a faithful parent? It is not the virtue of our fathers, nor the faith of any other that can give us the true holiness which we have by virtue of our New Birth. Yet, even through the common faith and spirit of God's Church (a thing which no quality of parents can prejudice), I say, through the faith of the Church of God, undertaking the motherly care of our souls, so far forth we may be and are in our infancy sanctified, as to be thereby made sufficiently capable of Baptism, and to be interested in the Rites of our New Birth for their piety's sake that offer us thereunto. "It cometh sometime to pass (saith St. Augustine) that the Children of bond-slaves are brought to Baptism by their lord; sometime, the parents being dead,† the friends alive undertake that office; sometime strangers or virgins consecrated unto God, which neither have nor can have children of their own, take up Infants in the open streets, and so

* "Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam spiritualem gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus, quamvis et ab ipsis, si et ipsi boni et fideles sint, quam ab universa societate sanctorum atque fidelium." Aug. in Epist. 23. Ἀξιούνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι. Justin. Resp. ad Orthod.

† ["No parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as Godfather for his own child." Canon XXIX. 1603.]

offer them unto Baptism, whom the cruelty of unnatural parents casteth out, and leaveth to the adventure of uncertain pity." As therefore he which did the part of a neighbour, was a neighbour to that wounded man whom the parable of the Gospel describeth; so they are fathers, although strangers, that bring Infants to him which maketh them the sons of God. In the phrase of some kind of men, they use to be termed "witnesses," as if they came but to see and testify what is done.* It savoureth more of piety to give them their old accustomed name of Fathers and Mothers in God,† whereby they are well put in mind what affection they ought to bear towards those Innocents for whose religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their own duty: but because the answer which they make to the usual demands of stipulation proposed in Baptism is not their own; the Church doth best to receive it of them, in that form which best sheweth whose the act is.‡ That which a guardian doth in the name of his

* ["Ye must also faithfully, for your part, promise in the presence of these your *Witnesses*, &c." "It is your part and duty to put them in mind, what a solemn vow, &c. they have now made, &c. especially before you their chosen *Witnesses*." The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years. *Common Prayer*.]

† ["Of Godfathers in Baptism no footsteps can be shewn in any ancient writers, Greek or Latin, for a long time after Dionysius; although they plainly describe the ceremonies used in Baptism." Abp. USHER, *Dissert. de Pseudo-Dionisii ad fin.* Hist. Dogmat. 1690. 4to. p. 287.]

‡ [The God-parents make no stipulation, either explicit or implicit. Though they hear the Exhortation nothing is demanded of them by which to signify their deliberate purpose to act agreeably to it. The Infant is represented to have made "a solemn vow by them;" but the Sponsors are exhorted to "remember" their own duties; and even with the best intentions, that is all, for the most part, circumstances will enable them to perform. In the majority of cases the Sponsors are but as pageants in a Ceremony; the Infant and they being, perhaps, never subsequently seen or heard of by each other. Times of great persecution, or of pestilence, &c., might have afforded a plea for these presumed spiritual guardians in many instances; but when no such occasions exist, Christian Parents surely should be exempted from the imposed burden of providing what nobody is compelled to undertake; and they should at least have the option of having the exclusive privilege which is devolved upon them by the laws of natural affection and of God, that of being both the temporal and spiritual guardians of their offspring; aided, as may be, by Pastors who "watch for souls, as they that must give account," Heb. xiii. 17. Hereby they would be released from the liability to undertake, by way of reciprocity, for any other person's child what no necessity shews them it is their duty to undertake, farther than as it is always the duty of Christians to promote the spiritual welfare of their neighbours, as much as in them lieth. After all that has been advanced for the Baptismal Ritual the Interrogatories present themselves with so grotesque and irrational an aspect, that the solemnity of the administration is greatly diminished. "Dost thou in the Name of this child, renounce the devil and all his works, &c." Ans. "I renounce them all." "Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, &c." Ans. "All this I steadfastly believe." "Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?" Ans. "That is my desire." "Wilt thou then obediently keep God's holy will, &c." Ans. "I will." Thus proceeds this vicarious profession, for which there is no sanction in the New Testament. In addition to all this, if one or more of the God-parents be likewise represented by proxy, as when persons in high life cannot be present at the Ceremony, it then becomes a complete scene of mummery. The assimilating of temporal and spiritual guardians, in the following sentence, is utterly degrading to Hooker's judgment. The reasonable and legal acts of a

guard or pupil, standeth by natural equity forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge: and shall we judge it a thing unreasonable, or in any respect unfit, that Infants by words which others utter should, though unwittingly, yet truly and forcibly, bind themselves to that whereby their estate is so assuredly bettered? Herewith Nestorius the Heretic was charged,* as having fallen from his first profession, and broken the promise which he made to God in the arms of others. Of such as profaned themselves, being Christians, with irreligious delight in the ensigns of Idolatry, Heathenish spectacles, shows, and stage-plays, Tertullian, to strike them the more deep, claimeth the promise which they made in Baptism. Why were they dumb, being thus challenged? Wherefore stood they not up to answer in their own defence, that such professions and promises made in their names were frivolous; that all which others undertook for them was but mockery and profanation? That which no Heretic, no wicked liver, no impious despiser of God, no miscreant or malefactor, which had himself been baptized, was ever so desperate as to disgorge in contempt of so fruitfully received Customs, is now their voice that restore, as they say, "the ancient purity of Religion."

Tertull.
lib. de
Spectac.

Of the
Cross in
Baptism.

[T. C.
lib. i.
p. 170,
171.
passim.]

65. In Baptism, many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and clean abolisht; for that the virtue and grace of this Sacrament had been therewith overshadowed, as fruit with too great abundance of leaves. Notwithstanding, to them which think it always imperfect reformation that doth but shear and not flay, our retaining certain of those former Rites, especially the "dangerous" Sign of the Cross, hath seemed almost an impardonable oversight. "The Cross (they say), sith it is but a mere invention of man, should not therefore at all have been added to the Sacrament of Baptism. To sign Children's foreheads with a Cross, in

guardian are compulsory on an infant-ward from natural wants, and imbecility; but what law, or what guardian, can "forcibly bind" a child now or hereafter to "believe?" "No man can come to me except *the Father*, which hath sent me, *draw* him." John vi. 44.]

* "Si Arianae aut Sabellianae haereseos adsertor esses, et non tuo ipsius Symbolo tecum uterer, convincerem te tamen testimoniorum sacrorum auctoritate. . . . Quid tandem si sic apud te agerem? quid diceret? quid responderet? nonne obsecro illud, . . . in eo te baptizatum, in eo te renatum esse? . . . Et vere, in negotio quamvis improbo non importuna defensio, et quae non absurde causam erroris diceret, si pertinaciam non sociares errori. Nunc autem cum in Catholica Urbe natus, Catholica Fide institutus, Catholico Baptismate regeneratus sis, nunquid agere tecum quasi cum Ariano aut Sabelliano possim? Quod utinam fuisses. Minus dolerem in malis editum quam de bonis lapsus; minus Fidem non habitam quam amissam. . . . Non iniquum autem, Haereticum, non iniquum aut grave aliquid postulo. Hoc fac in Catholica Fide editus, quod fueras pro perversitate facturus." Cassian. de Incarn. lib. vi. cap. 5.

token that hereafter they shall not be ashamed to make profession of the Faith of Christ, is to bring into the Church a new Word, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but our Saviour Christ. That reason which moved the Fathers to use, should move us not to use, the Sign of the Cross. They lived with Heathens which had the Cross of Christ in contempt; we with such as adore the Cross; and therefore we ought to abandon it, even as, in like consideration, Hezekiah did of old the Brazen Serpent." These are the causes of displeasure conceived against the Cross; a Ceremony, the use whereof hath been profitable, although we observe it not as the Ordinance of God, but of man. For (saith Tertullian), "If of this and the like Customs thou shouldest require some Commandment to be shewed thee out of Scriptures, there is none found." What reason there is to justify tradition, use, or custom in this behalf, "either thou mayest of thyself perceive, or else learn of some other that doth." Lest therefore the name of Tradition should be offensive to any, considering how far by some it hath been and is abused, we mean by Traditions, Ordinances made in the prime of Christian Religion, established with that authority which Christ hath left to his Church for matters Indifferent; and in that consideration requisite to be observed, till like authority see just and reasonable cause to alter them.* So that Traditions Ecclesiastical are not rudely and in gross to be shaken off, because the inventors of them were men. Such as say, they allow no invention of man† to be mingled with the outward administration of Sacraments; and, under that pretence, condemn our using the Sign of the Cross, have belike some special dispensation themselves to violate their own Rules. For neither can they indeed decently, nor do they ever, baptize any without manifest breach of this their profound axiom, That "Men's Inventions should not be mingled with Sacraments and Institutions of God." They seem to like very well in Baptism the Custom of Godfathers, "because so generally all Churches have

Tertul.
de
Coron.
Militia.

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 170.

* "Traditiones non scriptas, si doctrinam respiciant, cum doctrina scripta convenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales et ecclesiasticas attinet, ordinis et ædificationis Ecclesiarum in his semper habenda ratio est; inutiles autem et noxias, nempe ineptas et superstitiosas, patronis suis relinquamus." Goulart. Genevens. Annot. in Epist. Cypr. 74.

† "They should not have been so bold as to have brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptism; and so mingle the Ceremonies and Inventions of men with the Sacraments and Institutions of God." T. C. lib. i. p. 171.

received it.”* Which custom, being of God no more instituted than the other (howsoever they pretend the other hurtful and this profitable), it followeth, that even in their own opinion, if their words do shew their minds, there is no necessity of stripping Sacraments out of all such attire of Ceremonies as man’s wisdom hath at any time clothed them withal;† and, consequently, that either they must reform their speech as over general, or else condemn their own practice as unlawful. Ceremonies have more in weight than in sight; they work by commonness of use much, although in the several acts of their usage we scarcely discern any good they do. And because the use which they have for the most part is not perfectly understood, Superstition is apt to impute unto them greater virtue than indeed they have. For prevention whereof, when we use this Ceremony, we always plainly express the end whereunto it serveth, namely, for a sign of remembrance to put us in mind of our duty. But by this mean, they say, we make it “a great deal worse.”‡ For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw “two lines” in token of the duty which we owe to Christ, our practice with this exposition publisheth a new *Gospel*, and causeth

* [“We say nothing of those that are admitted to be Witnesses, what ill choice there is made of them; how convenient it were, seeing the children of the Faithful only are baptized, that the Father should and might, if conveniently, offer and present his child to be baptized, making an open confession of that Faith wherein he would have his child baptized, and how this is used in *well ordered Churches*.” *Admonition*. Second Part. See Whitgift’s Answer, 1572. 4to. p. 188. “They (the Admonitioners) rather condemn the abuse; . . . for the thing itself, considering that it is so generally received of all the churches, they do not mislike of it.” T. C. lib. i. p. 170. These specimens noway authorize Hooker’s phrase, “They seem to like very well.”]

† [“Shall we think the Baptism of the Primitive Church was not as richly *attired* as ours, for want of the Cross? or, that the Baptism of the Modern Churches now, is more *beggarly* clothed than ours, because they do not use this Sign? Think not to say, We cloth Baptism with the Cross not as with an ornament of necessity, but of decency only. Bellarmine himself (*de Cult. Sanct. cap. vi.*) will plead so much for the whole wain-load of Popish Ceremonies. Do but think the robe of man’s wisdom to be necessary for a decency, and run into Montanism, which pleadeth in like manner, The rawness of the first times must be perfected with an ampliation of Ceremonies, such as may be *Vestimentum quodammodo fidei quæ retro erat nuda* (Chemnitius. *Examin. Part I. de Tradit. gen. 8. p. 93*); and into Papism, which reasoneth in like sort, *Religio sine debito ceremoniarum ornatu inculta est informis et omni pulchritudine vacua* (Marcel. *Corcyrensis. in Præfat. ad lib. de Ceremoniis*); and, last of all, into Lutheranism and Adiaphorism, which contend for Images, and all, ad ornatum: in like fashion out of Rupertus, *Fides Apostolorum rudis fuit: A posterioribus verd adhibitis ceremoniis exornata* (Herman. *Hamelman de Tradit. Part I. lib. iv. col. 373*).”—*A Scholasticall Discourse against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies: especially in the Signe of the Crosse*. (By ROBERT PARKER.) 1607. fo. Part I. chap. iii. sect. 3. p. 129.]

‡ “The profitable signification of the Cross . . . maketh the thing a great deal worse, and bringeth in a new Word into the Church; whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church, but only our Saviour Christ. . . . For although it be the Word of God, that we should not be ashamed of the Cross of Christ, yet it is not the Word of God, that we should be kept in remembrance of that, by two lines drawn across one over another in the Child’s forehead.” T. C. lib. i. p. 170.

another "Word" to have place in the Church of Christ, where no voice ought to be heard but his. By which good reason the authors of those grave Admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen up, which held, "That sitting at Communion betokeneth rest and full accomplishment of legal Ceremonies in our Saviour Christ."* For although it be the Word of God that such Ceremonies are expired; yet seeing it is not the Word of God that men, to signify so much should sit at the Table of our Lord, these have their doom as well as others, *Guilty of a new-devised Gospel in the Church of Christ*. Which strange imagination is begotten of a special dislike they have to hear, that Ceremonies in use should be thought Significant; whereas, in truth, such as are not significant must needs be vain. Ceremonies destitute of signification are no better than the idle gestures of men whose broken wits are not masters of what they do. For if we look but into secular and civil complements, what other cause can there possibly be given why to omit them where of course they are looked for? for where they are not so due, to use them bringeth men's secret intents oftentimes into great jealousy: I would know, I say, what reason we are able to yield, why things so light in their own nature should weigh in the opinions of men so much, saving only in regard of that which they use to signify or betoken? Doth not our Lord Jesus Christ himself impute the omission of some courteous Ceremonies, even in domestical entertainment, to a colder degree of loving affection, and take the contrary in better part, not so much respecting what was less done, as what was signified less by the one than by the other? For, to that very end he referreth in part those gracious expostulations: "Simon, seest thou this woman? Since I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet; but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head: thou gavest me no kiss, but this woman since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet: mine head with oil thou didst not anoint, but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment."

Luke
vii. 44—
46.

* ["See Whitgift's Ans. 4to. 1572. p. 179, where the words of the Admonition, Second Part, are copied. At p. 240, he says, "In the second edition the words be altered." To which he adds, "Here is the signification of Sitting, which they before made, clean dashed out, as a thing unadvisedly before put in." And T. C. lib. i. p. 166, writes, "I will not defend it." "I only admonish the reader that sitting at the Communion is not holden to be necessary, but only that I think Kneeling is very dangerous, for the causes before alleged." What was Hooker's object for suppressing all this?]

Wherefore, as the usual dumb Ceremonies of common life are in request or dislike according to that they import; even so Religion, having likewise her silent Rites, the chiefest rule, whereby to judge of their quality, is that which they mean or betoken. For if they signify good things (as somewhat they must of necessity signify, because it is of their very nature to be signs of intimation, presenting both themselves unto outward sense, and besides themselves some other thing to the understanding of beholders), unless they be either greatly mischosen to signify the same, or else applied where that which they signify agreeth not, there is no cause of exception against them, as against evil and unlawful Ceremonies; much less of excepting against them only in that they are not without sense. And, if every religious Ceremony, which hath been invented of men to signify any thing that God himself alloweth, were the publication of another Gospel in the Church of Christ; seeing that no Christian Church in the world is, or can be, without continual use of some Ceremonies, which men have instituted, and that to signify good things (unless they be vain and frivolous Ceremonies); it would follow, that the world hath no Christian Church which doth not daily proclaim new Gospels; a sequel, the manifest absurdity whereof argueth the rawness of that supposal out of which it groweth.* Now the cause why antiquity† did the more, *in actions of common life*,

* ["Our 'Opposites' (See Vol. I. p. 144) tell us, the Cross is the sooner to be used in that it teacheth 'good things,' and hath a profitable signification. Hereupon it is objected (to us, also), That every Ceremony is 'significant,' or else 'vain;' That our Lord delighted much in Signs which the woman shewed, and blamed Simon for not shewing the like; and, That the kneeling, knocking of the breast, and the lifting up of the eyes, are all of them Signs which signify somewhat: at a word, That no Ceremony can add a decency to God's Worship unless it 'signify.' Is there any answer expected to so gross a Paralogism and so wilful an ignorance of the Elench? For we dislike not all Signs, but only such as are Symbolical (Beza, Epist. 8. ad Grindal), of which the Sign of the Cross is one, but these fore-named are none: for, seeing God hath reserved to himself all authority to ordain the Seals and Signs of his own Covenant, we are worthily jealous against all other Signs in case they be *Sacramental*. Now what is a Sacramental Sign? &c. The very word 'token' ('We sign him with the sign of the Cross in token,' &c. Off. of Bap. of Inf.) sheweth that the Cross is used as a *σύμβολον, ἀντίτυπον*, à figura, à typus; all which the Scriptures (1 Pet. iii. 21), Fathers (Greg. Naz. Orat. de Pasch. 2. August. Epist. 23), ourselves (Anglican. Confess. Art. X.), appropriate to a *Sacramental* signifying."—*A Scholasticall Discourse*, Part I. chap. iii. sect. 31. p. 106.]

† "It is known to all that have read the Ecclesiastical Stories, that the Heathen did object to Christians in times past, in reproach, that the God which they believed of, was hanged upon a Cross. And they thought good to testify, that they were not ashamed therefore of the Son of God, by the often using of the Sign of the Cross. Which carefulness and good mind to keep amongst them an open profession of Christ crucified, although it be to be commended, yet is not this means so. For they might otherwise have kept it, and with less danger, than by this use of crossing. And as it was brought in upon no good ground, so the Lord left a mark of his curse of it, and whereby it might be perceived to come out of the

honour the Ceremony of the Cross, might be for that they lived with Infidels. But that which they did in the Sacrament of Baptism was for the self-same good of believers, which is thereby intended still. The Cross is for us an admonition no less necessary than for them, to glory in the service of Jesus Christ, and not to hang down our heads as men ashamed thereof, although it procure us reproach and obloquy at the hands of this wretched world. Shame is a kind of fear to incur disgrace and ignominy. Now whereas some things are worthy of reproach, some things ignominious only through a false opinion which men have conceived of them, Nature, that generally feareth opprobrious reprehension, must by Reason and Religion be taught what it should be ashamed of, and what not. But be we never so well instructed what our duty is in this behalf, without some present admonition at the very instant of practice, what we know is many times not called to mind till that be done whereupon our just confusion ensueth. To supply the absence of such as that way might do us good when they see us in danger of sliding, there are judicious and wise men which think we may greatly relieve ourselves by a bare imagined presence of some, whose authority we fear, and would be loth to offend, if indeed they were present with us. Witnesses at hand are a bridle unto many offences. Let the mind have always some whom it feareth, some whose authority may keep even secret thoughts under awe. Take Cato, or if he be too harsh and rugged, choose some other of a softer metal, whose gravity of life and speech thou lovest, his mind and countenance carry with thee, set him always before thine eyes, either as a watch or as a pattern. That which is crooked we cannot straighten but by some such level. If men of so good experience and insight in the maims of our weak flesh, have thought these fancied remembrances available to awaken shamefacedness, that so the

Ephes.
v. 12.
Rom.
vi. 21.

Sen.
Epist.
lib. i.
ep. 11.

forge of man's brain, in that it began forthwith, while it was yet in the swaddling-clouts, to be superstitiously abused. The Christians had such a superstition in it, that they would do nothing without crossing. But if it were granted, that upon this consideration which I have before-mentioned, the ancient Christians did well; yet it followeth not, that we should so do. For we live not amongst those nations which do cast us in the teeth, or reproach us with the Cross of Christ. Now that we live amongst Papists that do not condemn the Cross of Christ, but which esteem more of the wooden Cross than of the true Cross, which is his sufferings; we ought now to do clean contrariwise to the old Christians, and abolish all use of these Crosses. For contrary diseases must have contrary remedies. If, therefore, the old Christians, to deliver the Cross of Christ from contempt, did often use the Cross; the Christians now, to take away the superstitious estimation of it, ought to take away the use of it." T. C. lib. i. p. 170.

boldness of sin may be stayed ere it look abroad; surely the wisdom of the Church of Christ, which hath to that use converted the Ceremony of the Cross in Baptism, it is no Christian man's part to despise; especially seeing that by this mean, where Nature doth earnestly implore aid, Religion yielded her that ready assistance than which there can be no help more forcible, serving only to relieve memory, and to bring to our cogitation that which should most make ashamed of sin. The mind, while we are in this present life, whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howsoever exercise itself, worketh nothing without continual recourse unto imagination,* the only storehouse of wit, and peculiar chair of memory. On this anvil it ceaseth not day and night to strike, by means whereof, as the pulse declareth how the heart doth work, so the very thoughts and cogitations of man's mind, be they good or bad, do no where sooner bewray themselves, than through the crevices of that wall, wherewith Nature hath compassed the cells and closets of fancy.† In the forehead nothing more plain to be seen than the fear of contumely and disgrace. For which cause the Scripture (as with great probability it may be thought) describeth them marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercy hath undertaken to keep from final confusion and shame.‡ Not that God doth set any corporal mark on his chosen, but to note that he giveth his elect security of preservation from reproach, the fear whereof doth use to shew itself in that part.§ Shall I say, that the Sign of the Cross (as we use it) is in some sort a mean to work our preservation from reproach?|| Surely, the mind which as yet hath not hardened itself in sin, is seldom provoked thereunto in any gross and grievous manner, but Nature's secret suggestion objecteth against it ignominy as a bar. Which conceit being entered into that palace of man's fancy, the gates whereof have imprinted in them that holy Sign, which bringeth

Ezek.
ix. 4.
Apoc.
vii. 3.
ix. 4.

* Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας. Arist. de Anim. lib. i. cap. 1. Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει· ἡ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς. Lib. iii. cap. 11. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἶδη τῶ νοητικῶν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὁρίσται αὐτῶ τὸ διακτὸν, καὶ φευκτὸν, καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὄν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων ᾖ, κινεῖται. Lib. iii. cap. 8.

† "Frons hominis tristitiæ, hilaritatis, clementiæ, severitatis index est." Plin. lib. xi.

‡ [Therefore the Sign in Rev. vii. 3, whatever else it be, is not this pretended sign of the Cross which is capable of being set upon reprobates; for the sign there alluded to is strictly confined to the elect. The mark in Ezek. ix. 4, was only for preservation from immediate judgment; not an admonition to be faithful in duty, and a preservative from sin.]

§ Ἐρυθραίνονται γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυρόμενοι. Arist. Eth. iv. c. 9.

|| "Caro signatur ut et anima muniatur." Tertull. de Resur. Carn.

forthwith to mind whatsoever Christ hath wrought and we vowed, against sin, it cometh hereby to pass that Christian men never want a most effectual, though a silent teacher, to avoid whatsoever may deservedly procure shame.* So

* [Thus Papists make a Charm of it, and affirm, that by the Sign of the Cross Christ keeps his own faithful ones, "contra omnes tentationes et hostes." CORNEL. a Lapide, Com. in Hag. ii. 23. "The devils cannot approach to them on whom they see this heavenly Mark; nor can they hurt those whom this heavenly Sign, as an impregnable fortress, defends." LACTANTIUS, *Inst.* lib. iv. cap. 27. "What meaneth this bleating in our ears, The Cross is an 'holy sign,' 'a most effectual teacher,' yea, there cannot be a more forcible 'mean' 'to avoid' that which 'may deservedly procure shame?' . . . Master Hooker being ashamed to apply the text of Ezek. ix. 4. Apoc. vii. 3, to the sign of the Cross in that gross manner as Jesuits do, fetcheth a windlass which cunningly bringeth them at the last to the very same standing. They mean forsooth, no visible 'mark,' but 'security' from that 'shame' which useth to shew herself in the face: whereof 'shall I say,' saith he, 'the sign of the Cross is in some sort a mean?' Sith he thinketh it, he may very well say it, to make known to the world an Amalekite's beast is kept alive which should have died. For shall I say, the sign of the Cross is in some sort effective of grace, if in some sort it be a mean to secure from 'confusion' everlasting? And how do not these places imply a 'mark' visible, if they employ the Cross for 'a mean' of the safety that they promise? Howbeit draw we near, and we shall hear yet more. He is not ashamed to cite (p. 264) a sentence of Cyprian, who saith, The Cross doth purify the forehead, yea keep it pure from the garland of Satan in the same sort that the Sacrament of the Supper keepeth pure the mouth from the scraps of Idols. Now, how cometh it to pass that M. Hooker's forcible 'mean' to keep foreheads from 'shame' hath so forcibly deceived his (its) Master; leaving his own forehead so void of shame as to justify this purifying of foreheads by the Cross, and this keeping pure? But he hath made some recompense, you will say, in the second allegation out of Tertullian, which for very shame of the forehead is shuffled, as it were, out of the rank to stand in the margin, (p. 262). No, this was policy; because he sheweth his horns too openly, and bleateth the Amalekitish idiom too broad. If it had been shame he would not have brought him into the field: he being burnt in the ear as a rogue of Montanus' by the bench of all our writers. (Whitaker, *Contro. i. q. 6. cap. 12. p. 443.* Chemnitius, *Exam. Part I. de Tradit. p. 94.*) One of whom thus: Tertullian, in his Book of the Resurrection, reciteth Uncion, Signing with the Cross, and the Imposing of Hands, for the Ceremonies of Baptism. Neither doth he only ascribe unto them decency and signification, but efficacy also; for he saith, 'The flesh is anointed that the soul may be sanctified; the flesh is signed that the soul may be fenced; the flesh is shadowed with imposition of hands that the soul may be enlightened with the Spirit:' and that these are Montanical, it may be gathered by this that he addeth in the same place, 'scrophagias sordes corporis monogamiam quæ Montanica esse certum est.' But Master Hooker doth not mean, he saveth from shame, purifieth the forehead, and fenceth the soul *ex opere operato*, as doth the Papist; but *ex opere operantis* only, as he stirreth up meditation and consideration, or, to speak in his own language, 'imagination,' which haply are asleep without it. He differeth, indeed, that the Papist giveth unto the Cross a power *ex opere operato* against the Devil, which he giveth not. As for the grace which sanctifieth, some Papists give no more power to the Cross than doth Master Hooker for ought I see, for he maketh it powerful as 'a mean' which God blesseth to the inward stirring up of the mind; and what doth Stephen Gardener himself (in *Epist. ad Ridley*) give more to the Cross, or to holy Water, or to any thing in their imagined power of sanctifying? Doth not a Jesuit (Varquez de Adorat. lib. iii. disp. 2. cap. 5) directly deny that a Cross imprinteth any holiness saving by Prayer? Others, it may be, give a power *ex opere operato* in this behalf, but I leave them in the midst, the point I drive at being apparent, a power Sacramental, to stir up the soul by striking the senses is ascribed to the Cross, and that very near in a popish manner against the doctrine of our Writers (Chemnitius, *Exam. Part II. cap. de Ritib. p. 36—38*) who disclaim it."—*A Scholasticall Discourse*, Part I. chap. ii. sect. 21. p. 91. "The Cross teacheth not out of the Scripture, the Horn doth. Omnia sacrificia cornuta fuerunt (Hieron. in Psal. xcii.). And of the Godly it is said, Exaltavit sicut unicornis cornu meum; so that unless a man hath a strong faith, tanquam cornu quo inimicos venditet non est dignus immolari Deo. The Cross teacheth not out of the Scripture, the Dung doth. Cophinum stercoris in bono intellige sordes sunt sed fructum dant; Sordes cultoris dolores sunt peccatoris (August. de Verb. Dom. in Luc. xiii. Serm. 31). If, therefore, the Sign of the Cross, as a profitable Ceremony, must be received because it teacheth 'good things' (howbeit without the Word) then, by the same

Cypr.
Epist.
50. ad
Thibari-
tanos.

that in things which we should be ashamed of, we are by the Cross admonished faithfully of our duty, at the very moment when admonition doth most need.* Other things there are which deserve honour, and yet do purchase many times our disgrace in this present world; as, of old, the very truth of Religion itself, till God by his own outstretched arm made the glory thereof to shine over all the earth. Whereupon, St. Cyprian exhorting to Martyrdom in times of heathenish persecution and cruelty, thought it not vain to allege unto them, with other arguments, the very Ceremony of that Cross whereof we speak. Never let that hand offer sacrifice to Idols which hath already received the Body of our Saviour Christ, and shall hereafter the crown of his glory; "Arm your foreheads" unto all boldness, that the "Sign of God" may be kept safe. Again, when it pleased God that the fury of their enemies being bridled, the Church had some little rest and quietness (if so small a liberty, but only to breathe between troubles, may be termed quietness and rest), to such as fell not away from Christ through former persecutions, he giveth due and deserved praise in the self-same manner.

Cypr.
de Laps.

"You that were ready to endure imprisonment, and were resolute to suffer death; you that have courageously withstood the world, ye have made yourselves both a glorious spectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the rest of your brethren to follow. Those mouths which had sanctified themselves with food coming down from Heaven, loathed, after Christ's own Body and blood, to taste the poisoned and contagious scraps of Idols; those foreheads which the Sign of God had purified, kept themselves to be crowned by him, the touch of the garlands† of Satan they abhorred." Thus was the memory of that Sign which they had in Baptism, a kind of bar or prevention to keep them even from apostacy, whereinto the frailty of flesh and blood,

reason, a Minister may wear an Horn, as Moses is painted, and bear Dung upon his head, as the Jews once Ashes, with these *teach* very 'good things,' and that out of the Word of God!" *Ibid.* chap. iii. sect. 8. p. 141.]

* ["What, and serveth the Sign of the Water, then, for the time only of the perfusion; or, must we needs have a sign of a Sign? If so, then how many, and to how many degrees I ask? For if a new sign, of a Cross, be needful to put us in mind of the Water, then Holy Water, a new sign, is needful too; both of it and of the Cross." *A Schol. Disc.* chap. iii. sect. 35. p. 112.]

† "Erant enim supplices coronarii." Tertull. lib. de Coro. Mil. In the service of Idols, the doors of their temples, the sacrifices, the altars, the priests, and the supplicants that were present, wore garlands.

overmuch fearing to endure shame, might peradventure the more easily otherwise have drawn them. We have not now, through the gracious goodness of Almighty God, those extreme conflicts which our Fathers had with blasphemous contumelies every where offered to the name of Christ, by such as professed themselves Infidels and Unbelievers. Howbeit, unless we be strangers to the age wherein we live, or else, in some partial respect, dissemblers of that we hourly both hear and see, there is not the simplest of us but knoweth with what disdain and scorn Christ is honoured* far and wide. Is there any burthen in the world more heavy to bear than contempt? Is there any contempt that grieveth as theirs doth, whose quality no way making them less worthy than others are of reputation, only the service which they do to Christ in the daily exercise of Religion treadeth them down? Doth any contumely which we sustain for Religion's sake pierce so deeply, as that which would seem even of mere conscience religiously spiteful? When they that honour God are despised; when the chiefest service of honour that unto man can do unto him, is the cause why they are despised; when they which pretend to honour him, and that with greatest sincerity, do, with more than heathenish petulancy, trample under foot almost whatsoever either we, or the whole Church of God, by the space of so many ages, have been accustomed unto, for the comelier and better exercise of our Religion according to the soundest rules that wisdom directed by the Word of God, and by long experience confirmed, hath been able with common advice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence, to comprehend; when no man fighting under Christ's banner can be always exempted from seeing or sustaining those indignities, the sting whereof not to feel, or feeling not to be moved thereat, is a thing impossible to flesh and blood: if this be any object for patience to work on, the strictest bond that thereunto tieth us is our vowed obedience to Christ; the solemnest vow that we ever made to obey Christ, and to suffer willingly all reproaches for his sake, was made in Baptism; and amongst other memorials to keep us mindful of that vow, we cannot think that the Sign which our new baptized foreheads did there receive,

* [Psalm lxii. 4.]

is either unfit or unforcible, the reasons hitherto alleged being weighed with indifferent balance. It is not (you will say) the Cross in our foreheads, but in our hearts the Faith of Christ, that armeth us with patience, constancy, and courage. Which as we grant to be most true, so neither dare we despise, no, not the meanest helps that serve, though it be but in the very lowest degree of furtherance towards the highest services that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny that such Ceremonies are available, at the least, as memorials of duty; or do think that himself hath no need to be so put in mind what our duties are; it is but reasonable, that in the one the public experience of the world overweigh some few men's persuasion; and in the other, the rare perfection of a few condescend unto common imbecility. Seeing, therefore, that to fear shame, which doth worthily follow sin, and to bear undeserved reproach constantly, is the general duty of all men professing Christianity; seeing also that our weakness, while we are in this present world, doth need towards spiritual duties the help even of corporal furtherances, and that by reason of natural intercourse between the highest and the lowest powers of man's mind in all actions, his fancy or imagination carrying in it that special note of remembrance, than which there is nothing more forcible, where either too weak or too strong a conceit of infamy and disgrace might do great harm, standeth always ready to put forth a kind of necessary helping hand;* we are in that respect to acknowledge the good and profitable use† of this Ceremony, and not to think it superfluous that Christ hath his mark‡ applied unto that part where bashfulness appeareth,§ in token that they which are Christians should be at no time ashamed of his ignominy.|| But to prevent

* ["The Cross helpeth the inward imagination, saith Master Hooker. This Imagination apprehendeth an image of the thing conceived, saith the Philosopher (Suarez, in Thom. Vol. I. Disput. 54. sect. 1. Rodolph Goclenius, Metaphysic. Disput. 4). This Image conceived is a true Image, saith the Lawyer (Decret. p. 1. distinct. 6. cap. 1). When this Image is received from the apprehension of an outward Image (which the Lord hath not commanded) it is an Image idolatrous, saith the Divine (August. de vera Relig. cap. 1. p. 38), to which our Opposites themselves consent (D. Bilson ag. Apolog. Part I. p. 30)."]
A Scholasticall Discourse, chap. ii. sect. 3. p. 62.]

† "Εστω δὲ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ καλυπτικά τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ φθαρτικά. Arist. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 6.

‡ [See Sect. 79, Note from "*A Christian Letter*," p. 35.]

§ "Ozias Rex lepræ varietate in fronte maculatus est, ea parte corporis notatus offensus Domino, ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur." Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. cap. 16.

|| ["The Chrism of Confirmation layeth claim to this panegyrick, and pleadeth it is

some inconveniences which might ensue, if the over-ordinary use thereof (as it fareth with such Rites when they are too common) should cause it to be of less observation or regard where it most availeth; we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it so vulgar, as the custom heretofore hath been.* Although to condemn the whole Church of God when it most flourished in zeal and piety, to mark that age with the brand of error and superstition only because they had this Ceremony more in use† than we now think needful, boldly to affirm that this their practice grew so soon through a fearful malediction of God upon the Ceremony of the Cross, as if we knew that his purpose was thereby to make it manifest in all men's eyes how execrable those things are in his sight which have proceeded from human invention, is, as we take it, a censure of greater zeal than knowledge.‡ Men whose judgments in these cases are grown more moderate, although they retain not, as we do, the use of this Ceremony, perceive notwithstanding very well such censures to be out of square; and do therefore not only acquit the Fathers from superstition therein§ but also think it sufficient to answer, in excuse of themselves, "This Ceremony, which was but a thing Indifferent even of old, we judge not at this day a matter necessary for all Christian men to observe."|| As for their last upshot of all towards this mark, they are of opinion, that if the ancient Christians, "to deliver the Cross of Christ from contempt," did well and with good consideration "use often" the Sign of the Cross, in testimony of their faith and profession before Infidels which

stolen from her, who must be in the forehead even for the same cause, to wit, propter propinquitatem *imaginationis*, the nearness of the *imagination* (Tho. Aquinas, p. 3, qu. 72, ar. 9)." *A Schol. Disc.* chap. iii. sect. 4. p. 130.]

* ["What great difference between separating of meats from common hands to make them holy, which the Pharisees did, Mar. vii. 2, and this separating of a Cross from common fingers to make it seem holier in the eyes of the people?" *A Schol. Disc.* chap. ii. sect. 14. p. 83.]

† ["In the beginning of any business, going out, coming in, dressing, washing, eating, lighting candles, going to bed, sitting down, or whatever we do, we sign our foreheads with the Sign of the Cross." TERTULL. *de Coro. Mil.* cap. iii. T. C. says Chrysostom, (upon Tim. i. 4) commendeth the crossing of the Cup before a man drink, and of the Meat before it be eaten." Lib. i. p. 107.]

‡ ["As it was brought in upon no good ground, so the Lord left a mark of his curse of it, and whereby it might be perceived to come out of the forge of man's brain, in that it began forthwith while it was yet in the swaddling-clouts, to be superstitiously abused." T. C. *See back*, p. 260, Note †.]

§ "Quamvis veteres Christiani externo Signo Crucis usi sunt, id tamen fuit sine superstitione, et doctrina de Christi merito ab errore, qui postea irrepsit, pios servavit immunes." Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. lib. ad Demetr. cap. 19.

|| Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. Epist. 56. cap. 7.

2 Kings
xviii.
3, 4.

upbraided them with Christ's sufferings; now that we live with such as contrariwise adore the Sign of the Cross (because contrary diseases should always have contrary remedies), we ought to take away all use thereof.* In which conceit they both ways greatly seduce themselves: first, for that they imagine the Fathers to have had no use of the Cross but with reference unto Infidels, which mispersuasion we have before discovered at large; and secondly, by reason that they think there is not any other way besides universal extirpation, to reform superstitious abuses of the Cross. Wherein, because there are that stand very much upon the example of Hezekiah, as if his "breaking to pieces that Serpent of brass," whereunto the children of Israel had "burnt incense," did enforce the utter abolition of this Ceremony; the fact of that virtuous Prince is by so much the more attentively to be considered. Our lives in this world are partly guided by rules, and partly directed by examples. To conclude out of general rules and axioms by discourse of wit our duties in every particular action, is both troublesome and many times so full of difficulty, that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wisest men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to observe examples, to mark what others have done before us, and in favour of our own ease rather to follow them, than to enter into new consultation, if in regard of their virtue and wisdom we may but probably think they have waded without error. So that the willingness of men to be led by example of others, both discovereth and helpeth the imbecility of our judgment. Because it doth the one, therefore insolent and proud wits would always seem to be their own guides; and because it doth the other, we see how hardly the vulgar sort is drawn unto any thing for which there are not as well examples as reasons alleged. Reasons proving that which is more particular by things more general and farther from sense, are with the simpler sort of men less trusted, for that they doubt of their own judgment in those things; but of examples which prove unto them one doubtful particular by another, more familiarly and sensibly known, they easily perceive in themselves some better ability to judge. The force of examples, therefore, is great, when in matter of

* [See Note †, p. 260.]

action, being doubtful what to do, we are informed what others have commendably done whose deliberations were like. But whosoever doth persuade by example, must as well respect the fitnesss as the goodness of that he allegeth. To Hezekiah God himself in this fact giveth testimony of well-doing. So that nothing is here questionable, but only whether the example alleged be pertinent, pregnant, and strong. The Serpent spoken of was first erected for the extraordinary and *miraculous cure* of the Israelites in the Desert. This use having presently an end, when the cause for which God ordained it was once removed, the thing itself they notwithstanding kept for a *monument of God's mercy*; as, in like consideration, they did the Pot of Manna, the Rod of Aaron, and the Sword which David took from Goliath. In process of time they made of a monument of divine power a plain idol; they burnt incense before it contrary to the Law of God, and did it the services of honour due unto God only. Which gross and grievous abuse continued, till Hezekiah, restoring the purity of sound Religion, destroyed utterly that which had been so long and so generally a snare unto them. It is not amiss which the Canon Law hereupon concludeth, namely, "That ^{Dist. 63.} if our predecessors have done some things which at that ^{cap.} time might be without fault, and afterward be turned to ^{Quia.} error and superstition; we are taught, by Hezekiah breaking the Brazen Serpent, that posterity may destroy them without any delay, and with great authority." But may it be simply and without exception hereby gathered, that posterity *is bound to destroy* whatsoever hath been either at the first invented, or but afterwards turned to like superstition and error? No, it cannot be. The Serpent, therefore, and the Sign of the Cross, although seeming equal in this point, that Superstition hath abused both; yet being herein also unequal, that neither they have been both subject to the like degree of abuse, nor were in hardness of redress alike, it may be, that even as the one for abuse was religiously taken away, so now when Religion hath taken away abuse from the other,* we should by utter abolition thereof

* ["I should be glad any one would shew us at what time, from the first inventing this Sign, it can be said to have been clear from Superstition. And truly, if the most ancient use of it might be thought to have been thus clear, *that was not in Baptism*, wherein the Church of England retains it; but in the common actions of life, as the Papists still apply it. This is acknowledged by Bishop Burnet: 'The primitive Christians used the making a

Sozom.
lib. vii.
cap. 15.

Tho.
p. 3.
q. 25.
art. 3.
Resp.
ad Tert.

deserve hardly his commendation, whose example* there is offered us no such necessary cause to follow. For by the words of Hezekiah in terming the Serpent but "a lump of brass," to shew that the best thing in it now was the metal or matter whereof it consisted, we may probably conjecture, that the people whose error is therein controlled had the self-same opinion of it which the Heathens had of Idols. They thought that the power of Deity was with it; and when they saw it dissolved, happily they might, to comfort themselves, imagine, as Olympius the Sophister did beholding the dissipation of Idols, "Shapes and counterfeits they were, fashioned of matter subject unto corruption, therefore to grind them to dust was easy; but those celestial powers which dwelt and resided in them are ascended into Heaven." Some difference there is between these opinions of palpable Idolatry, and that which the Schools in speculation have bolted out concerning the Cross. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the Church of Rome hath hitherto practised and doth profess the same adoration to the Sign of the Cross, and neither less nor other than is due unto Christ himself, howsoever they varnish and qualify their sentence, pretending that the Cross which to outward sense presenteth visibly itself alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their secret surmise or conceit a reference to the person of our Lord Jesus Christ; so that the honour which they jointly do to both respecteth principally his Person, and the Cross but only for his Person's sake; the people not accustomed to trouble their wits with so nice and subtle differences in the exercise of Religion, are apparently no less insnared by adoring the Cross, than the Jews by burning incense to the Brazen Serpent. It is by Thomas ingenuously granted, That because unto reasonable creatures a kind of reverence is due for the excellency which is in them, and whereby they resemble God; therefore, if reasonable creatures, Angels or Men, should receive at our

Cross in the air, or upon their bodies, on many occasions. Afterwards, when a Divine virtue was fancied to accompany that ritual action, it was used in Baptism as a sort of incantation; for, with the use of it, the Devil was adjured to go out of the person to be baptized. Such an usage made it a Sacramental and superstitious Action.' (Four Discourses to the Clergy, p. 291.) He owns therefore the common use of this Sign to have been more ancient than the baptismal; and that the baptismal, from the very first, made the Action not only Superstitious, but Sacramental."—PEIRCE'S *Vind. of the Dissenters*, 1718. 8vo. p. 444.]

† ["We ought now to do clean contrariwise to the old Christians, and abolish all use of these Crosses." T. C. See Note †, p. 260.]

hands holy and divine honour, as the Sign of the Cross doth at theirs, to pretend that we honour not them alone but we honour God with them, would not serve the turn, neither would this be able to prevent the error of men, or cause them always to respect God in their adorations, and not to finish their intents in the object next before them. But unto this he addeth, That no such error can grow by adoring in that sort a dead image, which every man knoweth to be void of excellency in itself, and therefore will easily conceive that the honour done unto it hath an higher reference. Howbeit, seeing that we have by over-true experience been taught how often, especially in these cases, the light even of common understanding faileth, surely their usual adoration of the Cross is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kind we are more to respect what the greatest part of men is commonly prone to conceive, than what some few men's wits may devise in construction of their own particular meanings. Plain it is, that a false opinion of some personal divine excellency to be in those things which either nature or art hath framed, causeth always religious adoration: and as plain, that the like adoration applied unto things sensible argueth to vulgar capacities, yea, leaveth imprinted in them, the very same opinion of Deity from whence all idolatrous worship groweth. Yea, the meaner and baser a thing worshipped is in itself, the more they incline to think that every man which doth adore it knoweth there is in it, or with it, a presence of divine power. Be it therefore true, that Crosses purposely framed or used for receipt of divine honour be even as scandalous as the Brazen Serpent itself, where they are in such sort adored; should we hereupon think ourselves in the sight of God and in conscience charged to "abolish" utterly the very *Ceremony* of the Cross, neither meant at the first nor now converted unto any such offensive purpose? Did the Jews, which could never be persuaded to admit in the city of Jerusalem that image* of Cæsar which the Romans were accustomed to adore,† make any Scruple of Cæsar's image in the coin which they knew very well that men were not wont to worship? Between the Cross which Superstition

Matt.
xxii. 20.

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 8. et lib. xviii. cap. 3. et de Bel. lib. ii. cap. 8.

† Their eagles, their ensigns, and the images of their princes, they carried with them in all their armies, and had always a kind of Chapel wherein they placed and adored them as their gods. Dio lib. xl. Herodian. lib. iv.

honoureth as Christ, and that Ceremony of the Cross which serveth only for a sign of remembrance, there is as plain
2 Chron. iv. 3. and as great a difference, as between those brazen images which Solomon made to bear up the cistern of the Temple,
Exod. xxxii. 4. and (sith both were of like shape, but of unlike use) that which the Israelites in the Wilderness did adore; or between
2 Chron. xxxiv. 7. Josh. xxii. 10. the altars which Josias destroyed, because they were instruments of mere Idolatry, and that which the tribe of Reuben with others erected near to the river Jordan; for which also they grew at the first into some dislike, and were by the rest of their brethren suspected, yea, hardly charged with open breach of the Law of God, accused of backwardness in Religion, upbraided bitterly with the fact of Peor and the odious example of Achan; as if the building of their altar in that place had given manifest shew of no better than intended apostacy, till by a true declaration made in their own defence it appeared that such as misliked, misunderstood their enterprise, inasmuch as they had no intent to build any altar for sacrifice, which God would have no where offered saving in Jerusalem only, but to a far other end and purpose, which being opened satisfied all parties, and so delivered them from causeless blame. In this particular, suppose the worst; imagine that the immaterial Ceremony of the Cross had been the subject of as gross pollution as any heathenish or profane Idol. If we think the example of Hezekiah a proof that things which error and superstition hath abused may in no consideration be tolerated, although we presently find them not subject to so vile abuse; the plain example of Hezekiah proveth the contrary. The temples and idols, which under Solomon had been of very purpose framed for the honour of foreign gods, Hezekiah destroyed not; because they stood as forlorn things, and did now no harm, although formerly they had done harm. Josias for some inconvenience afterwards razed them up. Yet to both there is one commendation given even from God himself; that, touching matter of Religion, they walked in the steps of David, and did no way displease God. Perhaps it seemeth that by force and virtue of this example, although in bare detestation and hatred of Idolatry, all things which have been at any time worshipped, are not necessarily to be taken out of the world; nevertheless, for remedy and prevention of so great

1 Kings xi. 7.

2 Kings xxiii. 13.

2 Kings xviii. 3. 6. xxii. 2.

offences, wisdom should judge it the safest course to remove altogether from the eyes of men that which may put them in mind of evil. Some kinds of evil, no doubt, there are, very quick in working on those affections that most easily take fire; which evils should in that respect, no oft'ner than need requireth, be brought in presence of weak minds. But neither is the Cross any such evil, nor yet the Brazen Serpent itself so strongly poisoned, that our eyes, ears, and thoughts, ought to shun them both for fear of some deadly harm to ensue the only representation thereof, by gesture, shape, sound, or such like significant means. And for mine own part, I most assuredly persuade myself, that had Hezekiah (till the days of whose most virtuous reign they ceased not continually to burn incense to the Brazen Serpent), had he found the Serpent, though sometime adored, yet at that time recovered from the evil of so gross abuse, and reduced to the same that was before in the time of David, at which time they esteemed it only as a memorial-sign, or monument of God's miraculous goodness towards them, even as we in no other sort esteem the Ceremony of the Cross; the due consideration of an use so harmless, common to both, might no less have wrought their equal preservation, than different occasions have procured notwithstanding the one's extinguishment, the other's lawful continuance. In all persuasions which ground themselves upon example, we are not so much to respect what is done, as the causes and secret inducements leading thereunto. The question being therefore, whether this Ceremony, supposed to have been *sometimes* scandalous and offensive, ought for that cause to be *now* removed; there is no reason we should forthwith yield ourselves to be carried away with examples, no, not of them whose acts the highest judgment approveth for having reformed in that manner any public evil: but before we either attempt any thing or resolve, the state and condition as well of our own affairs as theirs whose example presseth us, is advisedly to be examined; because some things are of their own nature scandalous, and cannot choose but breed offence, as those sinks of execrable filth which Josias did overwhelm; some things, albeit not by nature and of themselves, are notwithstanding so generally turned to evil by reason of an evil corrupt habit grown, and through long continuance incurably settled in the minds of the greatest

^{2 Kings}
^{xxiii. 7.}

part, that no redress can be well hoped for without removal of that wherein they have ruined themselves; which plainly was the state of the Jewish people, and the cause why Hezekiah did with such sudden indignation destroy what he saw worshipped; finally, some things are, as the Sign of the Cross, though subject either almost or altogether to as great abuse, yet curable with more facility and ease. And to speak as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yield to destroy that which may be fruitfully kept, and without any great difficulty clean scoured from the rust of evil which by some accident hath grown into it. Wherefore, to that which they build in this question upon the example of Hezekiah let this suffice. When Heathens despised Christian Religion because of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, the Fathers, to testify how little such contumelies and contempts prevailed with them, chose rather the Sign of the Cross, than any other outward mark, whereby the world might most easily discern always what they were. On the contrary side now, whereas they which do all profess the Christian Religion are divided amongst themselves; and the fault of the one part is, that in zeal to the sufferings of Christ they admire too much, and over-superstitiously adore the visible Sign of his Cross: if you ask what we that mislike them should do, we are here advised to cure one contrary by another.* Which art or method is not yet so current as they imagine. For if, as their practice for the most part sheweth, it be their meaning that the scope and drift of reformation, when things are faulty, should be to *settle* the Church in the contrary; it standeth them upon to beware of this rule, because seeing vices have not only virtues, but other vices also in nature opposite unto them, it may be dangerous in these cases to seek but that which we find contrary to present evils. For in sores and sicknesses of the mind, we are not simply to measure good by distance from evil, because one vice may in some respect be more opposite to another than either of them to that virtue which holdeth the mean between them both. Liberality and covetousness, the one a virtue and the other a vice, are not so contrary as the vices of covetousness and prodigality. Religion and Superstition have more affiance, though the one be light and the other darkness, than

* ["Contrary diseases must have contrary remedies." T. C. Note †, p. 260.]

Superstition and Profaneness, which both are vicious extremities. By means whereof it cometh also to pass, that the mean, which is virtue, seemeth in the eyes of each extreme an extremity: the liberal-hearted man is by the opinion of the prodigal miserable, and by the judgment of the miserable lavish; Impiety for the most part upbraideth Religion as superstitious, which Superstition often accuseth as impious; both so conceiving thereof because it doth seem more to participate each extreme, than one extreme doth another, and is by consequent less contrary to either of them, than they mutually between themselves. Now, if he that seeketh to reform covetousness or superstition should but labour to induce the contrary, it were but to draw men out of lime into coal-dust: so that their course, which will remedy the superstitious abuse of things profitable in the Church, is not still to "abolish" utterly the use thereof, because not using at all is most opposite to ill using; but rather, if it may be, to bring them back to a right perfect and religious usage, which, albeit less contrary to the present sore, is notwithstanding the better and by many degrees the sounder way of recovery: and unto this effect, that very precedent itself which they propose may be best followed. For as the Fathers, when the Cross of Christ was in utter contempt, did not superstitiously adore the same, but rather declare that they so esteemed it as was meet; in like manner where we find the Cross to have that honour which is due to Christ, is it not as lawful for us to retain it in that estimation which it ought to have, and in that use which it had of old without offence, as by taking it clean away, to seem followers of their example which cure wilfully by abscission that which they might both preserve and heal? Touching therefore the Sign and Ceremony of the Cross, we no way find ourselves bound to relinquish it; neither because the first inventors thereof were but mortal men; nor lest the sense and signification we give unto it should burthen us as authors of a new Gospel in the House of God; nor in respect of some cause which the Fathers had more than we have to use the same; nor finally, for any such offence or scandal as heretofore it hath been subject unto by error, now reformed in the minds of men.*

* ["*Frustra fit per plura quod fieri possit per pauciora* (Perierius, in Exod. x.): there is nothing in the world that the (Sign of the) Cross can do, but Faith can do without it. Leave

Or Con-
firma-
tion
after
Bap-
tism.

Gen.
xlviii.
14.

2 Kings
v. 11.

Nnm.
xxvii. 18.

Matt.
ix. 18.
Mark
v. 23.
viii. 22.

66. The ancient custom of the Church was, after they had baptized, to add thereunto Imposition of Hands with effectual prayer for the illumination of God's most Holy Spirit,* to confirm and perfect that which the grace of the same Spirit had already begun in Baptism. For our means to obtain the graces which God doth bestow, are our Prayers. Our Prayers to that intent are available, as well for others as for ourselves. To pray for others, is to *bless* them for whom we pray; because Prayer procureth the blessing of God upon them, especially the Prayer of such as God either most respecteth for their piety and zeal that way, or else regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them above others unto this duty, as it doth both natural and spiritual Fathers. With Prayers of spiritual and personal benediction the manner hath been in all ages to use *Imposition of Hands*, as a Ceremony betokening our *restrained desires* to the party whom we present unto God by Prayer. Thus when Israel "blessed" Ephraim and Manasseh, Joseph's sons, he *imposed* upon them his hands and prayed; "God, in whose sight my fathers, Abraham and Isaac, did walk; God, which hath fed me all my life long unto this day, and the Angel which hath delivered me from all evil, bless these children." The Prophets which healed diseases by Prayer, used therein the self-same Ceremony. And therefore when Elisha willed Naaman to wash himself seven times in Jordan for cure of his foul disease, it much offended him; "I thought (saith he) with myself, Surely the man will come forth, and stand, and call upon the name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place, to the end he may so heal the leprosy." In Consecrations and Ordinations of men unto rooms of divine calling, the like was usually done from the time of Moses to Christ. Their suits that came unto Christ for help were also tendered oftentimes, and are expressed in such forms or phrases of speech, as shew that he was himself an observer of the same custom. He which with Imposition of Hands and Prayer did so great works of mercy for restauration of bodily health, was worthily judged as able to effect the infusion of

we therefore that which may tend to Superstition, and is uncommanded; and betake we ourselves to that which is of Faith and force through God's Commandment." *A Schol. Disc.* chap. iii. sect. 15. p. 155.]

* "Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur." Tertull. *de Resur. Car.*

heavenly grace into them whose age was not yet depraved with that malice which might be supposed a bar to the goodness of God towards them. "They brought him" ^{Matt. xix. 13.} therefore "young children to put *his hands* upon them and ^{Mark x. 13.} *pray*."* After the Ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that which he had begun continued in the daily practice of his Apostles, whose Prayer and Imposition of Hands were a mean whereby thousands became partakers of the wonderful gifts of God. The Church had received from Christ a promise, "that such as believed in him, these signs and tokens should follow them, To cast out devils, to speak with tongues, to drive away serpents, to be free from the harm which any deadly poison could work, and to cure diseases by Imposition of Hands." Which power, common at the first in a manner unto *all believers*, all believers had not power to derive or communicate unto all other men; but whosoever was the instrument of God to instruct, convert, and baptize them, the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghost they had not but only at the Apostles' own hands. For which cause, Simon Magus, ^{Acts viii. 17, 18.} perceiving that power to be in none but them, and presuming that they which had it might sell it, sought to purchase it of them with money. And, as miraculous graces of the Spirit continued after the Apostles' times, ("For (saith Irenæus) they which are truly his Disciples do in his name, and through grace received from him, such works for the benefit of other men, as every of them is by him enabled to work: some cast out Devils, inasmuch as they which are delivered from wicked Spirits have been thereby won unto Christ, and do constantly persevere in the Church and society of faithful men; some excel in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of visions from God, and the gift of prophetic predictions; some by laying

* ["As touching this blessing of Children, and imposition of hands upon them, it is peculiar unto our Saviour Christ; used neither by his Disciples, nor by his Apostles, either before or after his Ascension. Whereunto maketh that the Children being brought that he should pray over them, he did not pray for them, but blessed them, that is to say commanded them to be blessed; thereby to shew his Divine power. (Mark x.) These being also yet Infants, and in their swaddling-clouts, as by the word which the Evangelist useth, and as by our Saviour Christ's taking them into his arms, doth appear; being also in all likelihood unbaptized. Last of all, their (Episcopal) Confirmation is a notable derogation unto the holy Sacrament of Baptism; not alone in that it *presumeth* the *sealing* of that which was sealed sufficiently by it (Baptism); but also in that both by asseveration of words, and by specialty of the Minister that giveth it, it is even preferred unto it (Baptism)."] T. C. Conf. Rhem. Test. Matt. xix. 13.]

on their hands restore them to health, which are grievously afflicted with sickness; yea, there are that of dead have been made alive, and have afterwards many years conversed with us. What should I say? The gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath enriched his Church throughout the world, and by virtue whereof, in the name of Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate, the Church every day doth many wonders for the good of nations, neither fraudulently, nor in any respect of lucre and gain to herself, but as freely bestowing, as God on her hath bestowed his divine graces;") so it no where appeareth, that ever any did by Prayer and Imposition of Hands, sithence the Apostles' times, make others partakers of the like *miraculous gifts* and graces, as long as it pleased God to continue the same in his Church, but only Bishops, the Apostles' successors for a time, even in that power. St. Augustine acknowledgeth, that such gifts were not permitted to last always, lest men should wax cold with the commonness of that, the strangeness whereof at the first inflamed them. Which words of St. Augustine declaring how the vulgar use of those miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the like extraordinary graces, more rarely observed in some, either then or of later days. Now whereas the successors of the Apostles had but only for a time such power, as by Prayer and Imposition of Hands to bestow the Holy Ghost; the reason wherefore Confirmation, nevertheless, by Prayer and Laying on of Hands, hath hitherto always continued, is for other very special benefits which the Church thereby enjoyeth. The Fathers every where impute unto it that gift or grace of the Holy Ghost, not which maketh us first Christian men, but when we are made such, assisteth us in all virtue, armeth us against temptation and sin. For, after Baptism administered, "there followeth (saith Tertullian) Imposition of Hands, with invocation and invitation of the Holy Ghost, which willingly cometh down from the Father, to rest upon the purified and blessed bodies, as it were acknowledging the waters of Baptism a fit seat." St. Cyprian in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit, which here especially was respected, "How great (saith he) is that power and force wherewith the mind is here (he meaneth in Baptism) enabled, being not only withdrawn from that pernicious hold which the world before had of

August.
de Vera
Relig.
cap. 25.

Tertul.
de Bap-
tis.

Cypr. ad
Donat.
c. 2.

it, nor only so purified and made clean, that no stain or blemish of the enemy's invasion doth remain; but over and besides (namely, through Prayer and Imposition of Hands) becometh yet greater, yet mightier in strength, so far as to reign with a kind of imperial dominion over the whole band of that roaming and spoiling adversary." As much is signified by Eusebius Emissenus, saying, "The Holy Ghost, which descendeth with saving influence upon the waters of Baptism, doth there give that fulness which sufficeth for innocency, and afterwards exhibiteth in Confirmation an augmentation of further grace." The Fathers, therefore, being thus persuaded, held Confirmation as an Ordinance Apostolic, *always profitable* in God's Church, although not always accompanied with equal largeness of those external effects which gave it countenance at the first: The cause of severing Confirmation from Baptism (for most commonly they went together) was sometime in the Minister, which being of inferior degree, might baptize, but not confirm, as in their case it came to pass whom Peter and John did confirm, whereas Philip had before baptized them;* and in theirs of whom St. Jerome hath said, "I deny not but the custom of the Churches is, that the Bishop should go abroad, and, imposing his hands, pray for the gift of the Holy Ghost on them whom Presbyters and Deacons far off, in lesser cities, have already baptized." Which ancient custom of the Church St. Cyprian groundeth upon the example of Peter and John, in the eighth of the Acts before alleged. "The faithful in Samaria (saith he) had already obtained Baptism; only that which was wanting Peter and John supplied by Prayer and Imposition of Hands, to the end the Holy Ghost might be poured upon them. Which also is done amongst ourselves, when they which be already baptized are brought to the Prelates of the Church to obtain

Euseb.
Emiss.
Ser. de
Pentec.

Aug. de
Trin.
lib. xv.
cap. 26.
Heb.
vi. 2.

Acts viii.
12—17.

Hieron.
advera.
Lucif.
cap. 4.

Cypr.
Epist. 73.
ad Juba-
janum.

* ["Peter's and John's going down to Samaria to pray, and laying their hands on those whom Philip had baptized, is surely, no precedent, no direction, no institution, nor command, for our Bishops to do likewise. For the end for which the Apostles did it, as is expressly said, was, 'that they might receive the Holy Ghost,' that is, its miraculous gifts; and they 'prayed for them,' and 'laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost.' That it was the miraculous gifts (such as prophesying, speaking with tongues, &c.) to form them into a Church, cannot be disputed, because they were something visible and obvious to the sense; something which struck the wonder and ambition of the wicked sorcerer; for it is said, 'When Simon saw, that through laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money.' Besides, as Dr. Whitby justly observes, if they laid not their hands on all who were baptized, it makes nothing for Confirmation; if they did, then Simon Magus also was confirmed, and received the Holy Ghost!"—TOWGOOD'S *Dissent*, fully justified. Edit. 1804. 12mo. pp. 40, 41.]

by our Prayer and Imposition of Hands the Holy Ghost." By this it appeareth, that when the Ministers of Baptism were persons of inferior degree, the Bishops did after confirm whom such had before baptized. Sometimes they which by force of their Ecclesiastical calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithstanding men whom Heresy had disjoined from the fellowship of true believers. Whereupon, when any man by them baptized and confirmed, came afterwards to see and renounce their error, there grew in some Churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting such into the bosom of the true Church, as hath been declared already in the question of Rebaptization. But the general received custom was only to admit them with Imposition of Hands and Prayer. Of which custom, while some imagined the reason to be, for that Heretics might give remission of sins by Baptism, but not the Spirit by Imposition of Hands, because themselves had not God's Spirit, and that therefore their Baptism might stand, but Confirmation must be given again: the imbecility of this ground gave Cyprian occasion to oppose himself against the practice of the Church herein, labouring many ways to prove, that Heretics could do neither; and, consequently, that their Baptism in all respects was as frustrate as their Chrism; for the manner of those times was in confirming to use anointing. On the other side, against Luciferians which ratified only the Baptism of Heretics, but disannulled their Confirmations and Consecrations, under pretence of the reason which hath been before specified, "Heretics cannot give the Holy Ghost," St. Jerome proveth at large, that if Baptism by Heretics be granted available to remission of sins, which no man receiveth without the Spirit, it must needs follow, that the reason taken from disability of bestowing the Holy Ghost was no reason wherefore the Church should admit Converts with any new Imposition of Hands. Notwithstanding, because it might be objected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghost do always join itself with true Baptism, the Church which thinketh the Bishop's Confirmation after other men's Baptism needful for the obtaining of the Holy Ghost, should hold an error; St. Jerome hereunto maketh answer, that the cause of this observation is not any absolute impossibility of receiving the Holy Ghost by the Sacrament of Baptism, unless a Bishop add after it the Imposition of Hands, but rather a certain

congruity and fitness to honour Prelacy with such pre-eminences, because the safety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief superiors, to whom if some eminent offices of power above others should not be given, there would be in the Church as many Schisms as Priests. By which answer it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghost is received in Baptism; that Confirmation is only a sacramental complement; that the reason why Bishops alone did ordinarily confirm, was not because the benefit, grace, and dignity thereof is greater than of Baptism, but rather for that by the Sacrament of Baptism men being admitted into God's Church, it was both reasonable and convenient that if he baptize them not unto whom the chiefest authority and charge of their souls belongeth, yet for honour's sake and in token of his spiritual superiority over them, because *to bless* is an act of authority, the performance of this annexed Ceremony should be sought for at his hands. Now what effect their Imposition of Hands hath, either after Baptism administered by Heretics, or otherwise, St. Jerome in that place hath made no mention, because all men understood, that in Converts it tendeth to the fruits of repentance, and craveth in behalf of the penitent such grace as David after his fall desired at the hands of God; in others, the fruit and benefit thereof is that which hath been before shewed. Finally, sometime the cause of severing Confirmation from Baptism was in the parties that received Baptism being Infants, at which age they might be very well admitted to live in the family; but because to fight in the army of God, to discharge the duties of a Christian man, to bring forth the fruits and to do the works of the Holy Ghost, their time of ability was not yet come (so that Baptism were not deferred) there could, by stay of their Confirmation, no harm ensue, but rather good. For by this mean it came to pass, that children in expectation thereof, were seasoned with the principles of true Religion before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds; a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the course of their whole lives; the seed of the Church of God was preserved sincere and sound; the Prelates and Fathers of God's family, to whom the cure of their souls belonged, saw by trial and examination of them a part of their own heavy burthen discharged, reaped comfort by beholding the first beginnings

Heb.
vii. 7.

Psal. li.
10 - 12.

of true godliness in tender years, glorified Him whose praise they found in the mouths of Infants, and neglected not so fit opportunity of giving every one fatherly encouragement and exhortation. Whereunto Imposition of Hands and Prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the same which Patriarchs, Prophets, Priests, Apostles, Fathers, and men of God, have had for such their particular invocations and benedictions, as no man, I suppose, professing truth of Religion, will easily think to have been without fruit. No, there is no cause we should doubt of the benefit, but surely great cause to make complaint of the deep neglect of this Christian duty almost with all them, to whom by right of their place and calling the same belongeth. Let them not take it in evil part, the thing is true, their small regard hereunto hath done harm in the Church of God. That which error rashly uttereth* in disgrace of good things, may peradventure be sponged out, when the print of those evils which are grown through neglect will remain behind. Thus much therefore, generally spoken, may serve for answer unto their demands that require us to tell them, "why there should be any such Confirmation in the Church," seeing we are not ignorant how earnestly they have protested against it; and how directly (although untruly, for so they are content to acknowledge) it hath by some of them been said, "to be first brought in by the feigned Decretal Epistles of the Popes;" or, why it should not be "utterly abolished, seeing that no one tittle thereof can be once found in the whole

* "Tell me why there should be any such Confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the feigned Decretal Epistles of the Popes (This is retracted by the same T. C. lib. iii. p. 232. 'That it is ancienter than the feigned Decretal Epistles, I yield unto'), and no one tittle thereof being once found in the Scripture, and seeing that it hath been so horribly abused, and not necessary; why ought it not to be utterly abolished? And, thirdly, this Confirmation hath [very] dangerous points in it. The first step of Popery in this Confirmation, is the Laying on of Hands upon the head of the child, whereby the opinion of it that it is a Sacrament is confirmed: especially whenas the Prayer doth say, that it is done according to the example of the Apostles, which is a manifest untruth, and taken indeed from the Popish Confirmation. The second is, for that the Bishop, as he is called, must be the only Minister of it; whereby the Popish opinion, which esteemeth it above Baptism, is confirmed. For whilst Baptism may be ministered of the Minister, and not Confirmation, but only of the Bishop; there is great cause of suspicion given to think, that Baptism is not so precious a thing as Confirmation, seeing this was one of the principal reasons whereby that wicked opinion was established in Popery. I do not here speak of the inconvenience, that men are constrained with charges to bring their children oftentimes half a score miles for that, which, if it were needful, might be as well done at home in their own parishes. The third is, for that the Book saith, a cause of using Confirmation is, that by Imposition of Hands and Prayer, the children may receive strength and defence against all temptations, whereas there is no promise, that by the Laying on of Hands upon children, any such gift shall be given; and it maintaineth the Popish distinction, that the Spirit of God is given at Baptism unto remission of sins, and in Confirmation, unto strength." T. C. lib. i. p. 199.

Scripture," except the Epistle to the Hebrews be Scripture.* ^{Heb. vi. 2.} And again, seeing that how free soever it be now from abuse, if we look back to the times past, which wise men do always more respect than the present, it "hath been" abused, and is found at the length *no* such *profitable Ceremony*, as the whole silly Church of Christ for the space of these sixteen hundred years hath, through want of experience, imagined.† Last of all, "seeing" also, besides the cruelty which is shewed towards poor country people who are fain sometime to let their ploughs stand still, and with incredible wearisome toil of their feeble bodics to wander over mountains and thorough woods, it may be, now and then little less than a whole "half-score of miles" for a Bishop's blessing, "which, if it were needful, might as well be done at home in their own parishes," rather than they to purchase it with so great loss and so intolerable pain; there are, they say, in Confirmation, besides this, "three" terrible "points." The first is, "Laying on of Hands, with pretence that the same is done to the example of the Apostles," which is not only as they suppose, "a manifest untruth" (for all the world doth know that the Apostles did never after Baptism lay hands on any, and therefore St. Luke, which saith they did, was much deceived);‡ ^{Acts viii. 15-17.} but farther also, we thereby teach men to think "Imposition of Hands a Sacrament," belike, because it is a principle ingrafted by common light of Nature in the minds of men, that all things done by Apostolic example must needs be Sacraments.§ The second high point of danger is, "That, by tying Confirmation to the Bishop alone, there is great cause of suspicion given to think that Baptism is not so precious a thing as Confirmation:" for will any man think that a velvet coat is of more price than a linen coif, knowing

* ["The 'laying on of hands,' that is reckoned among the 'principles' of the Christian doctrine, after 'repentance' and 'faith,' and subsequently to 'Baptism,' seems VERY PROBABLY to belong to this (rite of Confirmation)."] "It has at least a PROBABLE authority for it."—Bishop BURNET's *Expos. of the Thirty-Nine Articles*. 1746. 8vo. pp. 335, 336. Who can rest a "principle" on "a probable authority?" The terms being destructive of each other, it is clear that such an "authority" stands for just nothing.]

† ["Truth is justly called the daughter of time, not of authority. Whence it is no wonder, if these joint fascinations, namely of authors, of antiquity, and consent, should so far bind the faculties of men as to keep them, like persons possessed, *from conversing with things themselves*."]—Lord BACON, *Nov. Org. Scien.* Shaw's Edit. 1733. 4to. Vol. II. p. 381, Aph. 84.]

‡ [See Note, p. 279.]

§ [The Twenty-fifth Article of the Church says, "Confirmation has not any visible sign, or ceremony, ordained of God." But in the Collect the Bishop contradicts the Article when he prays "For these thy servants, upon whom (after the example of thy holy Apostles) we have now laid our hands, to certify them (by this sign) of thy favour."]

Ephes.
iii. 14.

John
xx. 22.
Acts
i. 8.

the one to be an ordinary garment, the other an ornament which only Sergeants-at-Law do wear?*. Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the last and the weightiest hazard is, where the Book itself doth say, "That children by *Imposition* of Hands and Prayer may receive *strength* against all temptation:" which speech, as a two-edged sword, doth both ways dangerously wound; partly, because it ascribeth grace to Imposition of Hands, whereby we are able no more to assure ourselves, in the warrant of any "promise" from God, that his heavenly grace shall be given, than the Apostle was that himself should obtain grace by the bowing of his knees to God; and partly, because by using the very word "*strength*" in this matter, a word so apt to spread infection, we "maintain," with "Popish" Evangelists an old forlorn "distinction" of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon Christ's Apostles before his Ascension into Heaven, and *augmented* upon them afterwards; a distinction of *grace* infused into Christian men by degrees; planted in them *at the first* by Baptism, *after* cherished, watered, and (be it spoken without offence) *strengthened*,† as by other virtuous offices which piety and true Religion teacheth, even so by this very special benediction whereof we speak, the Rite or Ceremony of Confirmation.‡

Of the
Sacra-
ment of
the body
and
blood of
Christ.

67. The grace which we have by the holy Eucharist doth not begin, but continue, life. No man therefore receiveth this Sacrament before Baptism, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. That which groweth must of necessity first live. If our bodies did not daily waste, food

* ["The invention by which the Bishop was held to be the only Minister of Confirmation, even though Presbyters were suffered to confirm, was a piece of *Superstition* without any colour from Scripture."—BURNET, p. 337. *ut sup.*]

† ["But if a Sacrament is made of it, and a *divine virtue* is joined to that, we can admit of no such thing, without an express Institution and Declaration in Scripture."—BURNET, p. 337. *ut sup.*]

‡ [PACIANUS, Bishop of Barcelona, who died in the year 390, has related in what way *Priests* had magnified their office. (Rom. xi. 13). "The Seed of Christ, that is, the Spirit of God, brings forth a New Man, by the hands of the Priest, out of the womb of the Church, which is the Font, Faith being the bride-maid to all this. And without these three Sacraments, the Laver, the Chrism, and the Priest, this New Birth is not effected. For by the Laver sin is purged, by the Chrism the Holy Spirit is poured down upon us; and both these we obtain by the hand and mouth of the Priest; and so the whole Man is regenerated and renewed in Christ!" *Serm de Bapt.* Bibl. Patr. Vol. III. p. 77. "But after all this, here is no Sacrament, no express Institution, neither by Christ nor his Apostles; no Rule given to practise it, and which is most essential, there is no Matter here; for the laying on of hands is only a gesture in Prayer; nor are there any federal Rites declared to belong to it; it being indeed rather a ratifying and confirming the Baptism, than any new stipulation. To supply all this the Church of Rome has appointed Matter for it; the Chrism."—BURNET, p. 336. *ut sup.*]

to restore them were a thing superfluous. And it may be that the grace of Baptism would serve to eternal Life, were it not that the state of our spiritual being is daily so much hindered, and impaired after Baptism. In that life therefore, where neither body nor soul can decay, our souls shall as little require this Sacrament, as our bodies corporal nourishment. But as long as the days of our warfare last, during the time that we are both subject to diminution and capable of augmentation in grace, the words of our Lord and Saviour Christ will remain forcible, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." John vi. 53. Life being therefore proposed unto all men as their end, they which by Baptism have laid the foundation, and attained the first beginning of a New Life, have here their nourishment and food prescribed for *continuance of life* in them. Such as will live the life of God, must eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man; because this is a part of that diet, which if we want we cannot live. Whereas therefore in our infancy we are incorporated into Christ, and by Baptism receive the grace of his Spirit without any sense or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth; in the Eucharist we so receive the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God giveth us; the degrees of our own increase in holiness and virtue we see, and can judge of them; we understand that the strength of our life begun in Christ, is Christ; that his flesh is meat, and his blood drink, not by surmised imagination, but truly, even so truly, that through Faith, we perceive in the Body and Blood sacramentally presented the very taste of eternal Life; the grace of the Sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink. This was it that some did exceedingly fear lest Zuinglius and Ecolampadius would bring to pass, that men should accompt of this Sacrament but only as of a shadow, destitute, empty and void of Christ. But seeing, that, by opening the several opinions which have been held, they are grown, for ought I can see, on all sides at the length to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely, the *real participation* of Christ, and of life in his Body and Blood, *by means of this Sacrament*; wherefore should the world continue still distracted, and rent with so manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no Controversy, saving only about the subject *where* Christ is? Yea, even

in this point, no side denieth, but that *the soul of man* is the receptacle of Christ's presence. Whereby the question is yet driven to a narrower issue, nor doth any thing rest doubtful, but this, Whether, when the Sacrament is administered, Christ be whole *within man only*, or else his Body and Blood be also externally seated in the very consecrated elements themselves; which opinion they that defend, are driven either to *consubstantiate* and incorporate Christ with elements sacramental, or to *transubstantiate* and change their substance into his; and so the one to hold him really, but invisibly, moulded up with the substance of those elements; the other to hide him under the only visible show of Bread and Wine, the substance whereof, as they imagine, is abolished, and his succeeded in the same room. All things considered, and compared with that success which truth hath hitherto had by so bitter conflicts with errors in this point, shall I wish that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the Sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how? If any man suppose that this were too great stupidity and dulness, let us see whether the Apostles of our Lord themselves have not done the like. It appeareth by many examples, that they of their own disposition were very scrupulous and inquisitive, yea, in other cases of less importance, and less difficulty, always apt to move questions. How cometh it to pass, that so few words of so high a mystery being uttered, they receive with gladness the gift of Christ, and make no show of doubt or scruple? The reason hereof is not dark to them which have any thing at all observed how the powers of the mind are wont to stir, when that which we infinitely long for presenteth itself above and besides expectation. Curious and intricate speculations do hinder, they abate, they quench such inflamed motions of delight and joy, as divine graces use to raise when extraordinarily they are present. The mind therefore, feeling present joy, is always marvellous unwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that case casteth off those disputes whereunto the intellectual part at other times easily draweth. A manifest effect whereof may be noted, if we compare with our Lord's Disciples in the twentieth of John, the people that are said in the sixth of John to have gone after him to Capernaum. These leaving him on the one side of the Sea of Tiberias, and finding him

again as soon as themselves by ship were arrived on the contrary side, whither they knew that by ship he came not, and by land the journey was longer than according to the time he could have to travel, as they wondered, so they asked also, "Rabbi, when camest thou hither?" The Disciples, when Christ appeared to them in far more strange and miraculous manner, moved no question, but rejoiced greatly in that they saw. For why? The one sort beheld only that in Christ which they knew was more than natural, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinary gladness; the other, when they looked on Christ, were not ignorant that they saw the wellspring of their own everlasting felicity; the one, because they enjoyed not, disputed; the other disputed not, because they enjoyed. If then the presence of Christ with them did so much move, judge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new presentation of Christ, not before their eyes, but within their souls. They had learned before, that his Flesh and Blood are the true cause of eternal life; that this they are not by the bare force of their own substance, but through the dignity and worth of his Person which offered them up by way of sacrifice for the life of the whole world, and doth make them still effectual thereunto; finally, that to us they are life in particular, by being particularly received. Thus much they knew, although as yet they understood not perfectly to what effect or issue the same would come, till at the length being assembled for no other cause which they could imagine but to have eaten the Passover only that Moses appointeth, when they saw their Lord and Master, with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, first bless and consecrate, for the endless good of all generations till the world's end, the chosen elements of Bread and Wine; which elements, made for ever the instruments of life by virtue of his divine benediction, they being the first that were commanded to receive from him, the first which were warranted by his promise, that not only unto them at the present time, but to whomsoever they and their successors after them did duly administer the same, those mysteries should serve as conducts of life, and conveyances of his Body and Blood unto them, was it possible they should hear that voice, "Take, eat, this is my Body; drink ye all of this, this is my Blood;" possible, that doing what was required, and

John
vi. 25.

[Matt.
xxvi.
26-28.]

believing what was promised, the same should have present effect in them, and not fill them with a kind of fearful admiration at the heaven which they saw in themselves? They had at that time a sea of comfort and joy to wade in, and we by that which they did are taught that this heavenly food is given for the satisfying of our empty souls, and not for the exercising of our curious and subtle wits. If we doubt what those admirable words may import, let him be our teacher for the meaning of Christ, to whom Christ was himself a schoolmaster; let our Lord's Apostle be his interpreter, content we ourselves with his explication; my Body, *the communion of my Body*: my Blood, *the communion of my Blood*. Is there any thing more expedite, clear, and easy, than that as Christ is termed our life because through him we obtain life; so the parts of this Sacrament are his Body and Blood, for that they are so to us, who receiving them, receive that by them which they are termed? The Bread and Cup are his Body and Blood, because they are causes instrumental upon the receipt whereof the *participation* of his Body and Blood ensueth. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly said to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Every cause is in the effect which groweth from it. Our souls and bodies quickened to eternal Life are effects, the cause whereof is the Person of Christ; his Body and Blood are the true well-spring out of which this life floweth. So that his Body and Blood are in that very subject whereunto they minister life not only by effect or operation, even as the influence of the heavens is in plants, beasts, men, and in every thing which they quicken; but also by a far more divine and mystical kind of union, which maketh us one with him, even as he and the Father are one. The real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviour's words agreeth, first, "Take and eat;" then, "This is my Body which was broken for you:" first, "Drink ye all of this;" then, followeth, "This is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ when and where the Bread is his Body, or the Cup his Blood, but only in the very heart and soul of him which receiveth them. As for

[1 Cor.
x. 16.]

[1 Cor.
x. 17.]

Mat.
xxvi.
26—28.

the Sacraments, they really exhibit, but for ought we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves, that grace which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow. If on all sides it be confest, that the grace of Baptism is poured into the soul of man; that by water we receive it, although it be neither seated in the water, nor the water changed into it; what should induce men to think, that the grace of the Eucharist must needs be in the Eucharist before it can be in us that receive it? The fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of the Body and Blood of Christ. There is no sentence of Holy Scripture which saith, that we cannot by this Sacrament be made partakers of his Body and Blood, except they be first contained in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament converted into them. "This is my Body," and, "This is my Blood," being words of promise, sith we all agree, that by the Sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by Consubstantiation, or else by Transubstantiation, the Sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ, or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us, howsoever it stand, because our participation of Christ in this Sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his Body and Blood to us; whether with change or without alteration of the element, such as they imagine, we need not greatly to care nor inquire.* Take therefore that wherein

* ["The Church of England pronounceth, that The Transubstantiation of the bread and wine in the Eucharist, cannot be proved by the sacred Scripture; but is against plain words of Scripture, overturneth the nature of the Sacrament, and hath given occasion of many superstitions; Article XXVIII. And for this cause our Reverend Fathers call it, 'A monstrous and blasphemous doctrine' (Tho. Bp. of Lincoln, on 1 Cor. x); 'bringing in doubt the truth of Christ's body' (Nowel. Catechis.). 'Contrary to Christ's words, saying, 'It is expedient that I go away,' John xvi. 7; and to that of Peter, 'Whom the heavens must contain until the time that all things be restored,' Acts iii. 21: disagreeing from the articles of Faith, 'He ascended into heaven; sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, &c.' (Apos. Creed): making void the institution of Christ, which is to continue till he come, &c.; casting holy things to prophane, as whoremongers, murderers, &c.; mice and dogs to receive the true real body of Christ: causing most cruel eating of man's flesh, and many monstrous miracles: accidents without subjects: the body of Christ without his qualities and true manner of a body: nourishing the Marcionist to believe the phantastical body of Christ; and Eutichians, confounding the two natures of Christ; and therefore they which affirm Transubstantiation are indeed right Sacramentaries and Capernautes' (Prefat. et protestatio Nic. Rid. habit. April 20, in Scol. pub. Oxon. An. 1555. Read also, Book of Mart. 1576. p. 1327). In regard whereof we intreat you Master Hoo. to make a fit construction of your words, where you say, 'Sith we all agree, that by the Sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by Consubstantiation or else by Transubstantiation, the Sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ, or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us, howsoever it stand, because

all agree, and then consider by itself what cause why the rest in question should not rather be left as superfluous than urged as necessary. It is on all sides plainly confest, First, that this Sacrament is a true and a real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himself, even his whole intire Person, as *a mystical Head*, unto every soul that receiveth him, and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as *a mystical member* of him, yea, of them also whom he acknowledgeth to be his own. Secondly, that to whom *the Person of Christ* is thus communicated, to them he giveth by the same Sacrament his Holy Spirit to sanctify them, as it sanctifieth him which is their Head. Thirdly, that what *merit, force, or virtue soever, there is in his sacrificed Body and Blood*, we freely, fully, and wholly, have it by this Sacrament. Fourthly, that *the effect thereof in us, is a real transmutation of our souls and bodies* from sin to righteousness, from death and corruption to immortality and life. Fifthly, that because the Sacrament being of itself but a corruptible and earthly creature, must needs be thought an unlikely instrument to work so admirable effects in man, we are therefore to rest ourselves

our participation of Christ in the Sacrament dependeth on the cooperation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his Body and Blood to us; whether with change or without alteration of the element, such as they imagine, we need not greatly to care nor inquire.' In all which words you seem to make light of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as a matter not to be stood upon, or to be contended for, cared for, or inquired into: which maketh us to marvel, how our Church and Reverend Fathers have all this time passed been deceived! What should cause them to affirm it to be a thing contrary to the 'plain words of Scripture, overturning the nature of the Sacrament,' to call it 'monstrous doctrine?' Why, so many Reverend Fathers, as Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Rogers, Bradford, &c. have given their lives in witness against it, if it be 'a thing that neither furthereth nor hindereth,' a thing not to be cared for, nor inquired after? And here we pray you ingenuously to shew, Whether your meaning be to bring that side into credit by softening the odiousness of their Heresy; and our side into suspicion of peevishness for standing upon trifles? Which the rather we desire to be resolved in, because elsewhere you call the enemies to Transubstantiation 'Sacramentaries' (Book V. sect. 67. p. 292), and you labour to shew a certain ubiquity of Christ's manhood, and of his body, and of his soul (Sect. 55. p. 192, 193), which seemeth to us that you would give a gentle construction of Popish opinions, and privily rob the truth of our English Creed of her due estimation. If you call our Reverend Fathers 'Sacramentaries' for oppugning Transubstantiation, and they again call the maintainers of it 'right Sacramentaries and Capernaites' (if you have given as good testimony of faithfulness as they) whom shall we believe? Are you not contradictory? And may we think you can favour that side, your words do beat down? Shew us then, we pray you, how such great favours do not prejudice the doctrine of the Church of England; or, not condemn those millions of learned Divines and blessed Martyrs, of extreme folly, who have died for the same; and that God should reveal to you only, that it was for that which neither furthered nor hurteth? Lastly, instruct us, Whether the institution of the Sacrament by Christ, saying 'This is my Body, do this in remembrance of me' (Luke xxii. 19), be not the true and right making of it Christ's Body and Blood unto us; and, upon what ground of Scripture it may be proved, that the cooperation of his omnipotent power doth make it his Body and Blood unto us, and in what sense? And, Whether such phrases do not help the Popish argument of God's power, which they commonly use to approve their Transubstantiation?"—*A Christian Letter*, p. 33.]

altogether upon *the strength of his glorious power*, who is able and will bring to pass, that the Bread and Cup which he giveth us shall be truly the thing he promiseth. It seemeth therefore much amiss, that against them whom they term Sacramentaries so many invective discourses are made, all running upon two points, that the Eucharist is not a bare sign or figure only, and that the efficacy of his Body and Blood is not all we receive in this Sacrament. For no man, having read their books and writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that both these assertions they plainly confess to be most true. They do not so interpret the words of Christ, as if the name of his body did import but the figure of his body; and to be, were only to signify his blood. They grant that these holy mysteries, received in due manner, do instrumentally both make us partakers of the grace of that Body and Blood which were given for the life of the world, and besides also impart unto us, even in true and real, though mystical, manner, the very Person of our Lord himself, whole, perfect, and intire, as hath been showed. Now whereas all three opinions do thus far accord in one, that strong conceit which two of the three have embraced, as touching a literal, corporal, and oral manducation of the very substance of his flesh and blood, is surely an opinion no where delivered in Holy Scripture, whereby they should think themselves bound to believe it; and (to speak with the softest terms we can use) greatly prejudiced in that when some others did so conceive of eating his flesh, our Saviour; to abate that error in them, gave them directly to understand how his flesh so eaten could profit them nothing, because the words which he spake were spirit; that is to say, they had a reference to a mystical participation, which mystical participation giveth life. ^[John vi. 63.] Wherein there is small appearance of likelihood that his meaning should be only to make them Marcionites by inversion, and to teach them, that as Marcion did think Christ seemed to be man, but was not; so they contrariwise should believe that Christ in truth would so give them, as they thought, his flesh to eat; but yet, lest the horror thereof should offend them, he would not seem to do that he did. When they which have this opinion of Christ in that blessed Sacrament, go about to explain themselves, and to open after what manner things are brought to pass, the one sort lay the union of Christ's

Deity with his Manhood, as their first foundation and ground: from thence they infer a power which the Body of Christ hath *thereby* to present itself in all places; out of which ubiquity of his Body they gather the presence thereof with that sanctified bread and wine of our Lord's Table; the conjunction of his Body and Blood with those elements they use as an argument to show how the bread may as well in that respect be termed his Body, because his Body is therewith joined, as the Son of God may be named Man, by reason that God and Man in the Person of Christ are united; to this they add, how the words of Christ commanding us to eat must needs import, that as he hath coupled the substance of his flesh and the substance of bread together, so we together should receive both; which labyrinth as the other sort doth justly shun, so the way which they take to the same Inn is somewhat more short, but no whit more certain. For through God's omnipotent power they imagine that transubstantiation followeth upon the words of consecration; and, upon transubstantiation, the participation of Christ's both Body and Blood, in the only shape of sacramental elements. So that they all three do plead God's omnipotency: Sacramentaries, to that alteration which the rest confess he accomplisheth; the Patrons of Transubstantiation,'over and besides that, to the change of one substance into another; the Followers of Consubstantiation, to the kneading up of both substances, as it were, into one lump. Touching the sentence of antiquity in this cause; first, forasmuch as they knew that the force of this Sacrament doth necessarily presuppose the verity of Christ's both Body and Blood, they used oftentimes the same as an argument to prove, that Christ hath as truly the substance of Man as of God; because here we receive Christ, and those graces which flow from him, in that he is Man: so that, if he have no such being, neither can the Sacrament have any such meaning as we all confess it hath. Thus Tertullian,* thus Ireney,†

* "Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis Corpus suum illum fecit, 'hoc est Corpus meum' dicendo, id est figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset Corpus, cum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non possit." Tertull. contra Marc. lib. iv. cap. 40.

† "Secundum hæc (that is to say, if it should be true which Heretics have taught, denying that Christ took upon him the very nature of man) nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque calix Eucharistiæ communicatio sanguinis ejus erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus est. Sanguis enim non est, nisi a venis et carnibus et a reliqua quæ est secundum hominem substantia." Ireney. lib. v. cap. 1.

thus Theodoret,* disputeth. Again, as evident it is how they teach that Christ is *personally* there present, yea present whole, albeit a part of Christ be *corporally* absent from thence; that Christ, assisting this heavenly banquet with his personal and true presence,† doth by his own divine power add to the natural substance thereof supernatural efficacy,‡ which addition to the nature of those consecrated elements changeth them, and maketh them that unto us which otherwise they could not be;§ that to us they are thereby made such instruments, as mystically yet truly, invisibly yet really, work our communion or fellowship with the Person of Jesus Christ, as well in that he is Man as God, our participation also in the fruit, grace, and efficacy of his Body and Blood;|| whereupon there ensueth a kind of transubstantiation in us, a true change both of soul and body, an alteration from death to life.¶ In a word, it appeareth

* Εἰ τοίνυν τοῦ ὄντος σώματος ἀντίτυπὸν ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, σῶμα ἅρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν τοῦ δεσπότου τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν, ἀλλὰ θέας δόξης ἀναπλησθὲν. Theodor. Dialog. Ἀσύγχυτος.

† "Sacramenta quidem, quantum in se est, sine propria virtute esse non possunt, nec ullo modo se absintat majestas mysteriis." Cypr. de Cæn. cap. 7.

‡ "Sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infundit essentia, ut esset Religioni circa Sacramenta devotio." Idem cap. 6. "Invisibilis sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui verbo suo secreta potestate convertit. In spiritualibus Sacramentis verbi præcipit virtus et servit effectus." Euseb. Emisen. Hom. 5. de Pasch.

§ Eran. Τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπικλήσιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται.—Orth. Ἄλλ' οὐκ οἰκείας ἔξιστάται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ δρατὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπτά, ὅλα καὶ πρότερον ἦν νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. Theodor. "Ex quo a Domino dictum est, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Hæc est caro mea, et Hic est sanguis meus, quotiescunque his verbis et hac fide actum est, panis iste supersubstantialis, et calix benedictione solenni sacratus, ad totius hominis vitam salutemque proficit." Cypr. de Cæn. cap. 3. "Immortalitatis alimonia datur, a communibus cibis differens, corporalis substantiæ retinens speciem, sed virtutis divinæ invisibili efficientia probans adesse præsentiam." Ibid. cap. 2.

|| "Sensibilibus sacramentis inest vitæ æternæ effectus, et non tam corporali quam spirituali transitione Christo unimur. Ipse enim et panis et caro, et sanguis, idem cibus, et substantia et vita factus est Ecclesiæ suæ quam corpus suum appellat, dans ei participationem spiritus." Cyprian. de Cæn. cap. 5. "Nostra et ipsius conjunctio nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias, sed effectus consociat et confœderat voluntates." Ibid. cap. 6. "Mansio nostra in ipso est manducatio, et potus quasi quædam incorporatio." Ibid. cap. 9. "Ille est in Patre per naturam divinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem ejus nativitatem, ille rursus in nobis per Sacramentorum mysterium." Hilar. de Trin. lib. viii.

¶ "Panis hic azymus cibus verus et sincerus per speciem et sacramentum nos tactu sanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Christo conformat." Cypr. de Cæn. c. 6. "Non aliud agit participatio corporis et sanguinis Christi, quam ut in id quod sumimus transeamus, et in quo mortui et sepulti et corresuscitati sumus, ipsum per omnia et spiritu et carne gestemus." Leo de Pasch. Sermon. 14. "Quemadmodum qui est a terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem (id est facta invocatione divini numinis) jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cælesti: sic et corpora nostra, percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia." Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34. "Quoniam salutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita est conjuncta, vivifica effecta est; quando eam comeditis, tunc vitam habemus in nobis, illi carni conjuncti, quæ vita effecta est." Cyril. in Iohan. lib. iv. cap. 14.

not, that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church any one did ever conceive or imagine other than only a mystical participation of Christ's both Body and Blood in the Sacrament; neither are their speeches concerning the change of the elements themselves into the Body and Blood of Christ such, that a man can thereby in conscience assure himself it was their meaning to persuade the world, either of a corporal Consubstantiation of Christ with those sanctified and blessed elements before we receive them, or of the like Transubstantiation of them into the Body and Blood of Christ. Which both to our mystical communion with Christ are so unnecessary, that the Fathers, who plainly hold but this mystical communion, cannot easily be thought to have meant any other change of sacramental elements, than that which the same spiritual communion did require them to hold. These things considered, how should that mind which loving truth and seeking comfort out of holy mysteries, hath not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the wit nor capacity, to tread out so endless mazes as the intricate disputes of this cause have led men into, how should a virtuously disposed mind better resolve with itself than thus? "Variety of judgments and opinions argueth obscurity in those things whereabout they differ: but that which all parts* receive for truth, that which every one having sifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter of infallible certainty. Whereas, therefore, there are but three expositions made of 'This is my Body:' the first, This is in itself before participation *really and truly the natural substance of my Body, by reason of the coexistence which my omnipotent Body hath with the sanctified element of bread*, which is the Lutheran's interpretation; the second, This is in itself and before participation *the very true and natural substance of my Body, by force of that Deity, which with the words of consecration abolisheth the substance of bread, and substituteth in the place thereof my Body*, which is the Popish construction; the last, *This hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power, is, in verity and truth, unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation, whereby as I make myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as my sacrificed Body can yield, and as their souls do presently need, this is to them, and in them, my Body:* of

* [Parties.]

these three rehearsed interpretations, the last hath in it nothing but what the rest do all approve and acknowledge to be most true; nothing but that which the words of Christ are, on all sides, confest to enforce; nothing but that which the Church of God hath always thought necessary; nothing but that which alone is sufficient for every Christian man to believe concerning the use and force of this Sacrament; finally, nothing but that wherewith the writings of all antiquity are consonant, and all Christian Confessions agreeable. And as truth, in what kind soever, is by no kind of truth gainsayed; so the mind, which resteth itself on this, is never troubled with those perplexities which the other do both find, by means of so great contradiction between their opinions and true principles of reason grounded upon experience, nature, and sense: which albeit, with boisterous courage and breath they seem oftentimes to blow away; yet whoso observeth how again they labour and sweat by subtlety of wit to make some show of agreement between their peculiar conceits and the general edicts of Nature, must needs perceive they struggle with that which they cannot fully master. Besides, sith of that which is proper to themselves, their discourses are hungry and unpleasant, full of tedious and irksome labour, heartless, and hitherto without fruit; on the other side, read we them or hear we others, be they of our own or of ancients times, to what part soever they be thought to incline, touching that whereof there is controversy, yet in this, where they all speak but one thing, their discourses are heavenly, their words sweet as the honeycomb, their tongues melodiously tuned instruments, their sentences mere consolation and joy, are we not hereby, almost even with voice from Heaven, admonished which we may safest cleave unto? He which hath said of the one Sacrament, 'Wash and be clean,' hath said concerning the other likewise, 'Eat and live.' If, therefore, without any such particular and solemn warrant as this is, that poor distressed woman coming unto Christ for health could so constantly resolve herself, 'May I but touch the skirt of his garment, I shall be whole,' what moveth us to argue of the manner how life should come by bread, our duty being here but to take what is offered, and most assuredly to rest persuaded of this, that can we but eat, we are safe? When I behold with mine eyes some small and

[Matt.
ix. 21.]

scarce discernible grain or seed, whereof Nature maketh promise that a tree shall come, and when afterwards of that tree any skilful artificer undertaketh to frame some exquisite and curious work, I look for the event, I move no question about performance either of the one or of the other. Shall I simply credit Nature in things natural; shall I in things artificial rely myself on Art, never offering to make doubt; and in that which is above both Art and Nature refuse to believe the Author of both, except he acquaint me with his ways, and lay the secret of his skill before me? Where God himself doth speak those things which, either for height and sublimity of matter, or else for secrecy of performance, we are not able to reach unto, as we may be ignorant without danger, so it can be no disgrace to confess we are ignorant. Such as love piety will, as much as in them lieth, know all things that God commandeth, but especially the duties of service which they owe to God. As for his dark and hidden works, they prefer, as becometh them in such cases, simplicity of Faith before that knowledge, which curiously sifting what it should adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search, chilleth for the most part all warmth of zeal, and bringeth soundness of belief many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting myself at the Lord's Table, to know what there I receive from him, without searching or inquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise; let disputes and questions,—enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over patiently heard,—let them take their rest; let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will; the very letter of the Word of Christ giveth plain security, that these mysteries do, as nails, fasten us to his very Cross, that by them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force, and virtue, even the blood of his gored side; in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without; our hunger is satisfied, and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whose soul is possest of this Paschal Lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new Wine; this Bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold; this Cup hallowed with solemn benediction availeth to the endless life and

welfare both of soul and body, in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving; with touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the image of Jesus Christ. What these elements are in themselves it skilleth not; it is enough, that to me which take them they are the Body and Blood of Christ; his promise in witness hereof sufficeth; his word he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this, O my God, thou art true; O my soul, thou art happy!" Thus, therefore, we see, that howsoever men's opinions do otherwise vary, nevertheless, touching Baptism and the Supper of our Lord, we may with consent of the whole Christian world conclude they are necessary, the one to initiate or begin, the other to consummate or make perfect, our life in Christ.

68. In administering the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, the supposed Faults of the Church of England are not greatly material, and therefore it shall suffice to touch them in few words. The first is, that we do not use in a generality once for all to say to Communicants, Take, eat, and drink; but unto every particular person, Eat thou, drink thou, which is according to the Popish manner, and not the form that our Saviour did use. Our second oversight is, by Gesture; for in kneeling there hath been Superstition: sitting agreeth better to the action of a supper; and our Saviour using that which was most fit, did himself not kneel. A third accusation is, for not examining all Communicants, whose knowledge in the mystery of the Gospel should that way be made manifest; a thing every where, they say, used in the Apostles' times, because all things necessary were used; and this in their opinion is necessary, yea, it is commanded, inasmuch as the Levites ^{2 Chron. xxxv. 6.} are commanded to "prepare" the people for the Passover; and examination is a part of their preparation, our Lord's Supper in place of the Passover. The fourth thing misliked is, that against the Apostle's prohibition to have any ^{1 Cor. v. 11.} familiarity at all with notorious offenders, Papists being not of the Church are admitted to our very Communion, before they have by their religious and Gospel-like behaviour purged themselves of that suspicion of Popery which their former life hath caused. They are dogs, swine, unclean

Of
Faults
noted in
the Form
of admin-
istering
the Holy
Communion.

Num.
ix. 13.
Can. ix.
Apost.
Concil.
ii. Brac.
can. 83.

beasts, foreigners and strangers from the Church of God; and therefore ought not to be admitted, though they offer themselves. We are, fifthly, condemned, inasmuch as when there have been store of people to hear Sermon and Service in the Church, we suffer the Communion to be ministered to a few. It is not enough, that our Book of Common Prayer hath godly Exhortations to move all thereunto which are present. For it should not suffer a few to communicate, it should by Ecclesiastical discipline and civil punishment provide that such as would withdraw themselves might be brought to communicate, according both to the Law of God and the ancient Church-canon. In the sixth and last place, cometh the enormity of imparting this Sacrament privately unto the sick. Thus far accused, we answer briefly to the first,* that seeing God by Sacraments doth apply in particular unto every man's person the grace which himself hath provided for the benefit of all mankind, there is no cause why administering the Sacraments we should forbear to express that in forms of speech, which he by his Word and Gospel teacheth all to believe. In the one Sacrament, "I baptize thee," displeaseth them not. If "Eat thou," in the other offend them, their fancies are no rules for Churches to follow. Whether Christ at his last Supper did speak generally once to all, or to every one in particular, is a thing uncertain. His words are recorded in that form which serveth best for the setting down with historical brevity what was spoken; they are no manifest proof that he spake but once unto all which did then communicate, much less that we in speaking unto every Communicant severally do amiss, although it were clear that we herein do otherwise than Christ did.† Our imitation of him consisteth not in tying scrupulously ourselves unto his syllables, but rather in speaking by the heavenly direction of that inspired divine wisdom, which teacheth divers ways to one end; and doth therein control their boldness, by whom any profitable way

* "Besides that it is good to leave the Popish Form in those things, which we may so conveniently do, it is best to come as near the manner of Celebration of the Supper which our Saviour Christ used, as may be." "And if it be a good argument to prove that therefore we must rather say, *Take thou*, than *Take ye*, because the Sacrament is an application of the benefits of Christ, ... it behoveth that the Preacher should direct his admonitions particularly one after another, unto all those which hear his Sermon, which is a thing absurd." T. C. lib. i. p. 166.

† [Would not this sceptical mode of arguing applied to all that our Saviour said and did, quickly subvert the whole Gospel by leaving no fixed basis on which to settle?]

is censured as reprobable, only under colour of some small difference from great examples going before. To do throughout every the like circumstance the same which Christ did in this action, were, by following his footsteps in that sort, to err more from the purpose he aimed at, than we now do by not following them with so nice and severe strictness. They little weigh with themselves how dull, how heavy, and almost how without sense, the greatest part of the common multitude every where is, who think it either unmeet or unnecessary to put them, even man by man, especially at that time, in mind whereabout they are. It is true, that in Sermons we do not use to repeat our sentences severally to every particular hearer; a strange madness it were if we should. The softness of wax may induce a wise man to set his stamp or image therein; it persuadeth no man, that because wool hath the like quality, it may therefore receive the like impression. So the reason taken from the use of Sacraments, in that they are instruments of grace unto every particular man, may with good congruity lead the Church to frame accordingly her words in Administration of Sacraments, because they easily admit this Form; which being in Sermons a thing impossible without apparent ridiculous absurdity, agreement of Sacraments with Sermons in that which is alleged as a reasonable proof of conveniency for the one, proveth not the same allegation impertinent, because it doth not enforce the other to be administered in like sort.* For equal principles do then avail unto equal conclusions, when the matter whereunto we apply them is equal, and not else. Our kneeling at communions is the† Gesture of piety.‡ If we did there present ourselves but to make some show or dumb resemblance of a spiritual Feast, it may be that sitting were the fitter ceremony; but coming as receivers of inestimable grace at the hands of God, what

* ["The debate is, Whether it is meet, that it should be once spoken to all that communicate at one Table, or rehearsed according to the number of persons.... I confess some difference, of the exhibiting of the benefits of Christ in the Sacraments, and in the Word; but how that difference should cause us to change the Form used by our Saviour Christ which, knowing that difference best, did notwithstanding at once speak to all at the Table with him, I see not." T. C. lib. iii. pp. 235, 6.]

† [Was not Mary's "*the* Gesture of piety," when she "*sat* at Jesus' feet, and heard his word?" Luke x. 39. Surely *she* was a "receiver of inestimable grace at the hands of God!" ver. 42. Hooker's "*Gesture of piety*," he elsewhere terms a "*silly thing*!" See his Answer to Travers's Supplication, Sect. 4.]

‡ "Kneeling carrieth a shew of worship: ... Sitting agreeth better with the action of the Supper.... Christ and his Apostles kneeled not." T. C. lib. i. p. 165, 166.

doth better beseem our bodies at that hour, than to be sensible witnesses of minds unfeignedly humbled? * Our Lord himself did that which custom and long usage had made fit; we, that which fitness and great decency hath made usual.† The trial of ourselves, before we eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, is, by express commandment, every man's precise duty. As for necessity of calling others unto accompt besides ourselves, albeit we be not thereunto drawn by any great strength which is in their arguments, who first press us with it as a thing necessary, by affirming that the Apostles did use it,‡ and then prove the Apostles to have used it by affirming it to be necessary; again, albeit we greatly muse how they can avouch that God did command the Levites to prepare their brethren against the Feast of the Passover, and that the examination of them was a part of their preparation, when the place alleged to this purpose doth but charge the Levites, saying, "Make ready *Laahhechem* for your brethren," to the end they may do according to the word of the Lord by Moses: wherefore in the self-same place it followeth, how lambs, and kids, and sheep, and bullocks, were delivered unto the Levites, and that thus "the Service was made ready;" it followeth likewise, how the Levites having in such sort provided for the people, they made provision "for themselves, and for the Priests, the sons of Aaron:" so that confidently from hence to conclude the necessity of examination, argueth their wonderful great forwardness in framing all things to serve their turn; nevertheless, the examination of Communicants when need requireth, for the profitable use it may have in such cases, we reject not. Our fault in admitting Popish Communicants, is it in that we are forbidden to eat,

[1 Cor.
xi. 28.]

[2 Chron.
xxxv. 6.]

[Ver. 10.]

[Ver. 14.]

1 Cor.
v. 11.

* ["We say kneeling does not well suit a eucharistical or thanksgiving Feast, and we pay more deference to the approbation of God under the Old Testament (Deut. xii. 7. 18. xv. 20, &c.), and the example of Christ under the New, than we do to the judgment of the wisest of men." PEIRCE'S *Vindication of the Dissenters*, p. 497.]

† ["HOOKER in these words importeth that they have better warrants for their kneeling, than Christ had for his sitting; which is blasphemy. Howsoever, let it be noted, that he acknowledged, by kneeling they depart from the example of Christ." GILLESPIE'S *Dispute*, p. 350. "Let no man think himself wiser, nor pretend that he can take this Supper in a more humble, devout, and fit posture than our Lord and his Apostles." TOWGOOD'S *Dissent fully justified*. Postscript, Sect. 14.]

‡ "All things necessary were used in the Churches of God in the Apostles' times; but examination was a necessary thing, therefore used. . . . In the Book of Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxv. 6.) the Levites were commanded to prepare the people to the receiving of the Passover, in place whereof we have the Lord's Supper. Now examination being a part of the preparation, it followeth that here is commandment of the examination." T. C. lib. l. p. 164.

and therefore much more to communicate with notorious malefactors?*

The name of a Papist is not given unto any man for being a notorious malefactor: and the crime wherewith we are charged, is suffering† of Papists to communicate; so that, be their life and conversation whatsoever in the sight of men, their Popish opinions are in this case laid as bars and exceptions against them; yea, those opinions which they have held in former times, although they now both profess by word, and offer to show by fact the contrary.‡ All this doth not justify us, which ought not (they say) to admit them in any wise, till their "Gospel-like behaviour" have removed all "suspicion of Popery" from them, because Papists are "dogs," "swine," "beasts," "foreigners and strangers" from the House of God; in a word, they are "not of the Church."§ What the terms of "Gospel-like behaviour" may include is obscure and doubtful; but of the *visible Church* of Christ in this present world, from which they separate all Papists, we are thus persuaded: CHURCH is a word which Art hath devised, thereby to sever and distinguish that society of men which professeth the true Religion, from the rest which profess it not. There have been in the world, from the very first foundation thereof, but three Religions: Paganism, which lived in the blindness of corrupt and depraved nature; Judaism, embracing the Law which reformed heathenish impiety, and taught salvation to be looked for through one whom God in the last days would send and exalt to be Lord of all; finally, Christian Belief, which yieldeth obedience to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and acknowledgeth him the Saviour whom God did promise. Seeing then that *The Church* is a name, which art hath given to *professors of true Religion*; as they which will define a man, are to pass by those qualities wherein one man doth excel another, and to take only those essential properties whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kinds, so he that will teach what *The Church* is, shall never rightly perform the work

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 167.

* ["Notorious offenders." T. C. lib. i. p. 167.]

† ["Papists being such, as which are notoriously known to hold heretical opinions, ought not to be admitted, much less *compelled* to the Supper." T. C. *Ibid.*]

‡ "Although they would receive the Communion, yet they ought to be kept back, until such time as by their religious and Gospel-like behaviour, they have purged themselves of that suspicion of Popery which their former life and conversation hath caused to be conceived." T. C. lib. i. p. 167.

§ ["Not of the household of Faith." T. C. lib. i. p. 167.]

whereabout he goeth, till *in matter of Religion* he touch that difference which severeth the *Church's Religion* from theirs who are not The Church.* Religion being therefore a matter partly of contemplation, partly of action; we must define the Church, which is a religious Society, by such differences as do properly explain the essence of such things, that is to say, by the object or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conversant. For so all knowledges and all virtues are defined. Whereupon, because the *only object*, which separateth ours from other Religions, is JESUS CHRIST, in whom none but the Church doth believe, and whom none but the Church doth worship, we find that accordingly the Apostles do every where distinguish hereby The Church from Infidels and from Jews, accompting them which "call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" to be his Church. If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being, of the Church of God, either in deed, or in men's opinions and conceits. This is the error of all Popish definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which The Church essentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewise of imperfection and defect, in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way possible to be drawn unto any certain accompt. There is not the least contention and variance, but it blemisheth somewhat the unity that ought to be in the Church of Christ, which notwithstanding may have, not only without offence or breach of concord, her manifold varieties in Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but also her strifes and contentions many times, and that about matters of no small importance; yea, her schisms, factions, and such other evils whereunto the body of The Church is subject, sound and sick remaining both of the same body, as long as both parts retain by outward profession that vital substance of truth, which maketh Christian Religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge

[1 Cor.
i. 2.]

Rom.
xv. 5.
1 Cor.
i. 10.

* ["It is apparent, *Ac si solaribus radiis descriptum esset*, to use Tertullian's phrase, that the word CHURCH is an equivocal word, and hath as many several acceptations as letters; and that *dolus latet in universalibus*." *Answer to An Humble Remonstrance*, By SMECTYMNUS. 1641. 4to. p. 80.]

not our Lord Jesus Christ the blessed Saviour of mankind; give no credit to his glorious Gospel, and have his Sacraments, the seals of eternal life, in derision. Now the privilege of the visible Church of God (for of that we speak) is to be herein like the Ark of Noah, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep; yet in this was the Ark of Noah privileged above the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could perish, numbers in the other are cast away, because to eternal life our profession is not enough. Many things exclude from the Kingdom of God, although from the Church they separate not. In the Church there arise sundry grievous storms, by means whereof whole kingdoms and nations professing Christ, both have been heretofore, and are at this present day, divided about Christ. During which divisions and contentions amongst men, albeit each part do justify itself, yet the one of necessity must needs err, if there be any contradiction between them, be it great or little; and what side soever it be that hath the truth, the same we must also acknowledge alone to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and consequently reject the other as an enemy, *in that case fallen away from the true Church*. Wherefore, of hypocrites and dissemblers, whose profession at the first was but only from the teeth outward, when they afterwards took occasion to oppugn certain principal articles of Faith, the Apostles which defended the truth against them, pronounce them "gone out" from the fellowship of sound and sincere believers, when as yet the Christian Religion they had not utterly cast off. In like sense and meaning, throughout all ages, *Heretics* have justly been hated, as branches cut off from the body of the true Vine; yet only so far forth cut off as their Heresies have extended. Both Heresy, and many other crimes which wholly sever from God, do sever from the Church of God in part only. The mystery of piety, saith the Apostle, is without peradventure great: "God hath been manifested in the flesh, hath been justified in the Spirit, hath been seen of Angels, hath been preached to nations, hath been believed on in the world, hath been taken up into glory." The Church, a pillar and foundation of this truth, which no where is known or profest but only within the Church, and they all of the Church that profess it. In the meanwhile it cannot

1 John
ii. 19.

1 Tim.
iii. 16.

be denied, that many profess this, who are not therefore cleared simply from all either faults or errors which make separation between us and the wellspring of our happiness. Idolatry severed of old the Israelites, iniquity those Scribes and Pharisees, from God, who notwithstanding were a part of the seed of Abraham, a part of that very seed which God did himself acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therefore contain both them which indeed are not his, yet must be reputed his by us that know not their inward thoughts, and them whose apparent wickedness testifieth even in the sight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpose are meant those parables, which our Saviour in the Gospel hath concerning mixture of vice with virtue, light with darkness, truth with error, as well an openly known and seen, as a cunningly cloaked, mixture. That which separateth therefore *utterly*, that which cutteth off *clean* from the visible Church of Christ, is plain Apostacy, *direct* denial, utter rejection of the whole Christian Faith, as far as the same is professedly different from Infidelity.* Heretics, as touching those points of doctrine wherein they fail; Schismatics, as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein they divide themselves from their brethren; loose, licentious, and wicked persons, as touching their several offences or crimes, have all forsaken the true Church of God: the Church which is sound and sincere in the doctrine that they corrupt; the Church that keepeth the bond of unity which they violate; the Church that walketh in the laws of righteousness which they transgress; this very true Church of Christ they have left, howbeit not altogether left, nor forsaken simply the Church, upon the main foundations whereof they continue built, notwithstanding these breaches whereby they are *rent at the top* asunder. Now, because for redress of professed errors and open schisms it is, and must be, the Church's care that all may in outward conformity be one; as the laudable Polity of former ages, even so our own to that end and purpose hath established divers Laws, the moderate severity whereof is a mean both to stay the rest, and to reclaim such as heretofore have been led awry. But seeing that the offices

[Matt.
xiii.
18—30.]

* [See Vol. I. p. 202, Note.]

which Laws require are always definite, and when that they require is done they go no farther, whereupon sundry ill-affected persons, to save themselves from danger of Laws, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry still the same hearts which they did before; by means whereof it falleth out, that receiving "unworthily" the blessed Sacrament at our hands, they eat and drink their own "damnation;" it is for remedy of this mischief here determined, that whom the Law of the Realm doth punish unless they communicate, such, if they offer to obey Law, the Church notwithstanding should not admit without probation before had of their "Gospel-like behaviour."* Wherein they first set no time, how long this supposed probation must continue: again, they nominate no certain judgment, the verdict whereof shall approve men's behaviour to be "Gospel-like;" and, that which is most material, whereas they seek to make it more hard for dissemblers to be received into the Church than Law and Polity as yet hath done, they make it in truth more easy for such kind of persons to wind themselves out of the Law, and to continue the same they were. The Law requireth at their hands that duty which in conscience doth touch them nearest, because the greatest difference between us and them is the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, whose name in the Service of our Communion we celebrate with due honour, which they in the error

* "If the place of the fifth to the Corinthians do forbid that we should have any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth much more forbid that they should be received to the Communion; and therefore Papists being such, as which are notoriously known to hold heretical opinions, ought not to be admitted, much less compelled to the Supper. For seeing that our Saviour Christ did institute his Supper amongst his Disciples, and those only which were, as St. Paul speaketh, within; it is evident, that the Papists being without, and foreigners and strangers from the Church of God, ought not to be received if they would offer themselves: and that Minister that shall give the Supper of the Lord to him which is known to be a Papist, and which hath never made any clear renouncing of Popery with which he hath been defiled, doth profane the Table of the Lord, and doth give the meat that is prepared for the children to dogs; and he bringeth into the pasture, which is provided for the sheep, swine and unclean beasts, contrary to the faith and trust that ought to be in a steward of the Lord's house, as he is. For albeit, that I doubt not, but many of those which are now Papists pertain to the election of God, which God also in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth; yet, notwithstanding, they ought to be unto the Minister, and unto the Church, touching the ministering of the Sacraments, as strangers, and as unclean beasts. ... The ministering of the holy Sacraments unto them, is a declaration and seal of God's favour and reconciliation with them, and a plain preaching, partly, that they be washed already from their sins, partly, that they are of the household of God, and such as the Lord will feed to eternal life; which is not lawful to be done to those which are not of the household of faith. And, therefore, I conclude, that the compelling of Papists unto the Communion, and the dismissing and letting of them go, whenas they be to be punished for their stubbornness in Popery (with this condition, if they will receive the Communion), is very unlawful; whenas, although they would receive it, yet they ought to be kept back, until such time as by their religious and Gospel-like behaviour, &c." T. C. lib. i. p. 167.

of their Mass profane. As therefore on our part to hear Mass were an open departure from that sincere profession wherein we stand; so if they on the other side receive our Communion, they give us the strongest pledge of fidelity that man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which mind treachery to God and man shall once apprehend this advantage given them, whereby they may satisfy Law in pretending themselves conformable (for what can Law with reason or justice require more?), and yet be sure the Church will accept no such offer till their "Gospel-like behaviour" be allowed, after that our own simplicity hath once thus fairly eased them from sting of Law, it is to be thought they will learn the mystery of "Gospel-like behaviour" when leisure serveth them. And so while without any cause we fear to profane Sacraments, we shall not only defeat the purpose of most wholesome Laws, but lose or wilfully hazard those souls from which the likeliest means of full and perfect recovery are by our indiscretion withheld. For neither doth God thus bind us to dive into men's consciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any man but themselves. To him they seem such as they are; but of us they must be taken for such as they seem. In the eye of God they are against Christ that are not truly and sincerely with him; in our eyes they must be received as with Christ, that are not to outward show against him. The case of impenitent and notorious sinners is not like unto theirs whose only imperfection is error severed from pertinacy; error in appearance content to submit itself to better instruction; error so far already cured, as to crave at our hands that Sacrament, the hatred and utter refusal whereof was the weightiest point wherein heretofore they swerved and went astray. In this case therefore they cannot reasonably charge us with remiss dealing, or with carelessness to whom we impart the mysteries of Christ; but they have given us manifest occasion to think it requisite that we earnestly advise rather, and exhort them to consider as they ought their sundry oversights: first, in equalling undistinctly crimes with errors, as touching force to make incapable of this Sacrament; secondly, in suffering indignation at the faults of the Church of Rome to blind and withhold their judgments from seeing that which withal they should acknowledge concerning so much, nevertheless,

still due to the same Church, as to be held and reputed a part of the House of God, a limb of the visible Church of Christ;* thirdly, in imposing upon the Church a burthen to enter farther into men's hearts, and to make a deeper search of their consciences, than any Law of God or reason of man enforceth; fourthly and lastly, in repelling, under colour of longer trial, such from the mysteries of heavenly grace as are both capable thereof by the Laws of God, for any thing we hear to the contrary, and should in divers considerations be cherished according to the merciful examples and precepts whereby the Gospel of Christ hath taught us towards such to show compassion, to receive them with lenity and all meekness; if any thing be shaken in them, to strengthen it; not to quench with delays and jealousies that feeble smoke of conformity which seemeth to breathe from them, but to build wheresoever there is any foundation; to add perfection unto slender beginnings; and that, as by other offices of piety, even so by this very food of life which Christ hath left in his Church, not only for preservation of strength, but also for relief of weakness. But to return to our own selves, in whom the next thing severely reproved is the paucity of Communicants.† If they require at Communion frequency, we wish the same, knowing how acceptable unto God such service is, when multitudes cheerfully concur unto it; if they encourage men thereunto, we also (themselves acknowledge it‡) are not utterly forgetful to do the like; if they require§ some public coercion for remedy of

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 147.

2Chron.
xxx. 13.
Psalms
cxlii. 1.

* [See Vol. I. p. 202, Note. "Our adversaries are (*for preservation of themselves*) urged to flee to our Catholic Church, whose Pastors' administration of the Word and Sacraments, have (accordingly to their former confession) continued known and visible for thirteen hundred years last past, and so to acknowledge it for a true Church." *The Protestants' Apology for the Roman Church*. By JOHN BRERELEY, Priest. 1608. 4to. Permissu Superiorum. p. 638.]

† ["The Sabbath of God, the day of peace and holy rest, is more polluted than any other day. ... And what is the state of our Churches, while these outward profanations of the Sabbath take place? Let those answer this question, who are present when the Office of the Holy Sacrament is performing, or at the Afternoon Service. If it was said that there were Six Thousand stated Communicants west of Temple Bar, though there are above Three hundred Thousand inhabitants, would it be to underrate its number?" *The State of the Metropolis, or the Importance of a Revival of Religion in London*. By the Rev. J. H. STEWART, M. A. 1823. 12mo. p. 9.]

‡ ["It is true that the Book of Common Prayer doth not forbid; and that there is godly exhortation for that purpose." T. C. lib. i. p. 148.]

§ ["Those which would withdraw themselves should be by Ecclesiastical Discipline at all times, and now also under a godly Prince, by *Civil Punishment* brought to communicate with their brethren. And this is the Law of God; and this is now and hath been heretofore the practice of Churches Reformed." T. C. lib. i. p. 148. "The Papists ought not to be compelled to receive the Supper of the Lord, as long as they continue in their popery. I am well content to shew them this pleasure, so that both they and you forget not what I

Luke
xiv. 22.

that, wherein by milder and softer means little good is done, they know our Laws and Statutes provided in that behalf, whereunto whatsoever convenient help may be added more by the wisdom of man, what cause have we given the world to think that we are not ready to hearken to it, and to use any good mean of sweet compulsion to have this high and heavenly banquet largely furnished? Only we cannot so far yield as to judge it convenient, that the holy desire of a competent number should be unsatisfied, because the greater part is careless and undisposed to join with them. Men should not (they say) be permitted a few by themselves to communicate when so many are gone away, because this Sacrament is a token of our conjunction with our brethren; and therefore, by communicating apart from them, we make an apparent show of distraction.* I ask then, on which side unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who being left behind do communicate? First, in the one it is not denied but that they may have reasonable causes of departure, and that then even they are delivered from just blame. Of such kind of causes two are allowed, namely, danger of impairing health, and necessary business requiring our presence elsewhere. And may not a third cause, which is *unfitness* at the present time, detain us as lawfully back as either of these two? True it is, that we cannot hereby altogether excuse ourselves, for that we ought to prevent this, and do not. But, if we have committed a fault in not preparing our minds before, shall we therefore aggravate the same with a worse; the crime of

have before said, That the *Magistrate* ought to *compel* them to hear the Word of God, and if they profit not, nor with sufficient teaching correct themselves, that then they should be *punished*." T. C. lib. i. p. 167. These passages lamentably prove that a Persecuting Principle was not without advocacy among Puritans. For *this* HOOKER neither reproveth them, nor disclaims "our Laws and Statutes provided in that behalf." It were well, however, if his readiness "to use any *good* mean of sweet compulsion," had always been the spirit and conduct of those whose duty it is to "walk in wisdom towards them that are without." Colos. iv. 5. "What have I to do to judge them that are without?" "Them God judgeth." 1 Cor. v. 12, 13. The Apostle's reason is conclusive. What wickedness is it then for men to arrogate a power which God has reserved to himself!]

* ["The Service Book ordaineth a Communion in the Church, when of a great number which assemble there, it admitteth three or four. . . . The holy Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord is not only a seal and confirmation of the promises of God unto us, but also a profession of our conjunction, as well with Christ our Saviour and with God, as also, as St. Paul teacheth, 1 Cor. x. a declaration and profession that we are at one with our brethren. . . . The departing therefore of the rest of the Church from those three or four, is an open profession that they have no communion, fellowship, nor unity with them that do communicate; and likewise of those three or four that they have none with the rest that join not themselves thereunto." T. C. lib. i. p. 147.]

unworthy participation? He that abstaineth doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious Communicants have; but "he that eateth and drinketh unworthily," receiveth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poison. Notwithstanding, whatsoever be the cause for which men abstain, were it reason that the fault of one part should any way abridge their benefit that are not faulty? There is in all the Scripture of God no one syllable which doth condemn communicating amongst a few, when the rest are departed from them. As for the last thing, which is our imparting this Sacrament privately unto the sick, whereas there have been of old (they grant) two kinds of necessity wherein this Sacrament might be privately administered; of which two, the one being erroneously imagined, and the other (they say) continuing no longer in use, there remaineth unto us no necessity at all for which that custom should be retained.* The falsely surmised necessity is that whereby some have thought all such excluded from possibility of Salvation, as did depart this life and never were made partakers of the holy Eucharist. The other case of necessity was, when men which had fallen in time of persecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet received again unto the fellowship of this Communion, did at the hour of their death request it, that so they might rest with greater quietness and comfort of mind, being thereby assured of departure in unity of Christ's Church; which virtuous desire the Fathers did think it great impiety not to satisfy. This was Serapion's case of necessity. Serapion, a faithful aged person, and always of very upright life, till fear of persecution in the end caused him to shrink back, after long sorrow for his scandalous offence, and suit oftentimes made to be pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grievous sickness, and being ready to yield up the ghost, was then more instant than ever before to receive the Sacrament. Which Sacrament

T. C.
lib. I.
p. 146.

[Euseb.
lib. vi.
c. 43.]

* ["Seeing that the custom of ministering this Supper unto the sick, rose upon corrupt causes and rotten foundations; and considering also, God be praised, in these times there are none driven by fear to renounce the truth, whereupon any such excommunication should ensue which in the extremity of sickness should be mitigated after this sort; for no man now that is in extreme sickness is cast down or assaulted with this temptation, That he is cut off from the Church; I say, these things considered, it followeth, that this ministering of Communion in private houses and to the sick is unlawful, as that which rose upon evil grounds; and if it were lawful, yet that now in these times of peace, and when the sick are not excommunicated there is no use of it." T. C. lib. i. p. 146.]

was necessary in this case, not that Serapion had been deprived of everlasting life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do we think, that all cases of such Necessity are clean vanished? Suppose that some have by mispersuasion lived in Schism, withdrawn themselves from holy and public assemblies, hated the Prayers, and loathed the Sacraments of the Church, falsely presuming them to be fraught with impious and Antichristian corruptions; which error the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to see, they do not only repent them of the evil which they have done, but also in token thereof desire to receive comfort by that whereunto they have offered disgrace (which may be the case of many poor seduced souls, even at this day); God forbid we should think that the Church doth sin, in permitting the wounds of such to be supplied with that oil which this gracious Sacrament doth yield, and their bruised minds not only need but beg. There is nothing which the soul of man doth desire in that last hour so much as comfort against the natural terrors of death, and other scruples of conscience which commonly do then most trouble and perplex the weak; towards whom the very Law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Christian lenity and indulgence can afford. Our general consolation departing this life is, the hope of that glorious and blessed Resurrection which the Apostle St. Paul nameth *ἐξανάστασιν*, to note that as all men shall have their *ἀνάστασιν*,* and be raised again from the dead, so the just shall be taken up and exalted above the rest, whom the power of God doth but raise, and not exalt. This Life, and this Resurrection [of] our Lord Jesus Christ, is for all men, as touching the sufficiency of that he hath done; but that which maketh us partakers thereof, is our particular communion with Christ; and this Sacrament a principal mean, as well to strengthen the bond, as to multiply in us the fruits of the same communion. For which cause St. Cyprian termeth it “a joyful solemnity of expedite and speedy resurrection;”† Ignatius, “a medicine which procureth immortality and preventeth death;”‡ Irenæus, “the nourishment of our

1 Cor.
xv. 21.
Phil.
iii. 11.

* Διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔκτασιν. Theophyl. Πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνίστανται, μόνοι δὲ πιστοὶ ἀξιοῦνται τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ammon. Vide 1 Thess. iv. 17.

† “Maturatæ resurrectionis lætabunda solemnia.” Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. cap. 10.

‡ Φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτον μὴ θανεῖν. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes.

bodies to eternal life, and their preservative from corruption."* Now because that Sacrament, which at all times we may receive unto this effect, is then most acceptable and most fruitful, when any special extraordinary occasion, nearly and presently urging, kindleth our desires towards it, their severity, who cleave unto that alone which is generally fit to be done, and so make all men's condition alike, may add much affliction to divers troubled and grieved minds, of whose particular estate particular respect being had,† according to the charitable order of the Church wherein we live, there ensueth unto God that glory which his righteous Saints, comforted in their greatest distresses, do yield, and unto them which have their reasonable petitions satisfied, the same contentment, tranquillity, and joy, that others before them, by means of like satisfaction, have reaped, and wherein we all are or should be desirous finally to take our leave of the world, whensoever our own uncertain time of most assured departure shall come. Concerning, therefore, both Prayers and Sacraments, together with our usual and received Form of administering the same in the Church of England, let thus much suffice.‡

69. As the substance of God alone is infinite and hath *no kind* of limitation, so likewise his continuance is from everlasting to everlasting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonstrable conclusion being presupposed, it followeth necessarily, that besides him, all things are finite both in substance and in continuance. If in substance all things be finite, it cannot be but that there are bounds without the compass whereof their substance doth not extend; if in continuance also limited, they all have, it cannot be denied, their set and their certain terms, before which they had no being at all. This is the reason why, first, we do most admire those things which are greatest; and, secondly, those things which are ancientest; because the one are least distant from the infinite substance, the other from the infinite continuance, of God. Out of this we gather, that only God hath true immortality or eternity, that is to say, continuance wherein there groweth

Of Festival-days, and the natural causes of their convenient institution.

* Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34.

† "Etsi nihil facile mutandum est ex solemnibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit subveniendum est." Lib. clxxiii. ff. de Reg. Jur.

‡ [From Sect. 23, inclusive.]

no difference by addition of hereafter unto now,* whereas the noblest and perfectest of all things besides have continually, through continuance, the time of former continuance length'ned; so that they could not heretofore be said to have continued so long as now, neither now so long as hereafter. God's own eternity is the hand which leadeth Angels in the course of their perpetuity; their perpetuity the hand that draweth out celestial motion; the line of which motion, and the thread of time, are spun together. Now as Nature bringeth forth time with motion, so we by motion have learned how to divide time, and by the smaller parts of time both to measure the greater, and to know how long all things else endure. For time, considered in itself, is but the flux of that very instant wherein the motion of the Heaven began; being coupled with other things, it is the quantity of their continuance measured by the distance of two instants; as the time of a man, is a man's continuance from the instant of his first breath, till the instant of his last gasp. Hereupon some have defined time to be the measure of the motion of Heaven; because the first thing which time doth measure is that motion wherewith it began, by the help whereof it measureth other things; as when the Prophet David saith, that a man's continuance doth not commonly exceed threescore and ten years, he useth the help both of motion and number to measure time. They which make time an effect of motion, and motion to be in nature before time, ought to have considered with themselves, that albeit we should deny, as Melissus did, all motion,† we might notwithstanding acknowledge time, because time doth but signify the quantity of continuance, which continuance may be in things that rest and are never moved. Besides, we may also consider in rest both that which is past, and that which is present, and that which is future; yea, farther, even length and shortness in every of these, although we never had conceit of motion. But to *define*, without motion,

[Psalm
xc. 10.]

* [" Nothing is there to come, and nothing past,
But an eternal *Now* does always last.
There sits the Almighty, First of all, and End,
Whom nothing but himself can comprehend;
Who with his word commanded all to be,
And all obey'd him, for that Word was he."

COWLEY, *Davidicis*, Book I.]

† [This philosopher held the eternity of matter, and that the changes it undergoes are merely illusory. He flourished B. C. 440.]

how long or *how* short such continuance is, were impossible. So that herein we must of necessity use the benefit of years, days, hours, minutes, which all grow from celestial motion. Again, forasmuch as that motion is circular whereby we make our divisions of time, and the compass of that circuit such, that the heavens, which are therein continually moved and keep in their motions uniform celerity, must needs touch often the same points, they cannot choose but bring unto us by equal distances frequent returns of the same times. Furthermore, whereas time is nothing but a mere quantity of that continuance which all things have that are not as God is, without beginning, that which is proper unto all quantities agreeth also to this kind; so that time doth but measure other things, and neither worketh in them any real effect nor is itself ever capable of any. And, therefore, when commonly we use to say, that time doth eat or fret out all things; that time is the wisest thing in the world, because it bringeth forth all knowledge; and that nothing is more foolish than time, which never holdeth any thing long, but whatsoever one day learneth, the same another day forgetteth again; that some men see prosperous and happy days, and that some men's days are miserable; in all these, and the like speeches, that which is uttered of the time is not verified of time itself, but agreeth unto those things which are in time, and do by means of so near conjunction either lay their burthen upon the back, or set their crown upon the head, of time. Yea, the very opportunities which we ascribe to time,* do in truth cleave to the things themselves wherewith time is joined. As for time, it neither causeth things, nor opportunities of things, although it comprise and contain both. All things whatsoever having their time, the works of God have always that time which is seasonablest and fittest for them. His works are some ordinary, some more rare; all worthy of observation, but not all of like necessity to be often remembered; they all have their times, but they all do not add the same estimation and glory to the times wherein they are. For as God by being every where, yet doth not give unto all places one and the same degree of holiness, so neither one and the same dignity to all times, by working

* Χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς. Hippoc. lib. qui *Præceptiones* inscribitur.

in all. For if all either places or times were in respect of God alike, wherefore was it said unto Moses by particular designation, "This very place wherein thou standest is holy ground?" Why doth the Prophet David choose out of all the days of the year but one, whereof he speaketh by way of principal admiration, "This is the day which the Lord hath made?" No doubt, as God's extraordinary presence hath hallowed and sanctified certain places, so they are his extraordinary works that have truly and worthily advanced certain times; for which cause they ought to be with all men that honour God more holy than other days.* The Wise man, therefore, compareth herein not unfitly the times of God with the persons of men. If any should ask how it cometh to pass that one day doth excel another, seeing the light of all the days in the year proceedeth from one sun; to this he answereth, "That the knowledge of the Lord hath parted them asunder, he hath by them disposed the times and solemn Feasts; some he hath chosen out and sanctified, some he hath put among the days to number:" even as Adam and all other men are of one substance, all created of the earth; "but the Lord hath divided them by great knowledge, and made their ways divers; some he hath blessed and exalted, some he hath sanctified and appropriated to himself, some he hath cursed, humbled, and put them out of their dignity." So that the cause being natural and necessary for which there should be a difference in days, the solemn observation whereof declareth Religion's thankfulness towards him, whose works of principal reckoning we thereby admire and honour, it cometh next to be considered, what kinds of duties and services they are wherewith such times should be kept holy.

70. The sanctification of days and times is a token of that thankfulness, and a part of that public honour, which we owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not suffice that we keep a secret kalendar, taking thereby our private occasions as we list ourselves to think how much God hath done for all men; but the days which are chosen

Exod.
iii. 5.

Psaln
cxviii.
24.

Eccles.
xxxiii.
8, 9.

[Ver.
11, 12.]

The
manner
of cele-
brating
Festival-
days.

* ["That whereunto more respect and account is given than God alloweth to be given to it, and wherein more excellency is placed than God hath put into it, or will at all communicate to it, is an Idol exalted against God. . . . These Festival-days are idolized, since such an eminency and excellency is put in them; whereas God hath made no difference betwixt them and any other days." GILLESPIE'S *Dispute against the English-popish Ceremonies*, p. 166.]

out to serve as public memorials of such his mercies, ought to be clothed with those outward robes of holiness, whereby their difference from other days may be made sensible. But because time in itself, as hath been already proved, can receive no alteration, the hallowing of Festival-days must consist in the shape or countenance which we put upon the affairs that are incident into those days. “This is the day ^{Psalm. cxliii. 24.} which the Lord hath made (saith the Prophet David); let us rejoice and be glad in it.” So that generally offices and duties of religious joy are that wherein the hallowing of Festival times consisteth.* The most natural testimonies of our rejoicing in God, are, first, His praises set forth with cheerful alacrity of mind; secondly, Our comfort and delight expressed by a charitable largeness of somewhat more than common bounty;† thirdly, Sequestration from ordinary labours, the toils and cares whereof are not meet to be companions of such gladness. Festival solemnity, therefore, is nothing but the due mixture, as it were, of these three elements, Praise, and Bounty, and Rest. Touching Praise, forasmuch as the Jews, who alone knew the way how to magnify God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked lives) more of custom and for fashion’ sake execute the services of their Religion, than with hearty and true devotion (which God especially requireth), he therefore protesteth against their Sabbaths and solemn Days, as being ^{Isa. i. 13.} therewith much offended. Plentiful and liberal expense is required in them that abound, partly as a sign of their own joy in the goodness of God towards them, partly as a mean whereby to refresh those poor and needy, who being especially at these times made partakers of relaxation and joy with others, do the more religiously bless God, whose great mercies were a cause thereof, and the more contentedly endure the burthen of that hard estate wherein they continue. Rest is the end of all motion, and the last perfection of all things that labour. Labours in us are journeys, and even

* “Grande videlicet officium, focus et choro in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernæ halitu abolefacere, vino lutum cogere, catervatim cursitare ad injurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum dedecus?” Tertull. Apol. cap. 35. “Dies festos, Majestati altissimæ dedicatos, nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari.” C. lib. xii. tit. 12. l. 1. Ἀντὶ τῆς παλαιοπομπείας καὶ αἰσχροῦργίας σάφρονες ἐορτάζονται πανηγύρεις, οὐ μέθην ἔχουσαι καὶ κῶμον καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ’ ὁμῶς θεοῦ καὶ ἱερῶν λόγων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ προσευχὴν ἀξιεπαίνοις κοσμουμένην θαυροῖς. Theod. ad Græc. Infidel. ser. ix.

† Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν εὐσεβὴ τε εἶναι καὶ φιλόνηρον. Philo lib. de Abraha.

in them which feel no weariness by any work, yet they are but ways whereby to come unto that which bringeth not happiness till it do bring rest. For as long as any thing which we desire is unattained, we rest not. Let us not here take rest for idleness. They are idle, whom the painfulness of action causeth to avoid those labours whereunto both God and Nature bindeth them; they rest, which either cease from their work when they have brought it unto perfection, or else give over a meaner labour, because a worthier and better is to be undertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill employed. As therefore man doth consist of different and distinct parts, every part indued with manifold abilities, which all have their several ends and actions thereunto referred; so there is in this great variety of duties which belong to men that dependency and order, by means whereof the lower sustaining always the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more base, they are in their times and seasons continued with most exquisite correspondence. Labours of bodily and daily toil purchase freedom for actions of religious joy, which benefit these actions requite with the gift of desired rest: a thing most natural and fit to accompany the solemn Festival duties of honour which are done to God. For if those principal works of God, the memory whereof we use to celebrate at such times, be but certain tastes and says,* as it were, of that final benefit wherein our perfect felicity and bliss lieth folded up, seeing that the presence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts, and desires, towards the other, it giveth surely a kind of life, and addeth inwardly no small delight to those so comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we presently do, representeth after a sort that also whereunto we tend; as Festival-rest doth that celestial estate, whereof the very Heathens themselves,† which had not the means whereby to apprehend much, did notwithstanding imagine that it needs must consist in rest, and have therefore taught that above the highest moveable sphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion, or change, but all things immutable, unsubject to passion, blest with eternal continu-

* [Says for assays or samples: thus Shakspeare, *Lear*, Act V. sc. 3.

"——— Thy tongue some say of breeding breathes."]

† Οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδενὸς οὐδεμία μεταβολὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξωτάτω φερομένην φορὰν, ἀλλ' ἀναλ-
λίστα καὶ ἀπαθὴ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζώην καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην διατελεῖ τὸν βίαντα
ἄωνα. *Arist.*

ance in a life of the highest perfection, and of that complete abundant sufficiency within itself, which no possibility of want, maim, or defect, can touch. Besides, whereas ordinary labours are both in themselves painful, and base in comparison of Festival-services done to God, doth not the natural difference between them show that the one, as it were by way of submission and homage, should surrender themselves to the other; wherewith they can neither easily concur, because painfulness and joy are opposite, nor decently, because while the mind hath just occasion to make her abode in the house of gladness, the weed of ordinary toil and travail becometh her not? Wherefore, even Nature hath taught the Heathens, and God the Jews, and Christ us, first, That Festival-solemnities are a part of the public exercise of Religion; secondly, That praise, liberality, and rest, are as natural elements whereof Solemnities consist. But these things the Heathens converted to the honour of their false gods; and, as they failed in the end itself, so neither could they discern rightly what form and measure Religion therein should observe. Whereupon, when the Israelites impiously followed so corrupt example, they are in every degree noted to have done amiss; their Hymns or Songs of Praise were Idolatry; their bounty, excess; and their rest, wantonness. Therefore, the Law of God, which appointed them Days of Solemnity, taught them likewise in what manner the same should be celebrated. According to the pattern of which institution, David, establishing the state of Religion, ordained praise to be given unto God in the Sabbaths, months, and appointed times, as their custom ^{1 Chron. xxiii. 30,} had been always before the Lord. Now, besides the times which God himself in the Law of Moses particularly speci-^{fieth,} there were, through the wisdom of the Church, certain other devised by occasion of like occurrents to those where-^{upon} the former had risen; as namely, that which Mardocheus ^{Esther ix. 21.} and Esther did first celebrate in memory of the Lord's most wonderful protection, when Haman had laid his inevitable plot, to man's thinking, for the utter extirpation of the Jews, ^(Ver. 26, with chap. iii. 7.) even in one day. This they call the Feast of Lots, because Haman had cast their life and their death, as it were, upon the hazard of a lot. To this may be added that other also of Dedication, mentioned in the tenth of St. John's Gospel, ^{John x. 22.} the institution whereof is declared in the history of the ^{1 Mac. iv. 59.}

Maccabees.* But forasmuch as their Law by the coming of Christ is changed, and we thereunto no way bound, St. Paul, although it were not his purpose to favour invectives against the special sanctification of days and times to the service of God and to the honour of Jesus Christ, doth notwithstanding bend his forces against that opinion which imposed on the Gentiles the yoke of Jewish legal observations, as if the whole world ought for ever, and that upon pain of condemnation, to keep and observe the same. Such as in this persuasion hallowed those Jewish Sabbaths the Apostle sharply reproveth, saying, "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." Howbeit, so far off was Tertullian from imagining how any man could possibly hereupon call in question such days as the Church of Christ doth observe,† that the observation of these days he useth for an argument whereby to prove, it could not be the Apostle's intent and meaning to condemn simply all observing of such times. Generally therefore, touching Feasts in the Church of Christ, they have that profitable use whereof St. Augustine speaketh, "By Festival-solemnities and Set-days we dedicate and sanctify to God the memory of his benefits, lest unthankful forgetfulness thereof should creep upon us in course of time." And concerning particulars, their Sabbath the Church hath changed into our Lord's-day; that as the one did continually bring to mind the former world finished by creation; so the other might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far better world, begun by him which came to restore all things, to make both Heaven and Earth new. For which cause they honoured the last day, we the first, in every seven throughout the year. The rest of the days and times which we celebrate have relation all unto one Head. We begin therefore our Ecclesiastical year with the glorious Annunciation of his Birth by Angelical embassage. There being hereunto

Gal. iv.
10, 11.

Aug. de
Civit.
Dei,
lib. x.
cap. 4.

[2 Pet.
iii. 13.]

Luke
i. 26.

* ["It is not certain of what Feast of Dedication John speaketh. Bullinger leaves it doubtful (in Joh. x. 22); and Maldonat saith, That the opinion which taketh the dedication of the Altar by Judas Maccabeus to be meant by John, hath fewest authors (Comm. *ib.*). The Rhemists all:ge that Christ approved this Feast, because he was present at it (Annot. *ib.*): Cartwright (*i. e.* T. C.) and Fulke answer them, That Christ's being present at it proveth not his approving of it."—GILLESPIE'S *Dispute*, p. 215.]

† "Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum et dierum et mensium et annorum erant Apostolus, cur Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus?" Lib. advers. Psych.

added his blessed Nativity itself, the mystery of his legal ^{Luke} Circumcision; the testification of his true Incarnation by ^{ii. 21.} the Purification of her which brought him into the world; his Resurrection; his Ascension into Heaven; the admirable Sending down of his Spirit upon his chosen, and (which consequently ensued) the notice of that incomprehensible Trinity thereby given to the Church of God. Again, forasmuch as we know that Christ hath not only been manifested great in himself, but great in other his Saints also, the days of whose departure out of the world are to the Church of Christ as the birth and coronation days of Kings or Emperors; therefore especial choice being made of the very flower of all occasions in this kind, there are annual selected times to meditate of Christ glorified in them which had the honour to suffer for his sake, before they had age and ability to know him; glorified in them, which knowing him as Stephen, had the sight of that before death, whereinto so acceptable death did lead; glorified in those Sages of the East, that came from far to adore him, and were conducted by strange light; glorified in the second Elias of the world, sent before him to prepare his way; glorified in every of those Apostles whom it pleased him to use as founders of his Kingdom here;* glorified in the Angels, as in Michael; glorified in all those happy souls that are already possessed of Heaven. Over and besides which number not great, the rest be but four other days heretofore annexed to the Feast of Easter and Pentecost, by reason of general Baptism usual at those two Feasts; which also is the cause why they had not, as other days, any proper name given them. Their first institution was therefore through necessity, and their present continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals whereupon they still attend. If it be then demanded, whether we observe these times as being thereunto bound by force of divine Law, or else by the only positive Ordinances of the Church? I answer to this, that the very Law of Nature itself, which all men confess to be God's Law, requireth in general no less the

* ["All that is done on the day for St. Simon and St. Jude is to read the Collect, the first eight verses of Jude's Epistle, and the last eleven verses of the xvth chap. of John. And so the example of *Simon* is proposed to be meditated on by the people, when he is not so much as named, or any thing said with a peculiar relation to him. Other things in these Feasts are as little to the purpose. And it looks very childish to pretend to propose severally the examples of those Apostles concerning whom we know nothing at all in particular."—*PEIRCE'S Vind. of the Dissenters*, p. 514.]

sanctification of times, than of places, persons, and things, unto God's honour. For which cause it hath pleased him heretofore, as of the rest, so of time likewise, to exact some parts by way of perpetual homage, never to be dispensed withal, nor remitted: again, to require some other parts of time with as strict exaction, but for less continuance; and of the rest which were left arbitrary, to accept what the Church shall in due consideration consecrate voluntarily unto like religious uses. Of the first kind, amongst the Jews, was the Sabbath-day; of the second, those Feasts which are appointed by the Law of Moses; the Feast of Dedication, invented by the *Church,† standeth in the number of the last kind. The Moral Law requiring therefore a seventh part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way employed, although with us the day be changed, in regard of a new revolution begun by our Saviour Christ; yet the same proportion of time continueth which was before, because in reference to the benefit of creation, and now much more of renovation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the world to come, we are bound to accompt the sanctification of one day in seven, a duty which God's immutable Law doth exact for ever. The rest, they say, we

[at inf.]

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71. Touching Jews, their Easter and Pentecost have with ours as much affinity as Philip the Apostle with Philip the Macedonian King. As for "imitation of Papists" and the "breeding of Superstition," they are now become such common guests, that no man can think it discourteous to let them go as they came. The next is a rare observation and strange. You shall find, if you mark it (as it doth deserve to be noted well), that many thousands there are, who if they have virtuously during those times behaved themselves, if their devotion and zeal in Prayer have been fervent, their attention to the Word of God such as all Christian men should yield, imagine that herein they have performed a good duty; which notwithstanding to think is a very dangerous error, inasmuch as the Apostle St. Paul hath taught that we ought not to keep our Easter as the

* [Jewish.]

† [See Note *, p. 318.]

Jews did for certain days, but in the unleavened bread of sincerity and of truth to feast continually: whereas this restraint of Easter to a certain number of days, causeth us to rest for a short space in that near consideration of our duties, which should be extended throughout the course of our whole lives, and so pulleth out of our minds the doctrine of Christ's Gospel ere we be aware.* The doctrine of the Gospel, which here they mean, or should mean, is, that Christ having finished the Law, there is no Jewish Paschal solemnity, nor abstinence from sour bread, now required at our hands; there is no leaven which we are bound to cast out, but malice, sin and wickedness; no bread but the food of sincere truth wherewith we are tied to celebrate our Passover. And seeing no time of sin is granted us, neither any intermission of sound belief, it followeth, that this kind of feasting ought to endure always. But how are standing Festival-solemnities against this? That which the Gospel of Christ requireth is the perpetuity of virtuous duties; not perpetuity of exercise or action, but disposition perpetual, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Just, valiant, liberal, temperate, and holy men are they, which can whensoever they will, and will whensoever they ought, execute what their several perfections import. If virtues did always cease to be when they cease to work, there should be nothing more pernicious to virtue than sleep; neither were it possible that men, as Zachary and Elizabeth, should in all the commandments of God walk unreprouvable; ^[Lake 1. 6.] or that the chain of our conversation should contain so many links of divine virtues, as the Apostles in divers places have reckoned up, if in the exercise of each virtue perpetual continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing, therefore,

* "If they had been never abused neither by the Papists, nor by the Jews, as they have been, and are daily; yet such making of Holidays is never without some great danger of bringing in some evil and corrupt opinions into the minds of men. I will use an example in one, and that the chief of Holidays and most generally and of longest time observed in the Church, which is the Feast of Easter, which was kept of some more days, of some fewer. How many thousands are there, I will not say of the ignorant Papists, but of those also which profess the Gospel, which when they have celebrated those days with diligent heed taken unto their life, and with some earnest devotion in praying, and hearing the Word of God, do not by and by think that they have well celebrated the Feast of Easter; and yet have they thus notably deceived themselves: for St. Paul teacheth (1 Cor. v. 8), that the celebrating of the Feast of the Christians' Easter is not, as the Jews' was, for certain days; but sheweth that we must keep this Feast all the days of our life in the unleavened bread of sincerity and of truth. By which we see, that the observing of the Feast of Easter for certain days in the year, doth pull out of our minds, ere ever we be aware, the doctrine of the Gospel, and causeth us to rest in that near consideration of our duties, for the space of a few days, which should be extended to all our life." T. C. lib. i. p. 151.

all things are done in time, and many offices are not possible at one and the same time to be discharged, duties of all sorts must have necessarily their several successions and seasons; in which respect the Schoolmen have well and soundly determined, that God's affirmative Laws and Precepts, the Laws that injoin any actual duty, as Prayer, Alms, and the like, do bind us *ad semper velle*, but not *ad semper agere*; we are tied to iterate and resume them when need is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermission. Feasts,—whether God himself have ordained them, or the Church, by that authority which God hath given,—they are of Religion such public Services as neither can nor ought to be continued otherwise than only by iteration. Which iteration is a most effectual mean to bring unto full maturity and growth those seeds of godliness, that these very men themselves do grant to be sown in the hearts of many thousands, during the while that such Feasts are present. The constant habit of well doing is not gotten without the custom of doing well, neither can virtue be made perfect but by the manifold works of virtue often practised. Before the powers of our minds be brought unto some perfection, our first assays and offers towards virtue must needs be raw; yet commendable, because they tend unto ripeness. For which cause the Wisdom of God hath commended especially this circumstance amongst others in solemn Feasts, that to children and novices in Religion they minister the first occasions to ask and inquire of God. Whereupon, if there follow but so much piety as hath been mentioned, let the Church learn to further imbecility with Prayer; “Preserve, Lord, these good and gracious beginnings, that they suddenly dry not up like the morning dew, but may prosper and grow as the trees which rivers of waters keep always flourishing.” Let all men's acclamations be “Grace, grace unto it,” as to that first-laid corner-stone in Zerubbabel's buildings. For who hath despised the day of those things which are small? Or, how dare we take upon us to condemn that very thing which voluntarily we grant maketh us of nothing somewhat; seeing all we pretend against it, is only, that as yet this somewhat is not much? The Days of Solemnity, which are but few, cannot choose but soon finish that outward exercise of godliness which properly appertaineth to such times; howbeit, men's inward

[Exod.
xii. 26.]

[Zech.
iv. 7.]
[Ver. 10.]

disposition to virtue they both augment for the present, and by their often returns, bring also the same at the length unto that perfection which we most desire. So that, although by their necessary short continuance, they abridge the present exercise of piety in some kind; yet, because by repetition they enlarge, strengthen, and confirm the habits of all virtue, it remaineth, that we honour, observe, and keep them as Ordinances many ways singularly profitable in God's Church. This exception being taken against Holidays, for that they restrain the praises of God unto certain times, another followeth condemning restraint of men from their ordinary trades and labours at those times. It is not, they say, in the power of the Church to command rest, because God hath left it to all men at liberty, that if they think good to bestow six whole days in labour, they may; neither is it more lawful for the Church to abridge any man of that liberty which God hath granted, than to take away the yoke which God hath laid upon them, and to countermand what he doth expressly injoin. They deny not, but in times of public calamity, that men may the better assemble themselves to fast and pray, the Church, because it hath received "commandment" from God to proclaim a prohibition from ordinary works, standeth bound to do it, as the Jews afflicted did in Babylon. But without some express commandment from God there is no power, they say, under Heaven, which may presume by any Decree to restrain the liberty that God hath given.* Which opinion, albeit applied here no farther

* "I confess, that it is in the power of the Church to appoint so many days in the week, or in the year (in the which the congregation shall assemble to hear the Word of God, and receive the Sacraments, and offer up Prayers unto God), as it shall think good, according to those rules which are before alleged. But that it hath power to make so many Holidays as we have, ... wherein men are commanded to cease from their daily vocations of ploughing and exercising their handicrafts, &c. that I deny to be in the power of the Church. For proof whereof I will take the Fourth Commandment, and no other interpretation of it, than Master Doctor alloweth of, which is, that God licenseth and leaveth it at the liberty of every man to work six days in the week, so that he rest the seventh day. Seeing, therefore, that the Lord hath left it to all men at liberty, that they might labour, if they think good, six days; I say, the Church, nor no man, can take this liberty away from them, and drive them to a necessary rest of the body. And if it be lawful to abridge the liberty of the Church in this point; and instead, that the Lord saith, Six days thou mayest labour, if thou wilt, to say, Thou shalt not labour six days; I do not see, why the Church may not as well, whereas the Lord saith, 'Thou shalt rest the seventh day,' command that thou shalt not rest the seventh day. For if the Church may restrain the liberty which God hath given them, it may take away the yoke also which God hath put upon them. And whereas you say, that notwithstanding this Fourth Commandment, the Jews had certain other Feasts which they observed; indeed, the Lord, which gave this general Law, might make as many exceptions as he thought good, and so long as he thought good. But it followeth not, because the Lord did it, that therefore the Church may do it, unless it hath commandment and authority from God so to do. As when there is any general plague or judgment of God either upon the Church, or coming towards it, the Lord com-

than to this present cause, shaketh universally the fabric of government, tendeth to anarchy and mere confusion, dissolveth families, dissipateth Colleges, Corporations, Armies, overthroweth Kingdoms, Churches, and whatsoever is now through the providence of God by authority and power upheld.* For whereas God hath foreprised† things of the greatest weight, and hath therein precisely defined, as well that which every man must perform, as that which no man may attempt, leaving all sorts of men in the rest, either to be guided by their own good discretion, if they be free from subjection to others, or else to be ordered by such Commandments and Laws as proceed from those superiors under whom they live; the patrons of "liberty" have here made solemn proclamation that all such Laws and Commandments are void, inasmuch as every man is left to the freedom of his own mind in such things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the Law of God. And because, only in these things, the positive precepts of men have place; which precepts cannot possibly be given without some abridgment of their liberty to whom they are given; therefore, if the father command the son, or the husband the wife, or the lord the servant, or the leader the soldier, or the prince the subject; to go or stand, sleep or wake, at such times as God himself in particular commandeth neither; they are to stand in defence of the freedom which God hath granted, and to do as themselves list, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things utterly forbidden by the Law of God, as tie them to any thing which the Law of God leaveth free. The plain contradictory whereunto is infallibly certain. Those things which the Law of God leaveth arbitrary and at liberty,

mandeth in such a case (Joel ii. 15), that they should sanctify a general Fast, and proclaim *Ghnatsarah*, which signifieth a prohibition or forbidding of ordinary works; and is the same Hebrew word wherewith those Feast-days are noted in the Law, wherein they should rest. The reason of which commandment of the Lord was, that as they abstained that day as much as might be conveniently from meat, so they might abstain from their daily works, to the end they might bestow the whole day in hearing the Word of God, and humbling themselves in the congregation, confessing their faults, and desiring the Lord to turn away from his fierce wrath. In this case the Church having commandment to make a Holiday, may, and ought to do it, as the Church which was in Babylon did during the time of their captivity; but where it is destitute of a commandment, it may not presume by any decree to restrain that liberty which the Lord hath given." T. C. lib. i. p. 152.

* [Chaotick all! But had HOOKER forgotten the memorable Decree which Shadrach and his companions did not regard; and that also, which became a Law of the Medes and Persians, and which, nevertheless, Daniel refused to obey? Dan. iii. 6. vi. 8. Happily Hooker's apprehended deplorable results recede in proportion to the fulfilling of the prophecy, "I will make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness." Isai. lx. 17.]

† ["The only Scripture that, in some *foreprized* ears seems to sound towards, &c." Bishop HALL's *Episc. by Divine Right*. Part III. sect. 2. p. 115. Pratt's Ed. 1808.]

are all subject unto positive Laws of men;* which Laws, for the common benefit, abridge particular men's liberty in such things as far as the rules of equity will suffer. This we must either maintain, or else overturn the world, and make every man his own commander. Seeing, then, that labour and rest upon any one day of the six throughout the year are granted free by the Law of God, how exempt we them from the force and power of Ecclesiastical Law, except we deprive the world of power to make any Ordinance or Law at all? Besides, is it probable that God should not only allow, but command concurrency of rest with extraordinary occasions of doleful events befalling, peradventure, some one certain Church, or not extending unto many; and not as much as permit or license the like, when piety, triumphant with joy and gladness, maketh solemn commemoration of God's most rare and unwonted mercies, *such especially as the whole race of mankind* doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of sorrow the only cause is, for that the general public prayers of the whole Church, and our own private businesses, cannot both be followed at once; whereas of rest in the famous solemnities of public joy, there is both this consideration the same, and also farther a kind of natural repugnancy, which maketh labours (as hath been proved) much more unfit to accompany Festival-praises of God, than offices of humiliation and grief. Again, if we sift what they bring for proof and approbation of rest with fasting, doth it not in all respects as fully warrant and as strictly command rest, whensoever the Church hath equal reason, by Feasts and gladsome Solemnities, to testify public thankfulness towards God? I would know some cause why those words of the Prophet Joel, "Sanctify a Fast, call a solemn Assembly," which words were uttered to the Jews in misery and great distress, should more bind the Church to do at all times after the like in their like perplexities, than the words of Moses to the same people in a time of joyful deliverance from misery, "Remember this day," may warrant any annual celebration of benefits no less importing the good of men; and also justify, as touching the manner and form thereof, what circumstance soever we imitate only in respect

* ["This is strange divinity, for if this were true, then might the Laws of men prohibit marriage, because it is left *arbitrary*, 1 Cor. vii. 36; then might they also have discharged the Apostle Paul to take Wages, because herein he was at *liberty*, 1 Cor. ix. 12."]—GILLESPIE'S *Dispute*, p. 42.]

of natural fitness or decency, without any Jewish regard to Ceremonies, such as were properly theirs, and are not by us expedient to be continued. According to the rule of which general directions taken from the Law of God, no less in the one than the other, the practice of the Church commended unto us in Holy Scripture, doth not only make for the justification of black and dismal days (as one of the Fathers termeth them), but plainly offereth itself to be followed by

Esth. ix. such Ordinances (if occasion require) as that which Mardocheus did sometime devise, Esther what lay in her power help forward, and the rest of the Jews establish for perpetuity; namely, that the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar should be every year kept, throughout all generations, as days of feasting and joy, wherein they would rest from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charity bestowed upon the poor, what by other liberal signs of amity and love, all testify their thankful minds towards God, which almost beyond possibility had delivered them all, when they all were as men dead. But this Decree, they say, was Divine, not Ecclesiastical,* as may appear in that there is another Decree in another Book of Scripture, which Decree is plain not to have proceeded from the Church's authority, but from the mouth of the Prophet only; and as a poor simple man sometime was fully persuaded that if Pontius Pilate had not been a Saint, the Apostles would never have suffered his name to stand in the Creed, so these men have a strong opinion that because the Book of Esther is Canonical, the Decree of Esther cannot be possibly Ecclesiastical.†

* "The example out of Esther is no sufficient warrant for these Feasts in question. For first, as in other cases, so in this case of days, the estate of Christians under the Gospel ought not to be so ceremonious, as was theirs under the Law. Secondly, that which was done there was done by a special direction of the Spirit of God, either through the ministry of the Prophets which they had, or by some other extraordinary means, which is not to be followed by us. This may appear by another place (Zech. viii.), where the Jews changed their Fasts into Feasts, only by the mouth of the Lord, through the ministry of the Prophet. For further proof whereof, first, I take the twenty-eighth verse of *Esth. ix.*, where it appeareth, that this was an Order to endure always, even as long as the other Feast-days which were instituted by the Lord himself. So that what abuses soever were of that Feast, yet as a perpetual Decree of God it ought to have remained; whereas our Churches can make no such Decree, which may not upon change of times, and other circumstances, be altered. For the other proof hereof I take the last verse: for the Prophet contenteth not himself with that, that he had rehearsed the Decree, as he doth sometime the Decree of profane Kings, but addeth precisely, that as soon as ever the Decree was made, it was registered in this Book of Esther, which is one of the Books of the Canonical Scripture, declaring thereby in what esteem they had it. If it had been of no further authority than our Decrees, or than a Canon of one of the Councils, it had been presumption to have brought it into the Library of the Holy Ghost. The sum of my answer is, that this Decree was Divine, and not Ecclesiastical only." *T. C. lib. iii. p. 193.*

† [They say it is *more* than Ecclesiastical: "not Ecclesiastical ONLY!" See *T. C. sup.*]

If it were, they ask how the Jews could bind themselves always to keep it, seeing Ecclesiastical Laws are mutable? As though the purposes of men might never intend constancy in that, the nature whereof is subject to alteration. Doth the Scripture itself make mention of any divine commandment? Is the Scripture witness of more, than only that Mardocheus was the author of this custom, that by letters written to his brethren the Jews, throughout all provinces under Darius the King of Persia, he gave them charge to celebrate yearly those two days, for perpetual remembrance of God's miraculous deliverance and mercy; that the Jews hereupon undertook to do it, and made it with general consent an Order for perpetuity; that Esther, secondly, by her letters confirmed the same which Mardocheus had before decreed; and that, finally, the Ordinance was written to remain for ever upon record? Did not the Jews in provinces abroad observe at the first the fourteenth day, the Jews in Susis the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an uniform order by means of those two Decrees, and so every where three days kept; the first with fasting, in memory of danger; the rest, in token of deliverance, as festival and joyful days? Was not the first of these three afterwards, the day of sorrow and heaviness, abrogated, when the same Church saw it meet that a better day, a day in memory of like deliverance out of the bloody hands of Nicanor, should succeed in the room thereof? But forasmuch as there is no end of answering fruitless oppositions, let it suffice men of sober minds to know, that the Law both of God and Nature alloweth generally days of rest and Festival-solemnity to be observed by way of thankful and joyful remembrance, if such miraculous favours be shewed towards mankind as require the same; that such graces God hath bestowed upon his Church, as well in latter as in former times; that in some particulars, when they have fallen out, himself hath demanded his own honour, and in the rest hath left it to the wisdom of the Church, directed by those precedents, and enlightened by other means, always to judge when the like is requisite. About questions therefore concerning days and times, our manner is not to stand at bay with the Church of God, demanding wherefore the memory of Paul* should be

* "Commemoratio Apostolicæ Passionis, totius Christianitatis magistra, a cunctis jure celebratur." Cod. lib. iii. tit. 12. l. 7.

rather kept than the memory of Daniel:* we are content to imagine, it may be perhaps true, that the least in the Kingdom of Christ is greater than the greatest of all the Prophets of God that have gone before; we never yet saw cause to despair, but that the simplest of the people† might be taught the right construction of as great mysteries as the name of a Saint's day doth comprehend, although the times of the year go on in their wonted course;‡ we had rather glorify and bless God for the fruit we daily behold reaped by such Ordinances, as his gracious Spirit maketh the ripe wisdom of this National Church to bring forth, than vainly boast of our own peculiar and private inventions, as if the skill of profitable Regiment had left her public habitation to dwell in retired manner with some few men of one livery;§ we make not our childish appeals, sometimes from our own to foreign Churches,|| sometime from both unto Churches ancients than both are, in effect always from all others to our own selves; but, as becometh them that follow with all humility the ways of peace, we honour, reverence, and obey, in the very next degree unto God, the voice of the Church of God wherein we live. They whose wits are too glorious to fall to so low an ebb, they which have risen and swollen so high that the walls of ordinary rivers are unable to keep them in, they whose wanton contentions in the cause whereof we have spoken do make all where they go a sea, even they, at their highest float, are constrained both to see and grant, that what their fancy will not yield to like, their judgment cannot

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 154.

* "Forsomuch as the old people did never keep any Feast or Holiday for remembrance, either of Moses or Daniel, &c." T. C. lib. i. p. 153.

† "The people, when it is called St. Paul's day, or the blessed Virgin Mary's day, can understand nothing thereby, but that they are instituted to the honour of St. Paul, or the Virgin Mary, unless they be otherwise taught. And if you [Dr. Whitgift] say, let them so be taught, I have answered, that the teaching in this land cannot, by any order which is yet taken, come to the most part of those which have drunk this poison, &c." T. C. lib. i. p. 153.

‡ "Scilicet ignorant nos nec Christum unquam relinquere, qui pro totius servandorum mundi salute passus est, nec alium quempiam colere posse. Nam hunc quidem tanquam Filium Dei adoramus, Martyres vero tanquam discipulos et imitatores Domini digne propter insuperabilem in Regem ipsorum ac Præceptorem benevolentiam diligimus, quorum et nos consortes et discipulos fieri optamus." Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 15.

§ "As for all the commodities, &c." T. C. lib. i. p. 153 ["As for all the commodities which we receive by holidays, whereby Master Doctor goeth about to prove the goodness and lawfulness of their institution; as that the Scriptures are there read and expounded; the patience of those Saints in their persecution and martyrdom is to the edifying of the Church remembered, and yearly renewed: I say that we might have all those commodities without all those dangers which I have spoken of, and without any keeping of yearly memory of those Saints."]

|| ["Other Reformed Churches also have days ascribed to Saints as well as we." WHITGIFT'S *Ans. to an Admonition*. 1572. p. 177. T. C.'s notice of them in the place referred to by Hooker is only in reply to this "childish appeal" of Whitgift's.]

with reason condemn.* Such is evermore the final victory of all truth, that they which have not the hearts to love her, acknowledge that to hate her they have no cause. Touching those Festival-days therefore which we now observe, their number being no way felt discommodious† to the Commonwealth, and their grounds such as hitherto hath been shewed; what remaineth, but to keep them throughout all generations holy, severed by manifest notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which most may betoken true, virtuous and celestial joy. To which intent, because surcease from labour is necessary, yet not so necessary, no, not on the Sabbath or seventh-day itself, but that rarer occasions in men's particular affairs, subject to manifest detriment unless they be presently followed, may with very good conscience draw them sometimes aside from the ordinary rule, considering the favourable dispensation which our Lord and Saviour groundeth on this axiom, "Man was not made ^{Mark} for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath ordained for man," so ^{ii. 27.} far forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principal sanctification thereof, howsoever the rigour of the Law of Moses may be thought to import the contrary; if we regard ^{Numb.} with what severity the violation of Sabbaths hath been ^{xy. 32—36.} sometimes punished, a thing perhaps the more requisite at that instant, both because the Jews, by reason of their long abode in a place of continual servile toil, could not suddenly be weaned and drawn unto contrary offices, without some strong impression of terror; and also for that there is nothing more needful, than to punish with extremity the first transgressions of those Laws that require a more exact observation for many ages to come; therefore, as the Jews, superstitiously addicted to their Sabbaths' rest for a long time, not without danger to themselves and obloquy to their very Law,‡ did afterwards perceive and amend wisely their former error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by ^{i Mac.} ^{ii. 40, 41.}

* "We condemn not the Church of England, neither in this, nor in other things, which are meet to be reformed. For it is one thing to mislike, another thing to condemn; and it is one thing to condemn something in the Church, and another thing to condemn the Church for it." T. C. lib. i. p. 154.

† Πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσεν· τό τε γὰρ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους εἰς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζῆμια οὐκ ἐλαχίστη ἐγίνετο. De Claudio dictum apud Dion. lib. ix.

‡ "Hi vacare consueti sunt septima die, et neque arma portare in prædictis diebus, neque terræ culturam contingere, neque alterius cujuspiam curam habere patiuntur, sed in templis extendentes manus adorare usque ad vesperam soliti sunt. Ingreddiente vero in civitatem Ptolemæo Lago cum exercitu et multis hominibus, cum custodire debuerint

necessity venial, though otherwise, especially on that day, rest be more convenient; so at all times, the voluntary scandalous contempt of that rest from labour, wherewith publicly God is served, we cannot too severely correct and bridle. The Emperor Constantine having with over-great facility licensed Sundays' labours in country villages, under that pretence, whereof there may justly no doubt sometime consideration be had, namely, lest any thing which God by his providence hath bestowed should miscarry not being taken in due time; Leo, which afterwards saw that this ground would not bear so general and large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a contrary edict both reverse and severely censure his predecessor's remissness, saying, "We ordain, according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghost and of the Apostles thereby directed, that on the sacred day, wherein our own integrity was restored, all do rest and surcease labour; that neither husbandman, nor other, on that day put their hands to forbidden works. For, if the Jews did so much reverence their Sabbath, which was but a shadow of ours, are not we which inhabit the light and truth of grace, bound to honour that day which the Lord himself hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us both from dishonour and from death? Are we not bound to keep it singular and inviolable, well contenting ourselves with so liberal a grant of the rest, and not encroaching upon that one which God hath chosen to his own honour? Were it not reckless neglect of Religion to make that very day common, and to think we may do with it as with the rest?" Imperial Laws which had such care of hallowing especially our Lord's-day, did not omit to provide that other Festival-times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were days appointed on the sudden, as extraordinary occasions fell out, or days which were celebrated yearly for politic and civil considerations; or, finally, such days as Christian Religion hath ordained in God's Church. The joy that setteth aside labour, disperseth those things which labour gathereth. For gladness doth always rise from a kind of fruition and happiness, which happiness banisheth the cogitation of all want; it needeth nothing but

Neh.
xiii. 15.

Cod.
lib. iii.
tit. 12.
l. 3.

Leo,
Constit.
liv.

Cod.
lib. iii.
tit. 12.
Dies
festos.

civitatem, ipsis stultitiam observantibus, provincia quidem dominum suscepit amarissimum; Lex vero manifestata est malam habere solennitatem." Agatharchid. apud Joseph. lib. I. contra Appion. Vide et Dion. lib. xxxvii.

only the bestowing of that it hath. Inasmuch as the greatest felicity that felicity hath, is to spread and enlarge itself, it cometh hereby to pass, that the first effect of joyfulness is to rest, because it seeketh no more; the next, because it aboundeth, to give. The root of both is the glorious presence of that joy of mind, which riseth from the manifold considerations of God's unspeakable mercy, into which considerations we are led by occasion of sacred times. For, how could the Jewish congregations of old be put in mind by their weekly Sabbaths what the world reaped through his goodness, which did of nothing create the world; by their yearly Passover, what farewell they took of the land of Egypt; by their Pentecost, what Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes their fathers received at the hands of God; by their Feast of Tabernacles, with what protection they journeyed from place to place, through so many fears and hazards, during the tedious time of forty years' travail in the Wilderness; by their annual Solemnity of Lots, how near the whole seed of Israel was unto utter extirpation, when it pleased that great God, which guideth all things in Heaven and earth, so to change the counsels and purposes of men, that the same hand which had signed a Decree, in the opinion both of them that granted and of them that procured it, irrevocable, for the general massacre of man, woman, and child, became the buckler of their preservation, that no one hair of their heads might be toucht. The same days which had been set for the pouring out of so much innocent blood, were made the days of their execution whose malice had contrived the plot thereof; and the self-same persons that should have endured whatsoever violence and rage could offer, were employed in the just revenge of cruelty, to give unto blood-thirsty men the taste of their own cup. Or, how can the Church of Christ now endure to be so much called on, and preached unto, by that which every Dominical day* throughout the year, that which year by year so many Festival-times, if not commanded by the Apostles themselves,† whose care at that time was of greater things, yet instituted either by such universal authority‡ as no

* Matt. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 1. Luke xxiv. 1. John xx. 1. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Apoc. i. 10.

† "Apostolis propositum fuit, non ut leges de festis diebus celebrandis sancirent; sed ut recte vivendi rationis et pietatis nobis auctores essent." Socrat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 22.

‡ "Quæ toto terrarum orbe servantur, vel ab ipsis Apostolis, vel Conciliis generalibus quorum est saluberrima in Ecclesia auctoritas, statuta esse intelligere licet; sicuti quod

Luke
ii. 14.

[Arist.
Pol.
lib. i.
c. 13.]

man, or at the least such as we with no reason may despise, do[th], as sometime the holy Angels did from Heaven, sing, "Glory be unto God on high, peace on earth, towards men good will," (for this in effect is the very song that all Christian Feasts do apply as their several occasions require)? How should the days and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and we refuse to agnize the benefit of such remembrances; that very benefit which caused Moses to acknowledge those guides of day and night, the sun and moon which enlighten the world, not more profitable to Nature by giving all things life, than they are to the Church of God by occasion of the use they have in regard of the appointed Festival-times? That which the head of all Philosophers hath said of women, "If they be good, the half of the Commonwealth is happy wherein they are;" the same we may fitly apply to times; well to celebrate these religious and sacred days, is to spend the flower of our time happily. They are the splendour and outward dignity of our Religion, forcible witnesses of ancient truth, provocations to the exercise of all piety, shadows of our endless felicity in Heaven, on earth everlasting records and memorials; wherein they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto that we teach, may only by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatsoever we believe.*

Domini Passio, et Resurrectio, et in cœlum Ascensus, et Adventus Spiritus Sancti, anniversaria solennitate celebrantur." August. Epist. cxviii. ["To allow of St. Augustine's saying, That the celebrating of the day of the Passion, &c. is either of some general Council, or of the Apostles, commanded and decreed; opens a gate unto the Papists to bring in, under the colour of Traditions, all their beggary whatsoever." T. C. lib. i. p. 31; and lib. ii. p. 87.]

* ["Those Holidays are liable to most question that are obtruded on the Church with the greatest confidence," says RICHARD BAXTER; who makes no scruple concerning holidays appointed on some emergent occasions, not common to all times and situations of the Church, and which occasions were not existent when the Scriptures were written: but, he says, "The hardest part of the question is, Whether it be lawful to keep days as holy in celebrating the memorial of Christ's nativity, circumcision, fasting, transfiguration, ascension, &c.?" These occasions, he argues (*Five Disputations of Church Gov.* 1659. 4to. pp. 412—415.) were existent in the Apostles' days; and, therefore, if God would have had them observed, he could as easily and fitly have directed it by his Apostles in the Scripture as he did other the like things. Consequently they cannot be necessary, because not the matter of a universal Law: and it is accusing God's institution of a weekly Sabbath of insufficiency, to mend his appointment by ordaining anniversary days for commemorating any part of the work of Redemption. The fourth Commandment is of too high a nature for men to presume to make the like. It seems that God has purposely denied us the observation of the day of Christ's birth, by causing the time to become unknown. The confidence some assume on this subject betrays but their ignorance. Chronologists are not agreed upon the year, much less upon the month, or day. "Where no Law is, there is no transgression," Rom. iv. 15; hence, there is no sin in not keeping Christmas-day and other the like holidays; on the contrary, it is not so sure that there is no evil in keeping them, therefore the safer side is to be taken.—FABRICIUS (*Bibl. Antiq.* cap. vii. sect. 9, 10.) has made a catalogue of one hundred and thirty-six opinions concerning the year of Christ's birth. Dr. CAVE says,

72. The matching of contrary things together is a kind of illustration to both. Having therefore spoken thus much of Festival-days, the next that offer themselves to hand are days of pensive humiliation and sorrow. Fastings are either of men's own free and voluntary accord, as their particular devotion doth move them thereunto; or else they are publicly enjoined in the Church, and required at the hands of all men. There are which altogether disallow not the former kind; and the latter they greatly commend, so that it be upon extraordinary occasions only, and after one certain manner exercised. But yearly or weekly Fasts, such as ours in the Church of England, they allow no farther than as the temporal state of the land doth require the same, for the maintenance of seafaring men and preservation of cattle; because the decay of the one, and the waste of the other, could not well be prevented but by a politic order appointing some such usual change of diet as ours is. We are, therefore, the rather to make it manifest in all men's eyes, that set times of Fasting, appointed in spiritual considerations to be kept by all sorts of men, took not their beginning either from Montanus,* or any other

Of days appointed as well for ordinary, as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.

(*Prim. Christ.* Part I. chap.vii.) the first footsteps he could find of the Festival of the Nativity are in the Second Century. But his authority for even that antiquity is overthrown by BINGHAM (*Orig. Eccl.* Book XX. chap. iv. sect. 4.) who rests upon a remark in Chrysostom, who died early in the Fifth Century; that "This day was of great antiquity and of long continuance." (*Hom.* 31. de Bap. Christ.) Granting that it were so, it was not the only abuse that had found its way into the Church very early; but the advocates for Festivals, and antiquity, conveniently overlook, with HOOKER, this condemnatory passage of Clemens Alexandrinus, who flourished in the Second Century, "We are commanded to worship and honour this same person, whom we are persuaded is the Word, the Saviour, and Ruler; and through him, the Father; *not upon select days, as some others do* (*οὐκ ἐν ἐξαίρετοῖς ἡμέραις ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινές*); but we do it always, and by all manner of ways, through the whole course of our lives." *Strom.* lib. vii. cap. 7. Edit. Pott. Keeping Festivals, therefore, of human appointment, and of uncertain time, has no concern with any part of that real "holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." Heb. xii. 14. By not keeping them, we may escape the danger of addressing our Maker in such "prescribed" unmeaning and apparently absurd language as follows; "And as at this time to be born, &c." *Collect for Christmas-Day*: "As thy only-begotten Son was *this day* presented in the temple, &c." *Col. for The Purification.*]

* "I will not enter now to discuss, whether it were well done to fast in all places according to the custom of the place. You [Dr. W.] oppose Ambrose and Augustine; I could oppose Ignatius and Tertullian; whereof the one saith, it is *nefas*, a detestable thing to fast upon the Lord's day; the other, that it is to kill the Lord. Tertull. de Coron. Mil. Ignatius, Epist. ad Philippen. . . . And although Ambrose and Augustine, being private men at Rome, would have so done; yet it followeth not, that if they had been Citizens and Ministers there, that they would have done it. And if they had done so, yet it followeth not, but that they would have spoken against that appointment of days, and *νομοθεσίαν* of fasting, whereof Eusebius saith, that Montanus was the first author. (lib. v. c. 17.) I speak of that which they ought to have done. For otherwise I know, they both thought corruptly

* [T. C. adds, "And this is the inconvenience that cometh of such unlearned kind of reasoning, St. Ambrose saith so, and therefore it is true!"]

whose Heresies may prejudice the credit and due estimation thereof, but have their ground in the Law of Nature, are allowable in God's sight, were in all ages heretofore, and may till the world's end be observed, not without singular use and benefit. Much hurt hath grown to the Church of God through a false imagination that Fasting standeth men in no stead for any spiritual respect, but only to take down the frankness of nature, and to tame the wildness of flesh. Whereupon the world being bold to surfeit, doth now blush to fast, supposing that men when they fast, do rather bewray a disease than exercise a virtue. I much wonder what they who are thus persuaded do think, what conceit they have concerning the Fasts of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, our Lord Jesus Christ himself.* The affections of *joy* and *grief* are so knit unto all the actions of man's life, that whatsoever we can do, or may be done unto us, the sequel thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore, considering that they which grieve and joy as they ought, cannot possibly otherwise live than as they should, the Church of Christ, the most absolute and perfect school of all virtue, hath, by the special direction of God's good Spirit, hitherto always inured men from their infancy, partly with days of Festival-exercise for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrary sort for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit, over and besides this, we must note, that as resting, so Fasting likewise, attendeth sometimes no less upon the actions of the higher than upon the affections of the lower part of the mind. Fasting (saith Tertullian) is a work of reverence towards God. The end thereof, some-

of Fasting; whenas the one saith, it was remedy or reward to fast other days, but in Lent not to fast was sin; and the other asketh, what salvation we can obtain, if we blot not out sins by fasting, seeing that the Scripture saith, That Fasting and Alms doth deliver from sin; and therefore calleth them new teachers, that shut out the merit of Fasting. August. de Temp. lxii. Serm. Ambr. lib. x. Epist." T. C. lib. i. p. 30.

* ["It is plain that Christ (Matt. iv. 2) did not fast to prescribe an example to others, but that in so beginning the preaching of the Gospel he might in very deed prove that it was not a doctrine of men, but descended from Heaven. And it is marvellous that so gross an error, which is confuted with so many and so evident reasons, could creep into men of so sharp judgment (as the old Fathers). For Christ did not fast oft; which he needs must have done, if he would have set forth a Law of Yearly Fasting; but only once, when he prepared himself to the publishing of the Gospel (ver. 17). And he fasted not after the manner of men, as it was meet that he should have done, if he would have provoked men to follow (or imitate) him; but rather he sheweth an example whereby he may rather draw men to wonder at him, than stir them up to follow him (therein)."] CALVIN'S *Instit.* lib. iv. cap. 12. sect. 20. Norton's Trans.]

times elevation of mind; sometime the purpose thereof clean contrary.* The cause why Moses in the Mount did so long fast, was mere divine speculation;† the cause why David, humiliation. Our life is a mixture of good with evil.‡ When we are partakers of good things, we joy; neither can we but grieve at the contrary. If that befall us which maketh glad, our Festival-solemnities declare our rejoicing to be in him, whose mere undeserved mercy is the author of all happiness; if any thing be either imminent or present which we shun, our watchings, fastings, cries, and tears, are unfeigned testimonies that ourselves we condemn as the only causes of our own misery, and do all acknowledge him no less inclinable than able to save. And because as the memory of the one, though past, reneweth gladness; so the other, called again to mind, doth make the wound of our just remorse to bleed anew; which wound needeth often touching the more, for that we are generally more apt to kalendar Saints' than sinners' days; therefore, there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone, but to have frequent repetition of the other.§ Never to seek after God saving only when either the crib or the whip doth constrain, were brutish servility, and a great derogation to the worth of that which is most predominant in man, if sometime it had not a kind of voluntary access to God, and of con-

[Exod.

xxxiv.

23.]

[2 Sam.

xii. 16.]

* "Neque enim cibi tempus in periculo: semper inedia mœroris sequela est." Tertull. de Jejun.

† ["Since that time, it never came in any man's mind, under colour of following Moses, to require such a form of fasting in the people of Israel. Neither did any of the holy prophets and fathers follow it, when yet they had mind and zeal enough to godly exercises: for that which is said of Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 8. tended to no other end but that the people should know that he was stirred up to be a restorer of the Law, ver. 10." CALVIN, *ut sup.*]

‡ "Μηδὲς δ' ὑπολάβετω τὴν ἑκράτον καὶ ἡμιγῇ λύπης χαρὰν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλ' ἐγκέκραται ἐξ ἁποφύων. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν δ πατὴρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λύπαις καὶ ὀδύναϊς καὶ ἀχθεσίν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρέμιξε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμείνωνος φύσεως, εὐδιδάσαι ποτὲ καὶ γαληνίδου τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιοσύνας. Philo, lib. de Abraham.

§ [There are now thirty-one Festivals, including the twenty-ninth day of May, and the fifth day of November; and with every Friday there are ninety-five Fasts. During the whole cycle of the sun, or every twenty-eight years, one hundred and eight Festivals fall upon Sundays, not quite four in a year; and the same number fall upon Fridays; consequently there remain set apart yearly, one hundred and eighteen days, besides the fifty-two Festivals of Divine appointment, and besides, also, the sixteen Vigils, which are not noticed in this computation. Thus it appears that, in addition to Sunday, more than two days, on the average, or more than three sevenths of every week are required by the Rules of the Church of England, to be "strictly observed;" and, that in Hooker's time, when the discipline was rife, a man would be put into the Spiritual Courts, and be punished with "the crib, or the whip," if he went to his work on a "holiday," after having been at the Church service! See Queen Elizabeth's *Injunctions*, 1559, Art. XX. "Holidays shall be strictly observed, except in harvest-time, after Divine Service." And Canons XIII. XV. 1603. And see PEIRCE's *Vind. of the Dissenters*, pp. 508, 509.]

John
iv. 24.

Rom.
xiv. 17.

Matt.
vi. 16.

ference, as it were, with God, all these inferior considerations laid aside. In which sequestration, forasmuch as higher cogitations do naturally drown and bury all inferior cares, the mind may as well forget natural both food and sleep, by being carried above itself with serious and heavenly meditation, as by being cast down with heaviness, drowned and swallowed up of sorrow. Albeit, therefore, concerning Jewish abstinence from certain kinds of meats as being unclean, the Apostle doth teach, that "the Kingdom of Heaven is not meat nor drink," that "food commendeth us not unto God," whether we take it, or abstain from it; that if we eat, we are not thereby the more acceptable in his sight; nor the less, if we eat not; his purpose, notwithstanding, was far from any intent to derogate from that Fasting, which is no such scrupulous abstinence as only refuseth some kinds of meats and drinks, lest they make him unclean that tasteth them; but an abstinence whereby we either interrupt or otherwise abridge the care of our bodily sustenance, to show by this kind of outward exercise the serious intention of our minds fixed on heavenlier and better desires, the earnest hunger and thirst whereof depriveth the body of those usual contentments, which otherwise are not denied unto it. These being in nature the first causes that induce Fasting, the next thing which followeth to be considered, is the ancient practice thereof amongst the Jews. Touching whose private voluntary Fasts the precept which our Saviour gave them was, "When ye fast, look not sour, as hypocrites: for they disfigure their faces, that they might seem unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. When thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face, that thou seem not unto men to fast, but unto the Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, will reward thee openly." Our Lord and Saviour would not teach the manner of doing, much less propose a reward for doing that which were not both holy and acceptable in God's sight. The Pharisees weekly bound themselves unto double Fasts, neither are they for this reproved. Often Fasting, which was a virtue in John's Disciples, could not in them of itself be a vice; and, therefore, not the oftness of their Fasting, but their hypocrisy therein, was blamed. Of public enjoined Fasts, upon causes extraordinary, the examples in Scripture are so

frequent, that they need no particular rehearsal.* Public extraordinary Fasts were sometimes for one only day,† sometimes for three,‡ sometimes for seven.§ Touching Fasts not appointed for any such extraordinary causes, but either yearly, or monthly, or weekly observed and kept; first, upon the ninth day of that month, the tenth whereof was the Feast of Expiation, they were commanded of God that every soul, year by year, should afflict itself.|| Their yearly Feasts every fourth month, in regard of the city of Jerusalem entered by the enemy; every fifth, in memory of the overthrow of their Temple; every seventh, for the treacherous destruction and death of Gedaliah, the very last stay which they had to lean unto in their greatest misery; every tenth, in remembrance of the time when siege began first to be laid against them: all these not commanded of God himself, but ordained by a public Constitution of their own, the Prophet Zachary expressly toucheth. That St. Jerome, following the tradition of the Hebrews, doth make the first a memorial of the breaking of those two Tables, when Moses descended from Mount Sinai; the second, a memorial as well of God's indignation, condemning them to forty years' travail in the Desert, as of his wrath in permitting Chaldeans to waste, burn, and destroy their city; the last a memorial of heavy tidings, brought out of Jewry to Ezekiel and the rest, which lived as captives in foreign parts; the difference is not of any moment, considering that each time of sorrow is naturally evermore a register of all such grievous events as have happened either in, or near about, the same time. To these I might add sundry other Fasts, above twenty in number, ordained amongst them by like occasions, and observed in like manner, besides their weekly abstinence, Mondays and Thursdays, throughout the whole year. When men fasted, it was not always after one and the same sort; but either by depriving themselves wholly of all food during the time that their Fasts continued, or by abating both the quantity and kind of diet. We have of the one a plain example in the

Zech.
viii. 19.
Numb.
xiv.

Exod.
xxxii.

Vide
Riber.
lib. v.
cap. 21.

[Jonah
iii. 5.]

* 2 Chron. xx. Jer. xxxvi. Ezra viii. I Sam. vii. † Judg. xx. 26.

‡ 2 Mac. xiii. 12. § 1 Sam. xxxi. 13. 1 Chron. x. 12.

|| Levit. xxiii. xvi. Philo de hujus festi jejuniis ita loquitur: Οὐ στίλον, οὐ ποτὸν ἔξασσι προσενέγκασθαι, καθαράς ὅπως διαβολάς, μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδὲ ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικοῦ πάθους, ὅποια φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησμονῆς, ἐορτάζουσιν ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς βοίαις εὐχαῖς. δι' ὃν ἀμνηστίαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, κτήσιν δὲ καὶ ἀπέλαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν εἰσάσιν αἰτεῖσθαι. P. 447.

Ninevites' fasting, and as plain a precedent for the other in the Prophet Daniel; "I was (saith he) in heaviness for three weeks of days; I ate no pleasant bread, neither tasted flesh nor wine." Their tables, when they gave themselves to fasting, had not that usual furniture of such dishes as do cherish blood with blood; but for food,* they had bread; for suppage, salt; and for sauce, herbs. Whereunto the Apostle may be thought to allude, saying, "One believeth he may eat all things, another which is weak (and maketh a conscience of keeping those customs which the Jews observe) eateth herbs." This austere repast they took in the evening after abstinence the whole day; for to forfeit a noon's meal, and then to recompense themselves at night, was not their use: nor did they ever accustom themselves on Sabbaths, or Festival-days, to fast.† And yet it may be a question, whether in some sort they did not always fast the Sabbath. Their Fastings were partly in token of penitency, humiliation, grief and sorrow; partly in sign of devotion and reverence towards God. Which second consideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirm any thing) might induce to abstain till noon, as their manner was on Fasting-days to do till night. May it not very well be thought, that hereunto the sacred Scripture doth give some secret kind of testimony? Josephus is plain, that the sixth hour‡ (the day they divided into twelve) was wont on the Sabbath always to call them home unto meat. Neither is it improbable, but that the Heathens did therefore so often upbraid them with fasting on that day.§ Besides, they which found so great fault with our Lord's Disciples, for rubbing a few ears of corn in their hands on the Sabbath-day, are not unlikely to have aimed also at the same mark. For neither was the bodily pain so great, that it should offend them in that respect, and the very manner of defence which our Saviour there useth, is more direct and literal to

Dan.
x. 2, 3.

Rom.
xiv. 2.

Nehem.
viii. 3.
12.

[Matt.
xii. 1.]

* "Puram et sine animalibus cœnam." Apul. in Asclep. in fin. "Pastum et potum pura nosse, non ventris scilicet, sed animæ causa." Tertul. de Pœnit. Vide Phil. lib. de Vita contempl.

† Hieron. lib. ii. contr. Jovinian. Judith viii. 6. R. Mos. in Misne. Tora. lib. iii. Qui est de tempor. cap. de Sab. et cap. de Jejun.

‡ "Hora sexta, quæ Sabbatis nostris ad prandium vocare solet, supervenit." Joseph. lib. de Vita sua.

§ "Sabbata Judæorum a Mose in omne ævum jejuniis dicata." Justin. lib. xxxvi. "Ne Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam libenter Sabbati jejunium servat, quam ego hodie servavi." Sueton. in Octav. cap. 76.

justify the breach of the Jewish custom in Fasting, than in working at that time. Finally, the Apostles afterwards themselves, when God first gave them the gift of tongues, whereas some in disdain and spite termed grace drunkenness, it being then the day of Pentecost, and but only a fourth part of the day spent, they use this as an argument against the other cavil, "These men (saith Peter) are not drunk, as you suppose, since as yet the third hour of the day is not overpast." Howbeit, leaving this in suspence, as a thing not altogether certainly known, and to come from Jews to Christians, we find that of private voluntary Fastings the Apostle St. Paul speaketh more than once. And (saith Tertullian) they are sometime commanded throughout the Church, "*ex aliqua sollicitudinis Ecclesiasticæ causa,*" the care and fear of the Church so requiring. It doth not appear, that the Apostles ordained any set and certain days to be generally kept of all.* Notwithstanding, forasmuch as Christ hath foresignified, that when himself should be taken from them, his absence would soon make them apt to fast,† it seemeth, that even as the first Festival-day appointed to be kept of the Church was the day of our Lord's return from the dead, so the first sorrowful and mournful day was that which we now observe in memory of his departure out of this world. And because there could be no abatement of grief till they saw him raised, whose death was the occasion of their heaviness; therefore, the day he lay in the sepulchre hath been also kept and observed as a weeping day. The custom of Fasting these two days before Easter, is undoubtedly most ancient: inso-much that Ignatius, not thinking him a Catholic Christian man which did not abhor, and (as the state of the Church was then) avoid fasting on the Jews' Sabbath, doth notwithstanding except for ever that one Sabbath or Saturday which falleth out to be the Easter-eve, as with us it always doth, and did sometimes also with them which kept at that

Acts
ii. 15.

1 Cor.
vii. 5.
2 Cor.
vi. 5.
xi. 27.

[Matt.
ix. 15.]

Ignat.
Epist. ad
Philip.

* ["Ego in evangelicis et apostolicis literis, totoque instrumento, quod appellatur Testamentum Novum, animo id revolvens, video præceptum esse jejunium. Quibus autem diebus non oporteat jejunare, et quibus oporteat, præcepto Domini vel apostolorum non inveni definitum." AUG. *ad Casul.* Ep. 36, al. 76.]

† ["Christ, when he excuseth his Apostles for that they 'fast not,' doth not say that fasting is abrogated; but he appointeth it to times of calamity, and joineth it with mourning." "It is perilous to require it more precisely and rigorously as it were one of the chief duties, and so to advance it with immeasurable praises that men should think they have done some excellent thing when they have fasted." CALVIN's *Instit.* lib. iv. cap. 12. sect. 17, 19.]

time their Easter the fourteenth day of March, as the custom of the Jews was. It came afterward to be an Order, that even as the day of Christ's Resurrection, so the other two, in memory of his death and burial, were weekly. But this, when St. Ambrose lived, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in Milan, where himself was Bishop. And for that cause he saith, that although at Rome he observed the Saturday's Fast, because such was then the custom in Rome, nevertheless in his own Church at home he did otherwise. The Churches which did not observe that day had another instead thereof, which was the Wednesday, for that when they judged it meet to have weekly a day of humiliation, besides that whereon our Saviour suffered death, it seemed best to make their choice of that day especially whereon the Jews are thought to have first contrived their treason, together with Judas, against Christ. So that the instituting and ordaining both of these and all other times of like exercise, is as the Church shall judge expedient for men's good. And concerning every Christian man's duty herein, surely that which Augustine and Ambrose are before alleged to have done, is such as all men favouring equity must needs allow and follow, if they affect peace. As for their specified errors, I will not in this place dispute, whether voluntary Fasting with a virtuous purpose of mind be any medicinable remedy of evil, or a duty acceptable unto God, and in the world to come even rewardable as other offices are which proceed from Christian piety; whether wilfully to break and despise the wholesome Laws of the Church herein be a thing which offendeth God; whether truly it may not be said, that penitent both weeping and fasting are means to blot out sin, means whereby through God's unspeakable and undeserved mercy we obtain or procure to ourselves pardon; which attainment unto any gracious benefit by him bestowed, the phrase of antiquity useth to express by the name of Merit; but if either St. Augustine or St. Ambrose have taught any wrong opinion,* seeing they which reprove them are not altogether free from error, I hope they will think

* ["The errors which Ambrose or Augustine had, must not prejudice their authority in speaking truly." *WHITGIFT'S Def. of the Ans.* p. 102. See the Note in p. 333 of this Volume.]

it no error in us so to censure men's smaller faults, that their virtues be not thereby generally prejudiced.* And, if in Churches abroad, where we are not subject to power or jurisdiction, discretion should teach us for peace and quietness' sake to frame ourselves to other men's example, is it meet that at home, where our freedom is less, our boldness should be more? Is it our duty to oppugn, in the Churches whereof we are Ministers, the Rites and Customs which in foreign Churches piety and modesty did teach us as strangers not to oppugn, but to keep without shew of contradiction or dislike? Why oppose they the name of a Minister in this case unto the state of a private man? Doth their Order exempt them from obedience to Laws? That which their office and place requireth, is to show themselves patterns of reverend subjection, not authors and masters of contempt towards Ordinances, the strength whereof when they seek to weaken they do but in truth discover to the world their own imbecilities, which a great deal wiselier they might conceal. But the practice of the Church of Christ we shall by so much the better both understand and love, if to that which hitherto hath been spoken there be somewhat added for more particular declaration, how Heretics have partly abused Fasts, and partly bent themselves against the lawful use thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore Ignatius hath said, if any keep Sunday's or Saturday's Fast, (one only Saturday in the year excepted), that man is no better than a murderer of Christ;† the cause of such his earnestness at that time was the impiety of certain Heretics, which thought that this world being corruptible could not be made but by a very evil author.‡ And therefore as the Jews did, by the Festival-solemnity of their Sabbath, rejoice in the God that created the world, as in the author of all goodness; so those Heretics, in hatred of the Maker of the world, sorrowed, wept, and fasted on that day, as being the birthday of all evil. And as Christian men of sound belief did solemnize the Sunday in joyful memory of Christ's Resurrection, so likewise at the self-same time such

* ["The less they deserve, the more *merit* is in your bounty." SHAKS. *Ham.* Act II. sc. 2.]

† Εἰ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἐνὸς σαββάτου, οὗτος χριστοκτόνος ἐστί. Epist. ad Philipp.

‡ Vide Iren. lib. i. cap. 20—25. Epiph. Hæres. 20—24. 27, 28, et 41, 42. Vide Canon. Apost. 55.

Heretics as denied his Resurrection did the contrary to them which held it; when the one sort rejoiced, the other fasted. Against those Heretics which have urged perpetual abstinence from certain meats, as being in their very nature unclean, the Church hath still bent herself as an enemy; [1 Tim. iv. 3.] St. Paul giving charge to take heed of them, which, under any such opinion, should utterly forbid the use of meats or drinks. The Apostles themselves forbade some, as the Order taken at Jerusalem declareth; but the cause of their [Acts xv. 29.] so doing we all know. Again, when Tertullian, together with such as were his followers, began to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the severity of Christian Discipline, brought in sundry unaccustomed days of fasting, continued their Fasts a great deal longer, and made them more rigorous than the use of the Church had been; the minds of men being somewhat moved at so great and so sudden novelty, the cause was presently inquired into. After notice taken how the Montanists held these additions to be supplements of the Gospel, whereunto the Spirit of Prophecy did now mean to put, as it were, the last hand, and was therefore newly descended upon Montanus, whose Orders all Christian men were no less to obey, than the Laws of the Apostles themselves; this abstinence the Church abhorred likewise, and that justly. Whereupon, Tertullian proclaiming even open war to the Church, maintained Montanism, wrote a book in defence of the new Fast, and entituled the same, "A Treatise of Fasting against the Opinion of the Carnal Sort." In which treatise, nevertheless, because so much is sound and good, as doth either generally concern the use, or in particular declare the custom of the Church's Fasting in those times, men are not to reject whatsoever is alleged out of that book for confirmation of the truth. His error discloseth itself in those places where he defendeth his Fasts to be duties necessary for the whole Church of Christ to observe as commanded by the Holy Ghost, and that with the same authority from whence all other Apostolical Ordinances came, both being the Laws of God himself, without any other distinction or difference, saving only, that he which before had declared his will by Paul and Peter, did now farther reveal the same by Montanus also. "Against us ye pretend (saith Tertullian), that the public Orders which Christianity is bound to keep, were delivered at the

first, and that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand, if you can, upon this point; for behold, I challenge you for fasting more than at Easter yourselves. But in fine ye answer, that these things are to be done as established by the voluntary appointment of men, and not by virtue or force of any divine commandment. Well then (he addeth) ye have removed your first footing, and gone beyond that which was delivered, by doing more than was at the first imposed upon you. You say, you must do that which your own judgments have allowed: we require your obedience to that which God himself doth institute. Is it not strange, that men to their own will should yield that, which to God's commandment they will not grant? Shall the pleasure of men prevail more with you, than the power of God himself?" These places of Tertullian for Fasting have worthily been put to silence; and as worthily Aërius condemned for opposition against Fasting. The one endeavoured to bring in such Fasts as the Church ought not to receive; the other, to overthrow such as already it had received and did observe: the one was plausible unto many, by seeming to hate carnal looseness and riotous excess much more than the rest of the world did; the other drew hearers, by pretending the maintenance of Christian liberty: the one thought his cause very strongly upheld, by making invective declamations with a pale and a withered countenance against the Church, by filling the ears of his starved hearers with speech suitable to such men's humours, and by telling them, no doubt, to their marvellous contentment and liking, "Our new prophecies are refused, they are despised. Is it because Montanus doth preach some other God, or dissolve the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or overthrow any Canon of Faith and Hope? No, our crime is, we teach that men ought to fast more often than marry; the best feast-maker is with them the perfectest saint, they are assuredly mere spirit; and therefore these our corporal devotions please them not:" thus the one for Montanus and his Superstition. The other in a clean contrary tune against the Religion of the Church: "These set Fasts away with them, for they are Jewish, and bring men under the yoke of servitude; if I will fast, let me choose my time, that Christian liberty be not abridged." Hereupon their glory was to fast especially upon the Sunday, because the Order of the Church

Epiph.
Hæres.
75.

was on that day not to fast. "On Church Fasting-days, and specially the week before Easter, when with us (saith Epiphanius) custom admitteth nothing but lying down upon the earth, abstinence from fleshly delights and pleasures, sorrowfulness, dry and unsavory diet, prayer, watching, fasting, all the medicines which holy affections can minister; they are up betimes to take in of the strongest for the belly, and when their veins are well swollen, they make themselves mirth with laughter at this our service, wherein we are persuaded we please God." By this of Epiphanius it doth appear, not only what Fastings the Church of Christ in those times used, but also what other parts of Discipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient use and custom of bringing all men at certain times to a due consideration and an open humiliation of themselves. Two kinds there were of public penitency: the one belonging to notorious offenders, whose open wickedness had been scandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and unto every several person whom the same containeth. It will be answered, that touching this latter kind, it may be exercised well enough by men in private. No doubt but penitency is, as prayer, a thing acceptable unto God, be it in public or in secret. Howbeit, as in the one, if men were wholly left to their own voluntary meditations in their closets, and not drawn by Laws and Orders unto the open assemblies of the Church that there they may join with others in prayer, it may be soon conjectured what Christian devotion that way would come unto in a short time; even so in the other, we are by sufficient experience taught, how little it booteth to tell men of washing away their sins with tears of repentance, and so to leave them altogether unto themselves. O Lord, what heaps of grievous transgressions have we committed, the best, the perfectest, the most righteous amongst us all; and yet clean pass them over unsorrowsed for and unrepented of, only because the Church hath forgotten utterly how to bestow her wonted times of Discipline, wherein the public example of all was unto every particular person a most effectual mean to put them often in mind, and even in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and clean forget, as if penitency were no part of a Christian man's duty! Again, besides our private offences, which

ought not thus loosely to be overslipped; suppose we the body and corporation of the Church so just, that at no time it needeth to show itself openly cast down, in regard of those faults and transgressions, which though they do not properly belong unto any one, had notwithstanding a special sacrifice appointed for them in the Law of Moses; and being common to the whole society which containeth all, must needs so far concern every man in particular, as at some time in solemn manner to require acknowledgment with more than daily and ordinary testifications of grief. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be devised, than that memorable Commination set down in the Book of Common Prayer, if our practice in the rest were suitable. The head already so well drawn doth but wish a proportionable body. And by the Preface to that very part of the English Liturgy it may appear, how at the first setting down thereof no less was intended. For so we are to interpret the meaning of those words, wherein restitution of the primitive Church-discipline is greatly wished for, touching the manner of public penance in time of Lent. Wherewith some being not much acquainted, but having framed in their minds the conceit of a new Discipline far unlike unto that of old, they make themselves believe it is undoubtedly this their Discipline which at the first was so much desired. They have long pretended, that the whole Scripture is plain for them. If now the Communion-book make for them too (I well think the one doth as much as the other), it may be hoped, that being found such a well-wisher unto their cause, they will more favour it than they have done. Having therefore hitherto spoken both of Festival-days and so much of solemn Fasts, as may reasonably serve to show the ground thereof in the Law of Nature; the practice partly appointed and partly allowed of God in the Jewish Church; the like continued in the Church of Christ; together with the sinister oppositions, either of Heretics erroneously abusing the same, or of others thereat quarrelling without cause, we will only collect the chiefest points as well of resemblance as of difference between them, and so end. First, in this they agree, that because Nature is the general root of both, therefore both have been always common to the Church with Infidels and Heathen-men. Secondly, they also herein accord, that as oft as joy is the cause of the one, and grief the wellspring

Isai.
i. 13.
lviii. 3.

1 Tim.
iv. 8.

Matt.
ix. 14.
Col.
ii. 16.

of the other, they are incompatible.* A third degree of affinity between them is, that neither being acceptable to God of itself, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him must necessarily depend on that which they ought to import and signify; so that if herein the mind dispose not itself aright, whether we rest or fast, we offend. A fourth thing common unto them, is, that the greatest part of the world hath always grossly and palpably offended in both; Infidels, because they did all in relation to false gods; godless, sensual, and careless minds, for that there is in them no constant, true, and sincere affection towards those things which are pretended by such exercise; yea, certain flattering oversights there are, wherewith sundry, and they not of the worst sort, may be easily in these cases led awry, even through abundance of love and liking to that which must be embraced by all means, but with caution, inasmuch as the very admiration of Saints, whether we celebrate their glory, or follow them in humility; whether we laugh or weep, mourn or rejoice with them, is (as in all things the affection of love) apt to deceive; and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchful guide, seeing there is manifestly both ways, even in them whom we honour, that which we are to observe and shun. The best have not still been sufficiently mindful, that God's very Angels in Heaven are but Angels; and that bodily exercise, considered in itself, is no great matter. Finally, seeing that both are Ordinances well devised for the good of man, and yet not man created purposely for them as for other offices of virtue, whereunto God's immutable Law for ever tieth;† it is but equity to wish or admonish that where, by uniform order, they are not as yet received, the example of Victor's extremity in the one,‡ and of John's Disciples' curiosity in the other, be not followed; yea, where they are appointed by Law, that notwithstanding we avoid Judaism: and, as in Festival-days, men's necessities for matter of labour, so in times of Fasting, regard be had to their imbecilities, lest they should suffer harm, doing good. Thus, therefore, we see how these two customs are in divers respects equal. But of Fasting the use and exercise, though less pleasant,

* Conc. Laod. c. 51, 52. "Vetat Natalitia Martyrum in Quadragesima celebrari."

† Eccles. xii. 13. Isai. lxxviii. 6, 7. Rom. xiv. 17. James i. 27. Heb. xii. 14. Ephes. ii. 10.

‡ Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. v. c. 24.

is by so much more requisite than the other, as grief of necessity is a more familiar guest than the contrary passion of mind, albeit gladness to all men be naturally more welcome. For, first, we ourselves do many moe [*more*] things amiss than well, and the fruit of our own ill-doing is remorse, because Nature is conscious to itself that it should do the contrary. Again, forasmuch as the world over-aboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good unto other men, there is no man so seldom crost as pleased at the hands of others; whereupon it cannot be chosen but every man's woes must double in that respect the number and measure of his delights. Besides, concerning the very choice which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well considered, there is cause why our Saviour should accompt them happiest that do most mourn, and why Solomon might judge it better to frequent mourning than feasting houses: not better simply and in itself (for then would Nature that way incline), but in regard of us and our weakness better. Job was not ignorant that his children's banquets, though tending to amity, needed sacrifice. Neither doth any of us all need to be taught, that in things which delight we easily swerve from mediocrity, and are not easily led by a right direct line.* On the other side, the sores and diseases of mind which inordinate pleasure breedeth, are by dolour and grief cured. For which cause as all offences use to seduce by pleasing, so all punishments endeavour by vexing to reform transgressions. We are of our own accord apt enough to give entertainment to things delectable; but patiently to lack what flesh and blood doth desire, and by virtue to forbear what by nature we covet, this no man attaineth unto but with labour and long practice. From hence it riseth that, in former ages, abstinence and fasting more than ordinary was always a special branch of their praise in whom it could be observed and known, were they such as continually gave themselves to austere life; or men that took often occasions, in private virtuous respects, to lay Solomon's counsel aside, "Eat thy bread with joy," and to be followers of David's example, which saith, "I humbled my soul with fasting;" or but they who, otherwise worthy of no great commendation, have made of hunger,

Matt.
v. 4.
Eccles.
vii. 2. 4.

Job i. 5.

Eccles.
ix. 7.
Psalm.
xxxv.
13.

* 'Εν παντί δὲ μάλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν· οὐ γὰρ ἀδέκαστοι κρίνομεν αὐτήν. Arist. Eth. lib. ii. cap. 9.

some their gain, some their physic, some their art, that, by mastering sensual appetites without constraint, they might grow able to endure hardness whensoever need should require: for the body accustomed to emptiness, pineth not away so soon as having still used to fill itself. Many singular effects there are which should make Fasting, even in public considerations, the rather to be accepted: for I presume we are not altogether without experience, how great their advantage is in martial enterprises, that lead armies of men trained in a school of abstinence. It is therefore noted at this day in some, that patience of hunger and thirst hath given them many victories; in others, that because if they want, there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plenty to moderate themselves, he which can either bring them to hunger or overcharge them, is sure to make them their own overthrow. What nation soever doth feel these dangerous inconveniences, may know that sloth and fulness in peaceable times at home is the cause thereof, and the remedy a strict observation of that part of Christian Discipline which teacheth men, in practice of ghostly warfare against themselves, those things that afterwards may help them, justly assaulting or standing in lawful defence of themselves against others. The very purpose of the Church of God, both in the number and in the order of her Fasts, hath been not only to preserve thereby, throughout all ages, the remembrance of miseries heretofore sustained, and of the causes in ourselves out of which they have arisen, that men considering the one might fear the other the more, but farther also to temper the mind, lest contrary affections coming in place should make it too profuse and dissolute; in which respect it seemeth that Fasts have been set as ushers of Festival-days, for prevention of those disorders as much as might be; wherein, notwithstanding, the world always will deserve, as it hath done, blame;* because such evils being not possible to be rooted out, the most we can do, is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruit we look for) to create in the minds of them a love towards frugal and severe life; to undermine the palaces of wantonness; to plant parsimony as nature, where riotousness hath been study; to harden whom pleasure would melt; and to help

* "Valde absurdum est nimia saturitate velle honorare martyrem, quem scias Deo placuisse jejuniis." Hieron. Epist. ad Eust.

the tumours which always fulness breedeth; that children, as it were in the wool of their infancy dyed with hardness, may never afterwards change colour; that the poor, whose perpetual Fasts are of necessity, may with better contentment endure the hunger which virtue causeth others so often to choose, and by advice of Religion itself so far to esteem above the contrary; that they which for the most part do lead sensual and easy lives, they which, as the Prophet David describeth them, "are not plagued like other men," may, by the public spectacle of all, be still put in mind what themselves are; finally, that every man may be every man's daily guide and example, as well by fasting to declare humility, as by praise to express joy in the sight of God, although it have herein befallen the Church, as sometimes David, so that the speech of the one may be truly the voice of the other, "My soul fasted, and even that was also turned to my reproof."*

Psal.
lxxiii. 5.

Psal.
lxxix. 10.

73. In this world there can be no society durable otherwise than only by propagation. Albeit therefore single life be a thing more angelical and divine, yet sith the replenishing first of earth with blessed inhabitants, and then of Heaven with saints everlastingly praising God, did depend upon conjunction of man and woman, he which made all things complete and perfect, saw it could not be good to leave men without any helper unto the fore-alleged end. In things which some farther end doth cause to be desired, choice seeketh rather proportion than absolute perfection of goodness. So that woman being created for man's sake to be his helper, in regard of the end before-mentioned; namely, the having and the bringing up of children, whereunto it was not possible they could concur, unless there were subalternation between them, which subalternation is naturally

The Celebration of Matrimony.
T. C. lib. i. p. 190.

* [The Scripture History is continued thirty-seven years after Christ, including Jude, or sixty-two years, including the Apocalypse; and not a single day but Lord's-days are to be inferred as being periodically observed by the Apostles. Is it possible that if other days, such as our Saviour's birth, passion, death, &c. had been annually regarded, something respecting them should not have been mentioned, or hinted at, by the Sacred Historians? Hooker has admitted in p. 339 that "it doth not appear that the Apostles ordained any set and certain days to be generally kept of *all*." What better comment than this, can be applied to Gal. iv. 10, 11, quoted by Hooker in p. 318? And, what daring presumption was it then in Tertullian and St. Augustine to account themselves better judges of what is needful to counteract "unthankful forgetfulness of God's benefits," than the Apostles were? "This is the love of God, that we keep *his* commandments: and *his* commandments are not grievous." 1 John v. 3. "Fasting and Prayer, which you have made two virtues of, you might have contrived into one; Fasting being only a wing of Prayer, and no further a virtue than as it is referred to the end of bringing down the body that the spirit might in Prayer to God be the easilier lifted up." T. C. Conf. Rhem. Test. p. 29. See Note §, p. 335.]

grounded upon inequality, because things equal in every respect are never willingly directed one by another: woman therefore was even in her first estate framed by Nature, not only after in time, but inferior in excellency also unto man, howbeit in so due and sweet proportion, as being presented before our eyes, might be sooner perceived than defined. And even herein doth lie the reason why that kind of love, which is the perfectest ground of wedlock, is seldom able to yield any reason of itself. Now, that which is born of man must be nourished with far more travail, as being of greater price in Nature, and of slower pace to perfection, than the offspring of any other creature besides. Man and woman being therefore to join themselves for such a purpose, they were of necessity to be linked with some straight and insoluble knot. The bond of wedlock hath been always, more or less, esteemed of as a thing religious and sacred. The title which the very Heathens themselves do thereunto oftentimes give is, Holy.* Those Rites and Orders, which were instituted in the Solemnization of Marriage, the Hebrews term by the name of Conjugal Sanctifications.† Amongst ourselves, because sundry things appertaining unto the public Order of Matrimony are called in question by such as know not from whence those customs did first grow, to shew briefly some true and sufficient reason of them, shall not be superfluous; although we do not hereby intend to yield so far unto enemies of all Church-orders saving their own, as though every thing were unlawful the true cause and reason whereof at the first might hardly perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore, to begin with the times wherein the liberty of Marriage is restrained. “There is (saith Solomon) a time for all things, a time to laugh, and a time to mourn.” That duties belonging unto Marriage, and offices appertaining to penance, are things unsuitable and unfit to be matched together, the Prophets and Apostles themselves do witness. Upon which ground, as we might right well think it marvellous absurd to see in a Church a wedding on the day of a public Fast, so likewise in the self-same consideration, our predecessors thought it not amiss to take away the common‡ liberty of Marriages during

Eccles.
iii. 1.

Joel
ii. 16.
1 Cor.
vii. 5.

* Τὸς ἱερὸς γάμος. Dionys. Antiq. lib. ii.

† Kiddushin de Rituali Heb. benedictione nuptiarum.

‡ [Having restrained Marriage to certain times of the year, how “marvellous absurd” is it in flat violation of these incompatible “duties” and “offices,” to compound, by receiving

the time which was appointed for preparation unto, and for exercise of, general humiliation by fasting and praying, weeping for sins. As for the delivering up of the woman either by her father or by some other, we must note that in ancient times all women, which had not husbands nor fathers to govern them, had their tutors,* without whose authority there was no act which they did warrantable;† and for this cause, they were in marriage delivered unto their husbands by others. Which custom retained hath still this use, that it putteth women in mind of a duty whereunto the very imbecility of their nature and sex doth bind them; namely, to be always directed, guided, and ordered by others, although our positive Laws do not tie them now as pupils. The custom of laying down money seemeth to have been derived from the Saxons, whose manner was to buy their wives. But, seeing there is not any great cause wherefore the memory of that custom should remain, it skilleth not much, although we suffer it to lie dead, even as we see it in a manner already worn out. The Ring hath been always used as an especial pledge of faith and fidelity: nothing more fit to serve as a token of our purposed endless continuance in that which we never ought to revoke. This is the cause wherefore the Heathens themselves did in such cases use the ring, whereunto Tertullian alluding, saith, that in ancient times, “No woman was permitted to wear gold, saving only upon one finger, which her husband had fastened unto himself, with that ring which was usually given for assurance of future marriage.”‡ The cause why the Christians use it, as some of the Fathers think, is either to testify mutual love, or rather to serve for a pledge of conjunction in heart and mind agreed upon between them. But what rite and custom is there so harmless, wherein the wit of man, bending itself to derision, may not easily find out somewhat to scorn and jest at? He that should have beheld the Jews, when they stood with a four-cornered garment spread over

Isidor.
de
Eccles.
Offic. 1.
ii. c. 19.

Elías
Theob.
in dict.
Hophia.

a sum of money and granting a Faculty or Licence, to commit a breach of alleged public decorum and of moral propriety! Nummulis acceptis jus ac fas omne delere. Cic. Att. lib. i. ep. 16.]

* “Mulieres antiquo jure tutela perpetua continebat. Recedebant vero a tutoris potestate quæ in manum convenissent.” Boet. in Topic. Cic.

† “Nullam ne privatam quidem rem feminas sine auctore agere majores nostri voluerunt.” Liv. lib. 34. The reason yielded by Tully, this, “propter infirmitatem consilii.” Cic. pro Mur. Vide Leg. Saxon. tit. 6. et 17.

‡ “Aurum nulla norat, præter unico digito quem sponsus oppignerasset pronubo annulo.” Tertull. Apol. cap. 6.

In Ritu-
al. de be-
nedict.
nuptia-
rum.

Rom.
i. 24.

1 Cor.
vii. 4.

L. pen-
ult. D. de
concup.

the heads of espoused couples, while their espousals were in making; he that should have beheld their praying over a cup, and their delivering the same at the Marriage-feast, with set forms of benediction, as the Order amongst them was; might, being lewdly affected, take thereat as just occasion of scornful cavil, as at the use of the Ring in wedlock among Christians.* But of all things the most hardly taken is the uttering those words, "With my body I thee worship;" in which words when once they are understood, there will appear as little cause as in the rest for any wise man to be offended. First, therefore, inasmuch as unlawful copulation doth pollute and "dishonour" both parties, this protestation that we do worship and honour another with our bodies, may import a denial of all such lets and impediments to our knowledge as might cause any stain, blemish, or disgrace that way; which kind of construction being probable, would easily approve that speech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly, in that the Apostle doth so expressly affirm that parties married have not any longer intire power over themselves, but each hath interest in other's person, it cannot be thought an absurd construction to say, that worshipping with the body is the imparting of that interest in the body unto another, which none before had, save only ourselves. But, if this were the natural meaning, the words should perhaps be as requisite to be used on the one side as on the other; and therefore a third sense there is, which I rather rely upon. Apparent it is, that the ancient difference between a lawful wife and a concubine, was only in the different purpose of man betaking himself to the one or the other. If his purpose were only fellowship, there grew to the woman by this mean no worship at all, but the contrary. In professing that his intent was to add by his person honour and worship unto hers, he took her plainly and clearly to wife. This is it which the Civil Law doth mean, when it maketh a wife to differ from a concubine in dignity;† a wife to be taken where conjugal honour

* ["In Civil Actions, that are religious only finally, and by participation, and not by any acts of special worship, it is lawful to use Symbolical Rites, that are in *their kind* near of kin to Sacraments in *their kind*, and may be called Civil Sacraments. Such is the sealing and delivery of Indentures, or other covenant writings; and the delivery of possession of a house by a key, and of the temple by a book and bell-rope, and of land by a twig and turf, and of civil government by a crown and sceptre, or sword, &c.: and such is the use of a Ring in Marriage." BAXTER'S *Five Disp.* 1659, 4to. p. 406.]

† L. item legato. sect. penult. D. de leg. 3.

and affection doth go before.”* The worship that grew unto her being taken with declaration of this intent was, that her children became by this mean legitimate and free; herself was made a mother over his family; last of all, she received such advancement of state, as things annexed unto his person might augment her with; yea, a right of participation was thereby given her both in him, and even in all things which were his.† This doth somewhat the more plainly appear, by adding also that other clause, “With all my worldly goods I thee endow.” The former branch having granted the principal, the latter granteth that which is annexed thereunto. To end the public solemnity of Marriage with receiving the blessed Sacrament is a custom so religious and so holy, that if the Church of England be blameable in this respect, it is not for suffering it to be so much, but rather for not providing that it may be more, put in ure. The Laws of Romulus concerning Marriage‡ are therefore extolled above the rest amongst the Heathens which were before, in that they established the use of certain special Solemnities, whereby the minds of men were drawn to make the greater conscience of wedlock, and to esteem the bond thereof a thing which could not be without impiety dissolved.§ If

* L. Donationes D. de donationibus.

† [“The English verb, to worship, is used with reference not only to God, but to men: thus 1 Chron. xxix. 20. And so the substantive, is once used, Luke xiv. 10. But this sense is very much out of use; though we still retain it in ‘Your Worship,’ and ‘Worshipful.’” PEIRCE’S *Vind. of the Dissenters*, p. 489.]

‡ Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἡγάγαυε τὰς γαμετάς, οἷα μηδεμιαν ἐχούσας ἐτέραν ἀποστροφὴν, πρὸς ἓνα τὸν τοῦ γεγαμηκότος ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὡς ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ ἀναφαίρετον χρήματος, τῆς γυναικὸς κρατεῖν. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. lib. ii.

§ [“Our Selden hath well observed, (Ux. Heb. lib. ii. c. 28.) that in imitation of Heathen Priests, who were wont at Nuptials to use many rites and ceremonies; and especially judging it would be profitable, and the increase of their authority, not to be spectators only, in business of such concernment to the life of man, they (the Clergy) insinuated that Marriage was not holy without their benediction, and for the better colour made it a Sacrament; being of itself a Civil Ordinance, a household contract, a thing indifferent and free to the whole race of mankind, not as religious, but as men: best, indeed, undertaken to religious ends, and as the Apostle saith, ‘in the Lord,’ 1 Cor. vii. 39. Yet not therefore invalid or unholy without a Minister and his pretended necessary hallowing, more than any other act, enterprise, or contract of Civil Life, which ought to be done also in the Lord and to his glory. . . . Our divines deny it to be a Sacrament; yet retained the celebration, till prudently a late Parliament (1653) recovered the civil liberty of Marriage from their encroachment, and transferred the ratifying and registering thereof . . . to the proper cognizance of civil magistrates.” MILTON’S *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings*. Works, 1738. fo. Vol. I. p. 571. Pope Innocent III. ordained the celebration of Marriage in the Church, yet it was not till the Council of Trent in 1563, that the intervention of a Priest was required as of necessity for its validity; and even then, in the absence of the religious solemnity, the marriage was not impeached. See Gibson’s *Codex*, Tit. xxii. Marriages that had been contracted during the Interregnum, were confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1660. “Marriage, a *Civil Compact*, being of the highest importance to society, was, in order to give it the greater sanctity, made a Religious one, by being confined to the administration of the Clergy.” Bishop WAR-BURTON’S *Alliance between Church and State*. Book II. chap. 3. p. 141. Edit. 1748.]

Tertul.
lib. ii.
ad Uxor.

there be any thing in Christian Religion strong and effectual to like purpose, it is the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist; in regard of the force whereof Tertullian breaketh out into these words, concerning Matrimony therewith sealed, "Unde sufficiam ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus Matrimonii, quod Ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat Oblatio? I know not which way I should be able to show the happiness of that wedlock, the knot whereof the Church doth fasten, and the Sacrament of the Church confirm." Touching Marriage therefore let thus much be sufficient.

Church-
ing of
women.

74. The fruit of Marriage is birth; and the companion of birth, travail; the grief whereof being so extreme, and the danger always so great, dare we open our mouths against the things that are holy, and presume to censure it as a fault in the Church of Christ, that women after their deliverance do publicly show their thankful minds unto God? But behold what reason there is against it! Forsooth, "If there should be solemn and express giving of thanks in the Church for every benefit, either equal or greater than this, which any singular person in the Church doth receive, we should not only have no preaching of the Word, nor ministering of the Sacraments, but we should not have so much leisure as to do any corporal or bodily work, but should be like those Massalian Heretics which do nothing else but pray." Surely, better a great deal to be like unto those Heretics which do nothing else but pray, than those which do nothing else but quarrel. Their heads it might happily trouble somewhat more than as yet they are aware of, to find out so many benefits greater than this, or equivalent thereunto, for which if so be our Laws did require solemn and express Thanksgiving in the Church, the same were like to prove a thing so greatly cumbersome as is pretended. But if there be such store of mercies, even inestimable, poured every day upon thousands (as indeed the earth is full of the blessings of the Lord, which are day by day renewed without number and above measure), shall it not be lawful to cause solemn thanks to be given unto God for any benefit, than which greater, or whereunto equal are received, no Law binding men in regard thereof to perform the like duty? Suppose that some bond there be which tieth us at certain times to mention publicly the names of sundry our benefactors. Some of them, it may be,

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 150.

[Theod.
Hæret.
Fab.
lib. iv.
c. 11.]

are such, that a day would scarcely serve to reckon up together with them the catalogue of so many men besides, as we are either more or equally beholden unto. Because no Law requireth this impossible labour at our hands, shall we therefore condemn that Law whereby the other, being possible and also dutiful, is enjoined us? So much we owe to the Lord of Heaven, that we can never sufficiently praise him, nor give him thanks for half those benefits for which this sacrifice were most due. Howbeit, God forbid we should cease performing this duty when public Order doth draw us unto it, when it may be so easily done, when it hath been so long executed by devout and virtuous people: God forbid, that being so many ways provoked in this case unto so good a duty, we should omit it, only because there are other cases of like nature, wherein we cannot so conveniently, or at leastwise do not, perform the same most virtuous office of piety. Wherein we trust that as the action itself pleaseth God, so the order and manner thereof is not such as may justly offend any. It is but an overflowing of gall, which causeth the woman's absence from the Church during the time of her lying-in to be traduced and interpreted, as though she were so long judged "unholy," ^[Levit. xii. 4.] and were thereby shut out or sequestered from the House of God, according to the ancient Levitical Law. Whereas the very Canon Law itself doth not so hold, but directly professeth the contrary;* she is not barred from thence in such sort as they interpret it, nor in respect of any unholiness forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abstaining from public assemblies and her abode in separation for the time be most convenient.† To scoff at the manner of attire, than which there could be nothing devised for such a time more grave and decent, to make it a token of some folly committed, for which they are loath to show their

* "In lege præcipiebatur, ut mulier si masculum pareret, 40., si feminam, 80. diebus a templi cessaret ingressu. Nunc autem statim post partum Ecclesiam ingredi non prohibetur." Dict. 5. cap. Hæc quæ.

† "Quod profecto non tam propter muliebrem immunditiam, quam ob alias causas in intima legis ratione reconditas, et veteri prohibitum esse lege, et gratiæ tempus traditionis loco suscepisse puto. Existimo siquidem sacram legem id præscripsisse, quo protervam eorum, qui intemperanter viverent, concupiscentiam castigaret; quemadmodum et alia multa per alia, præcepta ordinantur et præscribuntur, quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres stimulus retundatur. Quin et hæc providentiæ quæ legem constituit voluntas est, ut partus a depravatione liberi sint. Quia enim quicquid natura supervacaneum est, idem corruptivum est et inutile, quod hic sanguis superfluous sit, quæ illi obnoxia essent in immunditie, ad id temporis vivere illa lex jubet, quo ipso etiam nominis sono lascivi concupiscentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili et corrupta materia ipsum animans coagmentetur." Leo Constitut. 17.

faces,* argueth that great Divines are sometime more merry than wise.† As for the women themselves, God accepting the service which they faithfully offer unto him, it is no great disgrace, though they suffer pleasant-witted men a little to intermingle with zeal scorn.‡ The name of Oblations, applied not only here to those small and petit payments which yet are a part of the Minister's right, but also generally given unto all such allowances as serve for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and convenient. For as the life of the Clergy is spent in the service of God, so it is sustained with his revenue. Nothing, therefore, more proper than to give the name of Oblations to such payments, in token that we offer unto him whatsoever his Ministers receive.

Of the
Rites of
Burial:
T. C.
lib. iii.
p. 236.

75. But to leave this, there is a duty which the Church doth owe to the faithful departed, wherein forasmuch as the Church of England is said to do those things which are, though "not unlawful," yet "inconvenient,"§ because it appointeth a prescript Form of Service at Burials, suffereth mourning apparel to be worn, and permitteth funeral Sermons; a word or two concerning this point will be necessary, although it be needless to dwell long upon it. The end of Funeral-duties is, first, to show that love towards the party deceased which nature requireth; then, to do him that honour which is fit both generally for man, and particularly for the quality of his person; last of all, to testify the care which the Church hath to comfort the living, and the hope which we all have concerning the resurrection of the dead. For signification of love towards them that are departed, mourning is not denied to be a thing convenient; as in truth the Scripture every where doth approve lamentation made unto this end. The Jews by

[* "In saying that the Veil 'is rather a Civil manner and custom, than a ceremony of the Church,' he (Whitgift, Def. of Ans. p. 537) privily confesseth that there is some part of it Ecclesiastical." T. C. lib. iii. p. 234. See Dr. SPARROW's *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*. 1661. 12mo. *in loc.*]

† ["The grettist Clerkes be not the wisist men." CHAUCER. *The Reve's Tale*. l. 946.]

‡ ["For their lying-in, I can say little, I am not skilful in women's matters, neither is it in the Book, no more is her white sheet, nor her veil: let the women themselves answer these matters." WHITGIFT. *Ans. to an Adm.* p. 202, and *Def. of Ans.* p. 537. "Master Doctor jestingly leaveth the matter to the women's answer; a little true knowledge of Divinity would have taught him, that the bringing in, or usurping, without authority any Ceremony in the congregation, is both an earnest matter than may be jested at, and a weightier than should be permitted." T. C. lib. i. p. 150.]

§ [See Note †, p. 358, *in fin.*]

our Saviour's tears therefore gathered in this case, that his love towards Lazarus was great. And that as mourning at such times is fit, so likewise that there may be a kind of attire suitable to a sorrowful affection, and convenient for mourners to wear, how plainly doth David's example show, who, being in heaviness, went up to the mount with his head covered, and all the people that were with him in like sort? White garments being fit to use at Marriage-feasts and such other times of joy, whereunto Solomon alluding, when he requireth continual cheerfulness of mind, speaketh in this sort, "Let thy garments be always white;" what doth hinder the contrary from being now as convenient in grief as this heretofore in gladness hath been?*" If there be no sorrow," they say "it is hypocritical to pretend it; and if there be, to provoke it" by wearing such attire "is dangerous." Nay, if there be, to show it, is natural; and if there be not, yet the signs are meet to show what should be, especially, sith it doth not come oftentimes to pass, that men are fain to have their mourning gowns pulled off their backs for fear of killing themselves with sorrow that way nourished. The honour generally due unto all men maketh a decent interring of them to be convenient, even for very humanity's sake. And therefore, so much as is mentioned in the burial of the widow's son, the "carrying of him forth upon a bier," and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath been used even amongst Infidels; all men accounting it a very extreme destitution not to have at the least this honour done them. Some man's estate may require a great deal more, according as the fashion of the country where he dieth doth afford. And unto this appertained

John
xi. 35,
36.

2 Sam.
xv. 30.

Eccles.
ix. 8.

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 202.

Luke
vii. 12.

* [Has not Hooker acted with partiality here, in not noticing the authorities with which T. C. discomfited Whitgift on the subject of Mourning Apparel? On other occasions two such Fathers as Cyprian and Augustine are with Hooker conclusive, that is, when they and he coincide; but now because they, and therefore antiquity, are directly at variance with the system he approves, they are passed by, and the reader is put off with a "What doth hinder, &c." T. C. writes, lib. iii. p. 232, "As for that he saith that 'Cyprian and Augustine do not so much condemn mourning apparel, as immoderate sorrow;' if they condemn it at all, it is enough to convince his extreme boldness, in alleging an antiquity for him, which maketh against him; but if he would thereby insinuate, that they misliked not of this Ceremony, these be their words, let men judge of his dealing: 'We ought not to take black garments when the Faithful, which are deceased, have received white apparel; neither must we give occasion that the Heathen should justly blame us, that we lament those as lost which we affirm to live.' Cypr. Sermon. iv. de Mortal. 'By what reason should we dye black garments for the dead, unless it be that we would, in joining them with our lamentation, declare thereby that the deceased were very Infidels and miserable? These are, my brethren, unmeet, they be strange, they are unlawful; and if they were not unlawful, yet they are unbecoming.' Aug. de Consol. Mort. lib. iii."]

the ancient use of the Jews, to embalm the corpse with sweet odours, and to adorn the sepulchres of certain.* In regard of the quality of men, it hath been judged fit to commend them unto the world at their death, amongst the Heathen in funeral Orations, amongst the Jews in sacred Poems; and why not in funeral Sermons also amongst Christians?† Us it sufficeth, that the known benefit hereof doth countervail millions of such inconveniences as are therein surmised, although they were not surmised only, but found therein. The life and the death of Saints is precious in God's sight. Let it not seem odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other be spoken of then especially when the present occasion doth make men's minds the more capable of such speech. The care, no doubt, of the living,

2 Sam.
i. 19.

[Psalm
cxvi. 15.]

* Psalms lxxix. 3. John xix. 40. Matt. xlii. 27.

† [“ Considering that these Funeral Sermons are at the request of rich men, and those which are in authority, and are very seldom at the burial of the poor, there is brought into the Church, contrary to the Word of God, an acceptance of persons (Luke xx. 21. Gal. ii. 6.), which ought not to be; for although the Minister may give to one more honour than to another, according as the calling or degree requireth, yet in his ministry . . . he ought to shew himself indifferent, . . . and because he cannot as well preach at the death of the poor as of the rich, it is most convenient to leave both. . . . That it is good that notable and famous men should have their commendation, to the end that both the goodness of God towards them might be the better known, and others the soener drawn to follow their example, I grant; and Scripture doth both approve it, and sheweth what mean is best to do that by. For we read that Jeremiah commended Josiah, in writing verses of his death, 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; he could have as easily preached, but this he thought the best way. So did also David write verses at the death of Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 17—27, and Abner, chap. iii. 31—34. . . . There were indeed of ancient time Funeral Orations, as appeareth in Gregory Naz. but they savoured of the manner of Athens, where he was brought up; where also this custom of Funeral Orations was used, as may be seen by an Oration of Pericles in Thucydides, lib. ii. And although this custom was not in Nazianzen's time so corrupt as afterwards, yet the departing from the examples of the purer Churches, gave occasion of further corruption. And to say the truth, it was better used amongst the Athenians than amongst the Christians; for there it was merely Civil, and the Oration at the death of some notable personage made not by a Minister, but by an Orator appointed therefore: which I think may well be done. And if Master Doctor (Whitgift) will say, That there might be Sermons, although they be not mentioned neither in the Old Testament nor in the New; I have answered before, that seeing the Holy Ghost doth describe so diligently the least circumstances of Burial, he would not have omitted this, being the greatest. . . . And whereas Master Doctor asketh, When there is a better time to speak of death and of mortality than at burial? Surely if it had been so fit, the Prophets and Apostles would never have lost that opportunity of advancing and making effectual their preaching! . . . But it may be well done without any such Funeral Sermons, when the Minister taketh occasion of the death of any, to speak of the vanity of life. . . . I will say nothing of the great abuse of those, which having otherwise to live on of the Church, take Nobles for every such Sermon, and sometime a Mourning-gown, which causeth the Papists to say, That the merchandise of Sermons is much dearer than of the Mass, for that they might have for a Groat or Sixpence.” T. C. lib. i. p. 201, 202. “ Here it is once to be noted, that he (Dr. Whitgift), not content to wrest any particular arguments, hath perverted this whole disputation: for, where my reasons do never conclude the *unlawfulness* of these Ceremonies of Burial, but the inconvenience and inexpedience of them, he imagineth me concluding, that they *may not be*, and that it is *unlawful* to have them; which notwithstanding, St. Paul doth precisely distinguish. 1 Cor. vi. 12.” T. C. lib. iii. p. 241.]

both to live and to die well, must needs be somewhat increased, when they know that their departure shall not be folded up in silence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Moreover, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with their brethren in their last need, besides the praise which they give to God, and the joy which they have or should have by reason of their fellowship and communion with Saints, is not their hope also much confirmed against the day of their own dissolution? Again, the sound of these things doth not so pass the ears of them that are most loose and dissolute in life, but it causeth them one time or other to wish, "O that I might die the death of the righteous, and that my end might be like his!" Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at those times by speech concerning the dead, besides the benefit of public instruction common unto funeral with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whose minds are through natural affection pensive in such cases, no man can justly mislike the custom which the Jews had to end their burials with funeral banquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet Jeremy spake, concerning the people whom God had appointed unto a grievous manner of destruction, saying, "That men should not give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father, or for their mother," because it should not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their ancestors unto the grave with weeping eyes, have notwithstanding means wherewith to be recomfited. "Give wine (saith Solomon) unto them that have grief of heart." Surely, he that ministereth unto them comfortable speech,* doth much more than give them wine. But the greatest thing of all other about this duty of Christian Burial, is an outward testification of the Hope which we have touching the Resurrection of the dead. For which purpose let any man of reasonable judgment examine, whether it be more convenient for a company of men, as it were, in a dumb show, to bring a corse to the place of burial, there to leave it covered with the earth, and so end, or else have the Exequies devoutly performed with solemn recital of such Lectures, Psalms, and Prayers, as are purposely framed for the stirring up of men's minds unto a careful consideration of their estate both here and

[Num.
xxiii.
10.]Jer.
xvi. 7.Prov.
xxxi. 6.

* 1 Chron. xix. 2. Job ii. 11.

[T. C.
lib. i.
p. 201.]

[Levit.
xxi. 1.]

hereafter. Whereas therefore it is objected, that neither the people of God under the Law, nor the Church in the Apostles' times, did use any Form of Service in burial of their dead; and therefore, that this Order is taken up without any good example or precedent followed therein; First, while the world doth stand they shall never be able to prove, that all things, which either the one or the other did use at burials, are set down in Holy Scripture, which doth not any where of purpose deliver the whole manner and form thereof, but toucheth only sometime one thing, and sometime another, which was in use, as special occasions require any of them to be mentioned or insinuated: Again, if it might be proved that no such thing was usual amongst them, hath Christ so deprived his Church of judgment, that what Rites and Orders soever the later ages thereof have devised, the same must needs be inconvenient? Furthermore, that the Jews before our Saviour's coming had any such Form of Service, although in Scripture it be not affirmed; yet neither is it there denied (for the forbidding of Priests to be present at Burials letteth not but that others might discharge that duty, seeing all were not Priests which had rooms of public function in their Synagogues), and if any man be of opinion that they had no such Form of Service, thus much there is to make the contrary more probable. The Jews at this day have, as appeareth in their Form of Funeral Prayers, and in certain of their Funeral Sermons published; neither are they so affected towards Christians, as to borrow that Order from us; besides that, the Form thereof is such as hath in it sundry things which the very words of the Scripture itself do seem to allude unto, as namely, after departure from the sepulchre unto the house whence the dead was brought, it sheweth the manner of their Burial-feast, and a consolatory Form of Prayers, appointed for the Master of the Synagogue thereat to utter; albeit I may not deny, but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so ancient as the Law and the Prophets. But whatsoever the Jews' custom was before the days of our Saviour Christ, hath it once at any time been heard of, that either Church or Christian-man of sound belief did ever judge this a thing unmeet, undecent, unfit,*

* ["Then will he be angrie, and answer HOKERLY;" (*peevishly*). So writes CHAUCER, *The Parson's Tale, De Ira*. (Works, by Urry, 1721. fo. p. 201. col. 2. l. 20. and Gloss.)

for Christianity, till these miserable days, wherein, under the colour of removing superstitious abuses, the most effectual means both to testify and to strengthen true Religion are plucked at, and in some places even pulled up by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to show at burials the peculiar Hope of the Church of God concerning the dead;* and in the manner of those dumb funerals what one thing is there whereby the world may perceive we are Christian men?

76. I come now unto that Function which undertaketh the Public Ministry of holy things according to the Laws of Christian Religion. And because the nature of things, consisting as this doth in action, is known by the object whereabout they are conversant, and by the end or scope whereunto they are referred, we must know that the object of this function is both God and men: God, in that he is publicly worshipped of his Church; and men, in that they are capable of happiness by means which Christian Discipline appointeth. So that the sum of our whole labour in this kind, is to honour God and to save men. For whether we severally take and consider men one by one, or else

Or the nature of that Ministry, which serveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God; and how happiness, not eternal only, but also tempo-

Such, appears from these three words, "unmeet, undecent, unfit," which may justly be inferred to have dwelt in HOOKER's mind, from the perplexity occasioned by the strong authorities he shunned to combat, as remarked on in the Note, p. 357; and see the last sentence therein. Not daring to say that it is Scripturally *unlawful* to dispense with these Burial Rites, he substituted "unfit," and so committed tautology. His phrase at this place, "either Church or Christian-man" grants a distinction in the terms, the latter glancing, no doubt, at the Admonitioners and T.C., but his meaning might be, "either Church-of-England or Christian-man of any other country;" for all persons were, except during part of the Interregnum, included *nolens, volens*, within the pale of the Establishment, till the glorious and happy era of the Toleration Act, which gave the death-blow to intolerance, and *legally permits* Britons to "think what they list, and" with certain limitations in favour of the Ritual of the Endowed Church, to "speak openly what they think." See HOOKER's *Ans. to Travers's Sup.* Sect. 17. And when, moreover, the Almighty was no longer, under the pretence of Uniformity, attempted to be prevented from receiving the sincere adoration and the free-will offerings of his creatures according to their own best convictions imparted by the combined lights of Nature and Revelation; for which Toleration, however, no thanks are due to the then Church-party, as the testimony of Bishop Burnet proves: "The Clergy began now to show an implacable hatred to the Nonconformists, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them. But wise and good men did very much applaud the quieting the Nation by the Toleration." *Hist. of his Own Time*. 1734. fo. Vol. II. p. 11, 12. Another era yet awaits the response of grateful hearts, when the opprobrious and therefore odious term Toleration itself shall be expunged from our incomparable Civil Code, and from our memories; and when every Subject of the United Empire shall enjoy unalloyed, or impartial, even complete Religious Liberty!

* ["It is too plain to be denied, that in cases of men cut off in the midst of notorious sins, drunkenness, adultery, murder, &c., this Office is wholly improper: and sure, at length some regard will be had to the repeated desires of many of the best defenders of the Church; and this ground of objection against it, wholly removed." *The Reasonableness of Conformity*. By B. HOADLY, M.A. (afterward Bishop of Winchester). 1712. 8vo. p. 62.]

ral, doth
depend
upon it.

[Rev.
xiv. 13]

gather them into one society and body, as it hath been before declared, that every man's Religion is in him the well-spring of all other sound and sincere virtues, from whence both here in some sort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full joy and felicity ariseth; because while they live they are blest of God, and when they die "their works follow them:" so at this present we must again call to mind how the very worldly peace and prosperity, the secular happiness, the temporal and natural good estate both of all men and of all dominions, hangeth chiefly upon Religion, and doth evermore give plain testimony, that, as well in this as in other considerations, the Priest is a pillar of that Commonwealth wherein he faithfully serveth God. For, if these assertions be true, first, That nothing can be enjoyed in this present world against his will which hath made all things; secondly, That albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to *have*, yet impiety permitteth them not to *enjoy*, no not temporal blessings on earth; thirdly, That God hath appointed those blessings to attend as handmaids upon Religion; and, fourthly, That, without the work of the Ministry, Religion by no means can possibly continue; the use and benefit of that sacred Function even towards all men's worldly happiness must needs be granted. Now, the First being a theorem both understood and confest of all,* to labour in proof thereof were superfluous. The Second perhaps may be called in question, except it be perfectly understood. By good things temporal, therefore, we mean length of days, health of body, store of friends and well-willers, quietness, prosperous success of those things we take in hand, riches with fit opportunities to use them during life, reputation following us both alive and dead, children or such as instead of children we wish to leave successors and partakes of our happiness.† These things are naturally every man's desire, because they are good. And on whom God bestoweth the same, them we confess he graciously blesseth. Of earthly blessings the meanest is wealth,

* "Si creatura Dei, merito et dispensatio Dei sumus: Quis enim magis diligit, quam ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit, quam is qui et fecit et diligit? Quis vero sapientius et fortius ordinare et regere facta potest, quam qui et facienda providit et provisum perfectit? Quapropter omnem potestatem a Deo esse omnemque ordinationem, et qui non legerunt sentiunt, et qui legerunt cognoscunt." Paul. Oros. Hist. advers. Pagan. lib. ii.

† Οὗτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἰδια κέκτηνται βροτοί,

Τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα. Eurip. Phœnissæ. ver. 558.

reputation the chiefest. For which cause we esteem the gain of honour an ample recompense for the loss of all other worldly benefits. But forasmuch as in all this there is no certain perpetuity of goodness, Nature hath taught to affect these things, not for their own sake, but with reference and relation to somewhat independently good, as is the exercise of virtue and speculation of truth. None, whose desires are rightly ordered, would wish to live, to breathe, and move, without performance of those actions which are becoming man's excellency. Wherefore, having not how to employ it, we wax weary even of life itself. Health is precious, because sickness doth breed that pain which disableth action. Again, why do men delight so much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life, being many, do need many helping hands to further them? Between troublesome and quiet days we should mark no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other uphold, our liberty of action. Furthermore, if those things we do succeed, it rejoiceth us not so much for the benefit we thereby reap, as in that it probably argueth our actions to have been orderly and well guided.* As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly presumed a sign of more than ordinary virtue and merit, by means whereof when ambitious minds thirst after it, their endeavours are testimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to possess that body, the very shadow whereof is set at so high a rate. Finally, such is the pleasure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forsaketh us, still our desires to continue action, and to work, though not by ourselves yet by them whom we leave behind us, causeth us providently to resign into other men's hands the helps we have gathered for that purpose, devising also the best we can to make them perpetual. It appeareth, therefore, how all the parts of temporal felicity are only good in relation to that which useth them as instruments, and that they are no such good as wherein a right desire doth ever stay or rest itself. Now temporal blessings are enjoyed of those which have them, know them, *esteem them according to that they are in their own nature*. Wherefore of the wicked, whom God doth

* οἰόμεθα γὰρ
Τὸν εὐτυχόοντα πάντ' ἐπιστᾶσθαι καλῶς.

Eurip. Heracl. ver. 747.

Psalm
lv. 23.

Deut.
xxviii.
22—26.

[Isai.
lvii. 21.]

Prov.
x. 7.

hate, his usual and ordinary speeches are, that “ blood-thirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days;” that God shall cause a pestilence to cleave unto the wicked, and shall strike them with consuming grief, with fevers, burning diseases, and sores which are past cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men shall tread them down, and none shew countenance of love towards them as much as by pitying them in their misery; that the sins of the ungodly shall bereave them of peace; that all counsels, complots, and practices against God shall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the unjust is beggary; that the name of unrighteous persons shall putrefy, and the posterity of robbers starve. If any think that iniquity and peace, sin and prosperity, can dwell together, they err, because they distinguish not aright between the matter and that which giveth it the form of happiness, between possession and fruition, between the having and the enjoying of good things. The impious cannot enjoy that they have, partly because they receive it not as at God’s hands, which only consideration maketh temporal blessings comfortable; and partly because through error, placing it above things of far more price and worth, they turn that to poison which might be food, they make their prosperity their own snare, in the nest of their highest growth they lay foolishly those eggs out of which their woful overthrow is afterwards hatcht. Hereby it cometh to pass, that wise and judicious men, observing the vain behaviours of such as are risen to unwonted greatness, have thereby been able to prognosticate their ruin. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth prosper on earth, but either sooner or later the world may perceive easily, how at such time as others thought them most fortunate, they had but only the good estate which fat oxen have above lean; when they appeared to grow, their climbing was towards ruin.* The gross and bestial conceit of them which want understanding is, only that the fullest bellies are happiest. Therefore the greatest felicity they wish to the Commonwealth wherein they live is, that it may but abound and stand; that they which are riotous may have to pour out without stint; that the poor may sleep and the rich feed them; that nothing unpleasant may

* “ Ante ruinam elatio.” Prov. xvi. 18. Φιλῆει ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολοῦει. οὐ γὰρ ἐὰν φρονέειν μέγα ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν. Herod. lib. vii.

be commanded, nothing forbidden men which themselves have a lust to follow; that Kings may provide for the ease of their subjects, and not be too curious about their manners; that wantonness, excess, and lewdness of life may be left free; and, that no fault may be capital, besides dislike of things settled in so good terms. But be it far from the just to dwell either in or near to the tents of these so miserable felicities. Now whereas we Thirdly affirm, That Religion and the fear of God as well induceth secular prosperity as everlasting bliss in the world to come, this also is true. For otherwise godliness could not be said to have the promises of both lives; to be that ample revenue wherein there is always sufficiency; and to carry with it a general discharge of want, even so general, that David himself should protest, he "never saw the just forsaken." Howbeit, to this we must add certain special limitations; as, first, that we do not forget how crazed and diseased minds (whereof our heavenly Physician must judge) receive oftentimes most benefit by being deprived of those things which are to others beneficially given, as appeareth in that which the Wise man hath noted concerning them whose lives God mercifully doth abridge, lest wickedness should alter their understanding; again, that the measure of our outward prosperity be taken by proportion with that which every man's estate in this present life requireth. External abilities are instruments of action. It contenteth wise artificers to have their instruments proportionable to their work, rather fit for use than huge and goodly to please the eye. Seeing then the actions of a servant do not need that which may be necessary for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferior condition many things which greater personages can hardly want, surely they are blessed in worldly respects that have wherewith to perform sufficiently what their station and place asketh, though they have no more.* For, by reason of man's imbecility and proneness to elation of mind, too high a flow of prosperity is dangerous, too low an ebb again as dangerous,† for that the virtue of patience is rare, and the hand of necessity stronger than ordinary virtue is able to withstand. Solomon's discreet and moderate desire

[1 Tim.
iv. 8.][Paul.
xxxvii.
25.][Prov.
xxx. 8.]

* 'Ἐπει τὰ γ' ἀρκούνθ' ἰκανὰ τοῖς γε σώφροσιν. Eurip. Phœnis. ver. 557.

† Ταπεινότερον δ' λογισμὸς ἴσως, ἀλλ' οὐν ἀσφαλεστέρον, ἴσον ἀπέχειν καὶ ἤθους καὶ πτώματος. Greg. Nazian. Apol. 3. They may seem haply the most deject, but they are the wisest for their own safety which fear climbing no less than falling.

we all know; "Give me, O Lord, neither riches nor penury." Men over high exalted either in honour, or in power, or in nobility, or in wealth; they likewise that are as much on the contrary hand sunk either with beggary, or through dejection, or by baseness, do not easily give ear to reason; but the one exceeding apt unto outrages, and the other unto petty mischiefs.* For greatness delighteth to show itself by effects of power, and baseness to help itself with shifts of malice. For which cause, a moderate, indifferent temper, between fulness of bread and emptiness, hath been evermore thought and found (all circumstances duly considered) the safest and happiest for all estates, even for Kings and Princes themselves. Again, we are not to look that these things should always concur, no not in them which are accompted happy, neither that the course of men's lives, or of public affairs, should continually be drawn out as an even thread (for that the nature of things will not suffer), but a just survey being made, as those particular men are worthily reputed good whose virtues be great and their faults tolerable, so him we may register for a man fortunate, and that for a prosperous or happy state, which having flourished doth not afterwards feel any tragical alteration, such as might cause them to be a spectacle of misery to others. Besides, whereas true felicity consisteth in the highest operations of that nobler part of man which showeth sometime greatest perfection, not in using the benefits which delight nature, but in suffering what nature can hardliest endure; there is no cause why either the loss of good, if it tend to the purchase of better, or why any misery, the issue whereof is their greater praise and honour that have sustained it, should be thought to impeach that temporal happiness wherewith Religion, we say, is accompanied; but yet in such measure as the several degrees of men may require by a competent estimation, and unless the contrary do more advance, as it hath done, those most heroical Saints whom afflictions have made glorious. In a word, not to whom no calamity falleth, but whom neither misery nor prosperity is able to move from a right mind, them we may truly pronounce fortunate; and whatsoever doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbity, for which it appeareth in the eyes of sound and impartial judges to have

* Vide Arist. Polit. lib. iv. cap. 11.

proceeded from divine revenge, it passeth in the number of human casualties whereunto we are all alike subject. No misery is reckoned more than common or human, if God so dispose that we pass through it, and come safe to shore; even as contrariwise, men do not use to think those flourishing days happy, which do end with tears. It standeth therefore with these cautions firm and true, yea, ratified by all men's unfeigned confessions, drawn from the very heart of experience, that whether we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and state, or else the same men with themselves; whether we confer one Dominion with another, or else the different times of one and the same Dominion; the manifest odds between their very outward condition, as long as they stedfastly were observed to honour God, and their success, being fallen from him, are remonstrances more than sufficient how all our welfare, even on earth, dependeth wholly upon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion: yet such as that little was which they knew, it much impaired or bettered always their worldly affairs, as their love and zeal towards it did wane or grow. Of the Jews, did not even their most malicious and mortal adversaries all acknowledge, that to strive against them it was vain as long as their amity with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but apostacy? In the whole course of their own proceedings did they ever find it otherwise, but that during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in war as a thousand strong, and as much as a grand senate for counsel in peaceable deliberations? contrariwise, that if they swerved, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimity forsook them utterly, their soldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword; when they entered into mutual conference and sate in council for their own good, that which children might have seen, their gravest Senators could not discern; their Prophets saw darkness instead of visions; the wise and prudent were as men bewicht, even that which they knew (being such as might stand them in stead) they had not the grace to utter, or if any thing were well proposed it took no place, it entered not into the minds of the rest to approve and follow it, but as men confounded with strange and unusual amazements of spirit, they attempted tumultuously they saw not what; and by the issues of all 'tempts

they found no certain conclusion but this—God and Heaven are strong against us in all we do? The cause whereof was secret fear, which took heart and courage from them; and the cause of their fear, an inward guiltiness that they all had offered God such apparent wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may be the case is now altogether changed, and that in Christian Religion there is not the like force towards temporal felicity. Search the ancient records of time, look what hath happened by the space of these sixteen hundred years, see if all things to this effect be not luculent and clear, yea, all things so manifest, that for evidence and proof herein, we need not by uncertain dark conjectures surmise any to have been plagued of God for contempt, or blest in the course of faithful obedience towards true Religion, more than only them, whom we find in that respect, on the one side, guilty by their own confessions, and happy on the other side by all men's acknowledgment; who, beholding the prosperous estate of such as are good and virtuous, impute boldly the same to God's most especial favour, but cannot in like manner pronounce that whom he afflicteth above others, with them he hath cause to be more offended. For virtue is always plain to be seen, rareness causeth it to be observed, and goodness to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquity and sin, it lieth many times hid; and because we be all offenders, it becometh us not to incline towards hard and severe sentences touching others, unless their notorious wickedness did sensibly before proclaim that which afterwards came to pass. Wherefore the sum of every Christian man's duty is, to labour by all means towards that which other men seeing in us may justify; and, what we ourselves must accuse if we fall into it, that, by all means we can, to avoid; considering especially, that as hitherto upon the Church there never yet fell tempestuous storm, the vapours whereof were not first noted to rise from coldness in affection, and from backwardness in duties of service towards God; so, if that which the tears of antiquity have uttered concerning this point should be here set down, it were assuredly enough to soften and to mollify an heart of steel. On the contrary part, although we confess with St. Augustine most willingly, that the chiefest happiness for which we have some Christian Kings in so great admiration above the rest, is not because of their long reign; their

calm and quiet departure out of this present life; the settled establishment of their own flesh and blood succeeding them in royalty and power; the glorious overthrow of foreign enemies, or the wise prevention of inward dangers, and of secret attempts at home; all which solaces and comforts of this our unquiet life it pleaseth God oftentimes to bestow on them which have no society or part in the joys of Heaven, giving thereby to understand that these in comparison are toys and trifles, far under the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands: but in truth the reason wherefore we most extol their felicity is, if so be they have virtuously reigned; if honour have not filled their hearts with pride; if the exercise of their power have been service and attendance upon the Majesty of the Most High; if they have feared him as their own inferiors and subjects have feared them, if they have loved neither pomp nor pleasure more than Heaven; if revenge have slowly proceeded from them and mercy willingly offered itself; if so they have tempered rigour with lenity, that neither extreme severity might utterly cut them off in whom there was manifest hope of amendment, nor yet the easiness of pardoning offences embolden offenders; if, knowing that whatsoever they do their potency may bear it out, they have been so much the more careful not to do any thing but that which is commendable in the best, rather than usual with greatest personages; if the true knowledge of themselves have humbled them in God's sight, no less than God in the eyes of men hath raised them up; I say, albeit we reckon such to be the happiest of them that are mightiest in the world, and albeit those things alone are happiness, nevertheless, considering what force there is even in outward blessings to comfort the minds of the best disposed, and to give them the greater joy when Religion and Peace, heavenly and earthly happiness, are wreathed in one crown, as to the worthiest of Christian Princes it hath by the providence of the Almighty hitherto befallen,—let it not seem unto any man a needless and superfluous waste of labour, that there hath been thus much spoken, to declare how in them especially it hath been so observed, and withal universally noted, even from the highest to the very meanest, how this peculiar benefit, this singular grace and pre-eminence, Religion hath, that either it guardeth as an heavenly shield from all calamities, or else

[Prov.
xv. 16,
17.]

conducteth us safe through them, and permitteth them not to be miseries; it either giveth honours, promotions, and wealth, or else more benefit by wanting them than if we had them at will; it either filleth our houses with plenty of all good things, or maketh a sallet of green herbs more sweet than all the sacrifices of the ungodly. Our Fourth proposition before set down was, That Religion, without the help of Spiritual Ministry, is unable to plant itself; the fruits thereof not possible to grow of their own accord. Which last assertion is herein as the first, that it needeth no farther confirmation. If it did, I could easily declare how all things which are of God, he hath by wonderful art and wisdom sodered as it were together with the glue of mutual assistance, appointing the lowest to receive from the nearest to themselves what the influence of the highest yieldeth. And therefore the Church, being the most absolute of all his works, was in reason to be also ordered with like harmony, that what he worketh might, no less in grace than in nature, be effected by hands and instruments duly subordinated unto the power of his own Spirit. A thing both needful for the humiliation of man, which would not willingly be debtor to any but to himself; and of no small effect to nourish that divine love, which now maketh each embrace other, not as men, but as Angels of God. Ministerial actions, tending immediately unto God's honour and man's happiness, are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal work of the ministry, or else they are parts of that principal work of administration itself, which work consisteth in doing the service of God's House, and in applying unto men the sovereign medicines of grace, already spoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appear, that we owe to the guides of our souls even as much as our souls are worth,* although the debt of our temporal blessings should be stricken off.

Luke
xii. 42.
1 Cor.
iv. 1.
Tit. i. 7.
1 Pet.
iv. 10.
Ephes.
iii. 2.

Or
Power
given
unto
men to
execute
that hea-
venly
Office;
of the
gift
of the

77. The Ministry of things divine is a Function, which as God did himself institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in Lawful manner. That God, which is no way deficient or wanting unto man in necessities, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needs have wandered in darkness to our

* Καὶ σεαυτὸν μοι προσοφέλεις. Epist. ad Philem. ver. 19.

endless perdition and woe, hath, in the like abundance of mercies, ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men thereunto assigned do hold their authority from him, whether they be such as himself immediately, or as the Church in his name, investeth; it being neither possible for all, nor for every man without distinction convenient, to take upon him a charge of so great importance. They are, therefore, Ministers of God, not only by way of subordination, as Princes and civil Magistrates, whose execution of judgment and justice the supreme hand of divine Providence doth uphold; but Ministers of God, as from whom their authority is derived, and not from men. For in that they are Christ's ambassadors and his labourers, who should give them their commission, but he whose most inward affairs they manage? Is not God alone the Father of spirits? Are not souls the purchase of Jesus Christ? What Angel in Heaven could have said to man, as our Lord did unto Peter, "Feed my sheep"? Preach? Baptize? Do this in remembrance of me? Whose sins ye retain, they are retained; and their offences in Heaven pardoned, whose faults you shall on earth forgive? What think we? Are these terrestrial sounds, or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The Power of the Ministry of God translateth out of darkness into glory; it raiseth men from the earth, and bringeth God himself down from Heaven; by blessing visible elements, it maketh them invisible grace; it giveth daily the Holy Ghost; it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls; when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they perish; when it revoketh the same, they revive. O wretched blindness, if we admire not so great Power; more wretched, if we consider it aright, and notwithstanding imagine that any but God can bestow it! To whom Christ hath imparted Power, both over that mystical body which is the society of

Holy
Ghost in
Ordina-
tion;
and,
whether
conve-
niently
the
power of
Order
may be
sought
or sued
for.

[1 Cor.
v. 20.
1 Tim.
v. 17.]
[Heb.
xii. 9.]
[Acts
xx. 28.]
[John
xxi. 16.
Matt.
x. 7.
xxviii.
19.
1 Cor.
xi. 24.
John
xx. 22.
Matt.
xvi. 19.]

* ["Neither must any Christian man pretend or look to have his sins after Baptism remitted by God only, without this Sacrament (of Penance); more than any man may hope to be saved or have his original or other sins before Baptism, forgiven by God without the same sacrament." *The Rhemists' New Testament* on John xx. 23. Dr. DODDRIDGE, *Fam. Expos.* on Matt. xvi. 19, writes, "I shall, with great pleasure, submit to those ecclesiastical rulers who shall prove, as the Apostles did, their power to explain the laws of Christ in a decisive way, and their authority efficaciously to absolve or condemn men, according to the sense they give of them."]

souls, and over that natural which is himself, for the knitting of both in one (a work which antiquity doth call the making of Christ's body), the same power is in such not amiss both termed a kind of mark or character, and acknowledged to be indelible. Ministerial Power is a mark* of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a special Order consecrated unto the service of the Most High in things wherewith others may not meddle.† Their difference, therefore, from other men is

* ["There is a Character imprinted by the Bishop's Ordination." *Concil. Trident. Sess. xliii. can. 4.*]

† ["The Church of England affirmeth, that It is not lawful for any one to take to himself the Office of Preaching publicly, or administering the Sacraments in the Church, except he be first lawfully called and sent to do these things; ARTICLE XXIII. And hereupon our Reverend Fathers do not only not defend nor 'use any reasons at all to prove that Women may baptize' (Whitgift, Def. of Ans. p. 516), and therefore would not have the Book of Common Prayer, touching baptism in Private, to be understood 'to permit Women to baptize' (Ibid. p. 504, 793); but also constantly affirm, 'that God and well Ordered Churches forbid Women to dispense that holy mystery' (Gervase Bab. on Gen. xvii. 7. p. 121). But you, Master Hoo. have another kind of determination, where you say, 'Ministerial Power is a mark of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a special Order consecrated unto the service of the Most High in things wherewith others may not meddle.' And in another place, 'There is an error which beguileth many who much entangle both themselves and others, by not distinguishing Services, Offices, and Orders Ecclesiastical: the first of which three, and in part the second, may be executed by the Laity; whereas none have, or can have, the third, but the Clergy;' Book V. sect. 78. From the which Clergy you separate Catechists, Exorcists, Readers, and Singers, &c. (Ibid.). And in another place, you seem to maintain and defend the practice of those Churches, which, 'necessity' requiring, allow Baptism in private to be administered by 'Women' (sect 62. p. 227): affirming elsewhere, that 'divers reformed Churches do both allow and defend' that kind of Baptism (Ibid. p. 244). Here we desire to know, what you mean by 'Ministerial Power;' Whether you take it actively, as that every Minister, or all Ministers, have Power to make an Order consecrated to the service of God; or passively, that by their Calling they are made to have the Authority and Power of a Minister; or, that you understand by it the formal cause of their Ministry, by which they differ from all other Orders; or, that you mean, the holy Unction and Character, which the Church of Rome giveth in their consecration of Priesthood? And this we desire, because we find our Church, and Reverend Fathers, speaking like to Holy Scripture ('No man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called,' &c. Heb. v. 4) to use plain, good, and sensible terms to note out the difference of a Minister's estate from other men's; and your's seemeth to carry another kind of style, more befitting the glory of the Romish character than the simplicity of our Ministry. Our Church saith, they must be 'called' that 'preach publicly:' you say, a Catechist (or whom we find in ancient time to have been such, as Clemens and Origen in Alexandria, as to whom the people came to hear the Preaching of the Word of God, Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 3, 6) is none of the Order of the Clergy; meaning, as we think, without this 'Ministerial Power.' We pray you then, to shew us, Whether you mean by 'Ministerial Power,' 'Clergy,' or 'Order,' that which our Church meaneth by 'Calling?' If you do, then we see not how you and they agree: that you allow a Catechist, which is an Office, to preach the Word; which, is not of the Ecclesiastical Order, and, as we say, hath no Calling thereunto, and our Church saith, that 'it is not lawful,' &c. Again, our Church saith, that 'it is not lawful to administer the Sacraments, without that Calling;' and, that God and well Ordered Churches forbid Women to baptize: you, as we think, contrary to our Church, maintain such Churches as allow the Private Baptism by Women in case of 'necessity;' and you say, 'divers reformed Churches allow and defend' such Baptism. Here we entreat you to declare the agreement of these sayings: and, Whether, because you say that the 'special Order,' you speak of, is 'consecrated unto the service of the Highest in things wherewith others may not meddle,' your meaning be, that Lay people in case of 'necessity' may 'meddle' with those things which our Church saith 'is not lawful without Calling;' or, that because you would

in that they are a distinct Order. So Tertullian calleth them.* And St. Paul himself, dividing the body of the Church of Christ into two moieties, nameth the one part *ιδιώτας*, which is as much as to say the Order of the Laity, [1 Cor. xiv. 16.] the opposite part whereunto we in like sort term the Order of God's Clergy,† and the spiritual power which he hath

Tertul.
de Ad-
hort.
Castit.

have the 'Ministerial Power' to be 'a mark' and character, you give liberty to Preaching and Baptizing as to certain services; and, that the character and indelible Order hath nothing to itself peculiar, but the making of the body of Christ in the Sacrament, and offering him up in sacrifice to his Father, that the Laity, Women, and Catechist, 'may not meddle' with that? And here we desire to understand, Whence you set (*sic*) that worthy distinction, the ignorance whereof 'beguileth many;' and, that you would declare the same by holy Scripture, and bring us one pregnant proof to shew the error of our Church, in affirming Preaching and Ministering, without Calling, to be unlawful; or, else, declare the exception, either by Scripture, or by some order or interpretation published by our Church, or some of our Reverend Fathers, which also may have their harmony with the sayings of the Reverend Fathers by us before rehearsed? And lastly, Whether that you, in these three places, are not contrary to yourself; or, that you make not a deluding proposition, which containeth a general prohibition without limitation, which yet is not general, but must have exception? And, if you place Readers, as distinct from Clergy, What may we think you esteem of our Reading Ministers, are they no Clergymen?"—*A Christian Letter*, p. 24.]

* [See Vol. I. p. 206. "In places where there are no Clergy (*Ecclesiastici Ordinis*), any single Christian may exercise the functions of the priesthood (*sacerdos*), may celebrate the eucharist and baptize. But where three, though Laymen, are gathered together, there is a Church. Every one lives by his own faith, nor is there respect of persons with God; since not the hearers, but the doers, of the Law are justified by God; according to the Apostle (Rom. i. 17. ii. 11, 13)." TERTULL. *de Bapt.* cap. 17. Bishop KAYE, having remarked that this is one of the passages which have been brought forward to prove that Tertullian did not recognise the distinction between Clergy and Laity, whereas "a directly opposite inference ought to be drawn," quotes from the Tract de Monogamiâ, cap. 12, "Sed quum extollimur et inflamur adversus Clerum, tunc unum omnes sumus: tunc omnes Sacerdotes, quia Sacerdotes nos Deo et Patri fecit; quum ad præequationem disciplinæ sacerdotalis provocamur, deponimus infulas, et impares sumus." On which quotation the learned Bishop remarks, "We may, however, infer from this passage, that in Tertullian's days the validity of the distinction was occasionally questioned!"—*The Eccl. Hist. of the Second and Third Centuries*, by JOHN, Bishop of Bristol. 1826. Edit. 2. 8vo. chap. iv. p. 228.]

† [HOOKER has cautiously evaded a positive appeal to 1 Pet. v. 3. "Feed the flock of God.... not by constraint," &c. ver. 2. "Neither as being lords over God's heritage (*ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κληρῶν* as being lords of the clergy), but being ensamples to the flock (*τοῦ ποιμνίου*)," ver. 3. On this text CALVIN remarks, "Peter, when he admonisheth the Pastors of their duty, exhorteth them so to 'feed the flock' not as using a lordship over 'the Clergy;' by which word Clergy he signifieth the inheritance of God, that is to say the Faithful people." *Instit.* lib. iv. cap. 10. sect. 7. That the Church is composed of the more and less learned (*ιδιώται*), does not justify HOOKER's inference at this place, for in what situation would it leave the Apostles? "Now when they (the rulers, elders and scribes, &c.) saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men (*ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται*) they marvelled; and they took knowledge of them, that they had been with Jesus." Acts iv. 13. "The unlearned," mentioned 1 Cor. xiv. 16, are evidently part of the Church; not so verses 23 and 24, where "unlearned" (*ἰδιῶται*) is explained by "or unbelievers" (*ἢ ἄπιστοι*, or *not-Faithful*): hence, says T. C. "That the Lord's 'heritage,' which they call Clergy, is not restrained unto the Church Officers, but unto the whole Church.... appeareth evidently, for that Peter hath made it of the same value and weight with the word 'Flock'.... we deny not, but that the name Lot (*κλήρος*) is given to the Ministers under the Law (Num. xviii. 24. Deut. xviii. 2), and under the Gospel unto the Church Officers (Acts i. 17, 25. viii. 21); but that the name of the Lord's 'heritage' or Clergy should be appropriated and made the several of Church Officers, which the Scripture doth lay open unto all Christians, both here, 1 Pet. v. 3, and in other places, Ephes. i. 11, Colos. i. 12, is a Church robbery.... They might as well have said, that theirs only is 'the inheritance of the Kingdom,' considering that thereof they are said *κληρονόμοι* of the kingdom, for that they are the Lord's *κλήροί* (*κληρονόμους τῆς βασιλείας*, James ii. 5). It is

Heb.
ii. 17.

given them, the Power of their Order, so far forth as the same consisteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affairs of God. For of the power of their jurisdiction over men's persons we are to speak in the Books following. They which have once received this Power may not think to put it off and on like a cloak, as the weather serveth, to take it, reject and resume it as oft as themselves list; of which profane and impious contempt these latter times have yielded, as of all other kinds of iniquity and apostacy, strange examples: but let them know, which put their hands unto this plough, that once consecrated unto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance* for ever. Suspensions may stop, and degradations utterly cut off, the use or exercise of Power before given; but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to separate and pull asunder what God by his authority coupleth. So that although there may be through misdesert degradation, as there may be cause of just separation after Matrimony; yet if (as sometime it doth) restitution to former dignity, or reconciliation after breach, do happen, neither doth the one nor the other ever iterate the first knot. Much less is it necessary, which some have urged, concerning the Reordination of such as others, in times more corrupt, did consecrate heretofore. Which error, already quelled by St. Jerome, doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I grant there are which make for restraint of those men from admittance again into rooms of spiritual Function, whose fall by Heresy,

Matt.
xix. 4—
9.

true, that the ancient Fathers do often restrain this word to the Church Officers; but, besides that their manner of speech hath no authority being beside the use of the Holy Scripture, it appeareth that the speech at the first did arise from this, that the Church Officers were chosen by Lot (Acts i. 26); not that they only were in the Lot of God's people, or in the account of God's inheritance; but that the Papists understand it in this latter sense appeareth by their other robbery of calling themselves Spiritual (or 'the Spirituality'), a title common to all the children of God, 1 Cor. ii. 15, iii. 1, Gal. vi. 1; as if all besides them were Carnal!" *Confut. of the Rhemists' New Testament*. 1618, posth. fo. p. 678. All these premises prove that *ιδιώτας* can exist with Divine illumination; that *κληρος* does not denote an aristocratical distinction in the Church of Christ; and that therefore the body of his Church is not divided as Papists and HOOKER would make to appear. "We in like sort, &c." See remarks on *κληρος* in Lect. IX. and X. of CAMPBELL's *Lect. on Eccl. Hist.*]

* ["For he was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry: καὶ ἔλαξε τὸν κληρον." Acts i. 17. So then, Judas had the inheritance: did he retain it "for ever," and was the "power" Christ had imparted to him, Matt. x. 8, irrevocable and only suspended, or was his "character indelible?" Surely Christ's own words convince us of the contrary! "I speak not of you all; I know whom I have chosen: but . . . he that eateth bread with me hath lift up his heel against me." John xiii. 18. "Ye are clean, but not all." Ver. 10. "Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" Chap. vi. 70. Unquestionably Judas had nothing left of the Ministerial Character but the, in his case, empty name of an Apostle, Acts i. 25, about which, no man would contend were it not necessary to the support of a human system.]

or want of constancy in professing the Christian Faith, hath been once a disgrace to their calling. Nevertheless, as there is no Law which bindeth, so there is no cause that should always lead to show one and the same severity towards persons culpable. Goodness of nature itself more inclineth to clemency than rigour. And we in other men's offences do behold the plain image of our own imbecility. Besides also, them that wander out of the way it cannot be unexpedient to win with all hopes of favour,* lest strictness used towards such as reclaim themselves should make others more obstinate in error. Wherefore, after that the Church of Alexandria had somewhat recovered itself from the tempests and storms of Arianism, being in consultation about the re-establishment of that which by long disturbance had been greatly decayed and hindered, the ferventer sort gave quick sentence, that touching them which were of the Clergy and had stained themselves with Heresy, there should be none so received into the Church again as to continue in the Order of the Clergy. The rest, which considered how many men's cases it did concern, thought it much more safe and consonant to bend somewhat down towards them which were fallen; to show severity upon a few of the chiefest leaders, and to offer to the rest a friendly reconciliation without any other demand saving only the abjuration of their error; as in the Gospel that wasteful young man, which returned home to his father's house, was with joy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat, neither commended so much for his own fidelity and virtue, as blamed for not embracing him freely whose unexpected recovery ought to have blotted out all remembrance of misdemeanours and faults past. But of this sufficient. A thing much stumbled at in the manner of giving Orders, is our using those memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Christ, "Receive the Holy Ghost."† The Holy Ghost, they say, we cannot give, and therefore we "foolishly"‡ bid men receive it. Wise men, for their authority's sake, must have leave to

Rufin.
Hist.
Eccles.
lib. i.
cap. 28.

[Luke
xv. 28—
32.]

[John
xx. 22.]

* "In XII. Tabulis cautum est, ut idem juris esset sanantibus quod fortibus, id est bonis et qui nunquam defecerunt a populo Romano." Fest. in ver. Samnites.

† ["The words are in none of the ancient Rituals."—NELSON'S *Rights of the Clergy*. Art. Ordination.]

‡ "Papisticus quidam ritus, stulte quidem ab illis et sine ullo Scripturæ fundamento institutus, et a disciplinæ nostræ auctoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primum judicio acceptus, minore adhuc in Ecclesia nostra retinetur." Ecclesiast. Discip. p. 53.

Eccles.
Discip.
fol. 62.
lin. 8.

befool them whom they are able to make wise by better instruction. Notwithstanding, if it may please their wisdom, as well to hear what fools can say, as to control that which they do, thus we have heard some wise men teach, namely, that the Holy Ghost may be used to signify not the Person alone, but the "gifts" of the Holy Ghost; and we know that spiritual gifts are not only abilities to do things miraculous, as to speak with tongues which were never taught us, to cure diseases without art, and such like; but also that the very authority and power which is given men in the Church to be Ministers of holy things, this is contained within the number of those gifts whereof the Holy Ghost is author; and therefore he which giveth this Power may say, without absurdity or folly, "Receive the Holy Ghost," such power as the Spirit of Christ hath indued his Church withal, such power as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor Cæsar, on earth can give. So that if men alone had devised this form of speech, thereby to express the heavenly wellspring of that Power which Ecclesiastical Ordinations do bestow, it is not so foolish but that wise men might bear with it. If then our Lord and Saviour himself have used the self-same form of words, and that in the self-same kind of action, although there be but the least shew of probability, yea, or any possibility that his meaning might be the same which ours is, it should teach sober and grave men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impossible to have in it more profoundness of wisdom than flesh and blood should presume to control. Our Saviour, after his resurrection from the dead, gave his Apostles their commission, saying, "All power is given me in Heaven and in earth: Go, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." In sum, "As my Father sent me, so send I you." Whereunto St. John doth add farther, that "having thus spoken, he breathed on them and said, Receive the Holy Ghost." By which words he must of likelihood understand some gift of the Spirit which was presently at that time bestowed upon them, as both the speech of actual delivery in saying, "Receive," and the visible sign thereof, his breathing, did show. Absurd it were to imagine our Saviour did both to the ear, and also to the very eye, express

Matt.
xxviii.
18.

John
xx. 31.

Ver. 22.

a real donation, and they at that time receive nothing. It resteth then that we search what especial grace they did at that time receive. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, most apparent it is, that as then they received it not, but the promise thereof was to be shortly after performed. The words of St. Luke concerning that power are therefore set down with signification of the time to come: "Behold, I will *send* the promise of my Father upon you, but tarry you in the City of Jerusalem until ye be indued with power from on high." Wherefore, undoubtedly, it was some other effect of the Spirit, the Holy Ghost in some other kind, which our Saviour did then bestow. What other likelier than that which himself doth mention, as it should seem of purpose to take away all ambiguous constructions, and to declare that the Holy Ghost which he then gave, was an holy and a Ghostly Authority, authority over the souls of men, authority, a part whereof consisteth in power to remit and retain sins? "Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted; whose sins ye retain, they are retained." Whereas, therefore, the other Evangelists had set down, that Christ did before his suffering promise to give his Apostles "the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven," and being risen from the dead promise moreover at that time a miraculous power of the Holy Ghost; St. John addeth, that he also invested them even then with the power of the Holy Ghost for castigation and relaxation of sin, wherein was fully accomplished that which the promise of the Keys did import. Seeing, therefore, that the same power is now given, why should the same form of words expressing it be thought "foolish?" The cause why we breathe not, as Christ did on them unto whom he imparted power, is, for that neither Spirit nor spiritual authority may be thought to proceed from us, which are but delegates or assigns to give men possession of his graces.* Now, besides that the power and authority delivered with those words is itself χάρισμα, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth bestow, we may most assuredly persuade ourselves, that the hand which imposeth upon us the Function of our Ministry, doth under the same form of words so tie itself thereunto, that he which receiveth the burthen is thereby for ever warranted to have

* [It does not appear in Scripture that our Saviour empowered even his Apostles to use this mode of bestowing the Holy Spirit; consequently they could not transmit it to others.]

the Spirit with him, and in him, for his assistance, aid, countenance, and support, in whatsoever he faithfully doth to discharge duty.* Knowing, therefore, that when we take Ordination, we also receive the presence of the Holy Ghost, partly to guide, direct, and strengthen us in all our ways, and partly to assume unto itself for the more authority those actions that appertain to our place and calling, can our ears admit such a speech uttered in the reverend performance of that Solemnity; or can we at any time renew the memory, and enter into serious cogitation thereof, but with much admiration and joy? Remove what these "foolish" words do imply, and what hath the ministry of God besides wherein to glory? Whereas, now, forasmuch as the Holy Ghost, which our Saviour in his first Ordinations gave, doth no less concur with spiritual vocations throughout all ages, than the "spirit," which God derived from Moses to them that assisted him in his government, did descend from them to their successors in like authority and place, we have for the least and meanest duties, performed by virtue of ministerial Power, that to dignify, grace, and authorize them, which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemn, give absolution, or whatsoever; as disposers of God's mysteries, our words, judgments, acts, and deeds, are not ours but the Holy Ghost's. Enough, if unfeignedly and in heart we did believe it, enough to banish whatsoever may justly be thought corrupt either in bestowing, or in using, or in esteeming the same otherwise than is meet. For profanely to bestow, or loosely to use, or vilely to esteem of, the Holy Ghost, we all in shew and profession abhor. Now because the Ministry is an office of dignity and honour, some are doubtful whether any man may seek for it without offence; or, to speak more properly, doubtful they are not, but rather bold to accuse our Discipline in this respect, as not only permitting, but requiring also ambitious suits and other oblique ways or means whereby to obtain it. Against this they plead, that our Saviour did stay till his Father sent him, and the Apostles till he them; that the ancient Bishops in the Church of Christ were examples and patterns of the

Numb.
xi. [17,
25.]

Auctor.
Libel. de
Discip.
Eccle-
siast.

* "Et si necessarium est trepidare de merito, religiosum est tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi oneris est auctor, ipse fiet administrationis adjutor; et ne magnitudine gratiæ succumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatem." Leo Ser. 1. in Anniver. die Assumpt. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην. Greg. Nazian.

same modesty. Whereupon in the end they infer, "Let us therefore at the length amend that custom of repairing from all parts unto the Bishop at the day of Ordination, and of seeking to obtain Orders; let the custom of bringing commendatory letters be removed; let men keep themselves at home, expecting there the voice of God, and the authority of such as may call them to undertake the charge." Thus severely they censure and control ambition, if it be ambition which they take upon them to reprehend. For of that there is cause to doubt. Ambition, as we understand it, hath been accounted a vice which seeketh after honours inordinately. Ambitious minds, esteeming it their greatest happiness to be admired, revered, and adored above others, use all means lawful and unlawful which may bring them to high rooms. But as for the power of Order considered by itself, and as in this case it must be considered, such reputation it hath in the eye of this present world, that they which affect it, rather need encouragement to bear contempt, than deserve blame as men that carry aspiring minds. The work whereunto this Power serveth is commended, and the desire thereof allowed by the Apostle for good. Nevertheless, because the burthen thereof is heavy, and the charge great, it cometh many times to pass, that the minds even of virtuous men are drawn into clean contrary affections, some in humility declining that by reason of hardness, which others in regard of goodness only do with fervent alacrity covet. So that there is not the least degree in this service, but it may be both in reverence shunned, and of very devotion longed for.* If then the desire thereof may be holy, religious, and good, may not the profession of that desire be so likewise? We are not to think it so long good as it is dissembled, and evil if once we begin to open it. And allowing that it may be opened without ambition, what offence, I beseech you, is there in opening it there, where it may be furthered and satisfied, in case they to whom it appertaineth think meet? In vain are those desires allowed, the accomplishment whereof it is not lawful for men to seek. Power, therefore, of Ecclesiastical Order may be desired,

* Τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς εὐδοκίμωντάτους ἀνασκοπῶν εὗρισκω, ὅσους πῶποτε εἰς ἐπιστάσιαν ἢ προφητείαν ἡ χάρις προὐβάλετο, τοὺς μὲν εἰζαντας προθύμως τῇ κλήσει, τοὺς δὲ ἀναβαλλομένους τὸ χάρισμα, καὶ οὐδετέρων μεμπτήν οὔτε τῶν ὑποχωρησάντων τὴν δειλίαν, οὔτε τῶν ὀρμησάντων τὴν προθυμίαν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τὸ μέγεθος ἠδραβήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῇ καλοῦντι πιστεύσαντες ἠκολούθησαν. Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

Isaiah
vi. 8.

Heb. v.
5, 6.

the desire thereof may be professed, they which profess themselves that way inclined may endeavour to bring their desires to effect, and in all this no necessity of evil. Is it the bringing of Testimonial Letters wherein so great obliquity consisteth? What more simple, more plain, more harmless, more agreeable with the law of common humanity, than that men, where they are not known, use for their easier access the credit of such as can best give testimony of them? Letters of any other construction our Church-discipline alloweth not; and these to allow, is neither to require ambitious suings, nor to approve any indirect or unlawful act.* The Prophet Esay, receiving his message at the hands of God, and his charge by heavenly vision, heard the voice of the Lord, saying, "Whom shall I send; who shall go for us?" Whereunto he recordeth his own answer, "Then I said, Here, Lord, I am; send me." Which in effect is the Rule and Canon whereby touching this point the very Order of the Church is framed. The appointment of Times for solemn Ordination is but the public demand of the Church in the name of the Lord himself, "Whom shall, I send; who shall go for us?" The confluence of men, whose inclinations are bent that way, is but the answer thereunto, whereby the labours of sundry being offered, the Church hath freedom to take whom her agents in such case think meet and requisite. As for the example of our Saviour Christ, who took not to himself this honour to be made our High-priest, but received the same from him which said, "Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec," his waiting and not attempting to execute the office till God saw convenient time, may serve in reproof of usurped honours, forasmuch as we ought not of our own accord to assume dignities whereunto we are not called as Christ was. But yet it should be withal considered, that a proud usurpation without any

* ["Now, by the Letters Commendatory of some one man, noble or other, tag and rag, learned and unlearned, of the basest sort of the people, to the slander of the Gospel in the mouths of the adversaries, are freely received." *Adm. to the Parl.* "If tag and rag be admitted, learned and unlearned, it is the fault of some, not of all, nor of the Law. ... I know not what you mean by the basest sort: the Ministry is not now bound to any one Tribe." *WHITGIFT'S Ans. to the Adm.* p. 37. "You know they meant by the basest of the people, such as gave but one leap out of the shop into the Church; as suddenly are changed out of a serving man's coat into a Minister's cloak, making, for the most part, the Ministry their last refuge, &c. And seeing that besides the words be plain, the daily experience teacheth it, you need not make it so strange as though you knew not what they meant." *T. C. lib. i. p. 39.*]

orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingness to obtain admittance; which willingness of mind, I suppose, did not want in him, whose answer was to the voice of his heavenly calling, "Behold, I am come to do thy will." And had it been for him, as it is for us, expedient to receive his commission signed with the hands of men, to seek it might better have beseemed his humility, than it doth our boldness to reprehend them of pride and ambition that make no worse kind of suits than by Letters of information. Himself in calling his Apostles prevented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be said of them, "Ye chose not me, but I of mine own voluntary motion made choice of you." Which kind of undesired nomination to Ecclesiastical places befell divers of the most famous amongst the ancient Fathers of the Church in a clean contrary consideration. For our Saviour's election respected not any merit or worth, but took them which were farthest off from likelihood of fitness, that afterwards their supernatural ability and performance, beyond hope, might cause the greater admiration; whereas, in the other, mere admiration of their singular and rare virtues was the reason why honours were enforced upon them, which they of meekness and modesty did what they could to avoid. But did they ever judge it a thing unlawful to wish or desire the office, the only charge and bare function of the Ministry? Towards which labour, what doth the blessed Apostle else but encourage, saying, "He which desireth it, is desirous of a good work?" What doth he else by such sentences but stir, kindle, and inflame ambition; if I may term that desire ambition, which coveteth more to testify love by painfulness in God's service, than to reap any other benefit? Although of the very honour itself, and of other emoluments annexed to such labours for more encouragement of man's industry, we are not so to conceive neither, as if no affection could be cast towards them without offence. Only, as the Wise man giveth counsel, "Seek not to be made a Judge, lest thou be not able to take away iniquity, and lest thou, fearing the person of the mighty, shouldest commit an offence against thine uprightness;" so it always behoveth men to take good heed, lest affection to that, which hath in it as well difficulty as goodness, sophisticate the true and sincere judgment which beforehand they

Heb.
x. 9.[John
xv. 16.][Tim.
iii. 1.]Eccles.
vii. 9.

ought to have of their own ability, for want whereof many forward minds have found, instead of contentment, repentance. But forasmuch as hardness of things in themselves most excellent cooleth the fervency of men's desires, unless there be somewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of speculative knowledge doth, by things which we sensibly perceive, conduct to that which is in nature more certain though less sensible, and the method of virtuous actions is also to train beginners at the first by things acceptable unto the taste of natural appetite; till our minds at the length be settled to embrace things precious in the eye of reason, merely and wholly for their own sakes), howsoever, inordinate desires do hereby take occasion to abuse the Polity of God and Nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by unseemly means, that which was instituted, and should be reserved for better minds to obtain by more approved courses: in which consideration the Emperors Anthemius and Leo did worthily oppose against such ambitious practices that ancient famous Constitution, wherein they have these sentences; "Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward, or upon request, who should be so far sequestered from all ambition, that they which advance him might be fain to search where he hideth himself, to entreat him drawing back, and to follow him till importunity have made him yield. Let nothing promote him but his excuses to avoid the burthen. They are unworthy of that vocation, which are not thereunto brought unwillingly." Notwithstanding, we ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition, to traduce and draw into hatred every poor request or suit, wherein men may seem to affect honour; seeing that ambition and modesty do not always so much differ in the mark they shoot at, as in the manner of their prosecutions. Yea, even in this may be error also, if we still imagine them least ambitious which most forbear to stir either hand or foot towards their own preferments. For there are that make an idol of their great sufficiency, and, because they surmise the place should be happy that might enjoy them, they walk every where like grave pageants, observing whether men do not wonder why so small accompt is made of so rare worthiness; and in case any other man's advancement be mentioned, they either smile or blush at the marvellous folly of the world, which

seeth not where dignities should offer themselves. Seeing, therefore, that suits after spiritual Functions may be as ambitiously forborne as prosecuted, it remaineth, that the evenest line of moderation between both is, neither to follow them without conscience, nor of pride to withdraw ourselves utterly from them.*

78. It pleased Almighty God to choose to himself for dis-charge of the Legal Ministry, one only tribe out of twelve others, the tribe of Levi; not all unto every divine service, but Aaron and his sons to one charge, the rest of that sanctified tribe to another.† With what solemnities they were admitted into their Functions; in what manner Aaron and his successors the High-priests ascended every Sabbath and Festival-day, offered and ministered in the Temple; with what sin-offering once every year they reconciled first themselves and their own house, afterwards the people unto God; how they confessed all the iniquities of the children of Israel, laid all their trespasses upon the head of a sacred goat, and so carried them out of the city; how they purged the Holy Place from all uncleanness; with what reverence they entered within the Vail, presented themselves before the Mercy-seat, and consulted with the Oracle of God: what service the other Priests did continually in the Holy Place; how they ministered about the lamps, morning and evening; how every Sabbath they placed on the table of the Lord those twelve loaves with pure incense, in perpetual remembrance of that mercy which the Fathers, the twelve tribes, had found by the providence of God for their food, when hunger caused them to leave their natural soil and to seek for sustenance in Egypt; how they employed themselves in sacrifice day by day: finally, what offices the Levites discharged, and what duties the rest did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into, if I should collect that which Scriptures and other ancient records do mention. Besides these, there were indifferently out of all tribes from time to time some called of God as Prophets, foreshowing them things to come, and giving them counsel in such particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; some chosen

Or De-
grees,
whereby
the
power
of Order
is distin-
guished;
and con-
cerning
the attire
of Mi-
nisters.

* Μέσος εἰμί τις τῶν τε ἔργων τολμηρῶν καὶ τῶν λίαν δειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πάσαις ἐπιση-
δόντων (προστασίαις) δειλότερος, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων πάσαις θαρσαλέωτερος. . . Greg. Nazian.
Apologet.

† Πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν ὁσιότητος καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν αἱ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ
Θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀναφέρονται. Philo, p. 297.

of men to read, study, and interpret the Law of God, as the sons or scholars of the old Prophets, in whose room afterwards Scribes and Expounders of the Law succeeded. And because, where so great variety is, if there should be equality, confusion would follow, the Levites were in all their service at the appointment and direction of the sons of Aaron, or Priests; they, subject to the principal guides and leaders of their own Order; and they all, in obedience under the High-priest. Which difference doth also manifest itself in the very titles that men for honour's sake gave unto them, terming Aaron and his successors, High or Great; the Ancients over the companies of Priests, Arch-priests; Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and Interpreters of the Law, Masters. Touching the Ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the whole body of the Church being divided* into Laity and Clergy, the Clergy are either Presbyters or Deacons. I rather term the one sort Presbyters than Priests, because in a matter of so small moment I would not willingly offend their ears, to whom the name of Priesthood is odious,† though without cause.‡ For as things are distinguished one from another by those true essential forms, which being really and actually in them do not only give them the very last and highest degree of their natural perfection, but are also the knot, foundation, and root, whereupon all other inferior perfections depend; so, if they that first do impose names did always understand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then, by hearing the terms of vulgar speech, we should still be taught what the things themselves most properly are. But because words have so many artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with so many varieties, it is not always apparent what the first inventors respected, much less what every man's inward conceit is which useth their words. For any thing myself can discern

* See Note †, p. 373, in fin.]

† "For so much as the common and usual speech of England is to note by the word *Priest*, not a Minister of the Gospel, but a Sacrificer, which the Minister of the Gospel is not, therefore we ought not to call the Ministers of the Gospel *Priests*. And that this is the English speech, it appeareth by all the English translations, which translate always *ιερείς*, which were Sacrificers, *Priests*; and do not of the other side, for any that ever I read, translate *πρεσβύτερος*, a *Priest*. Seeing, therefore, a Priest with us, and in our tongue, doth signify both by the Papists' judgment, in respect of their abominable Mass, and also by the judgment of the Protestants, in respect of the beasts which were offered in the Law, a sacrificing office, which the Minister of the Gospel neither doth nor can execute; it is manifest, that it cannot be, without great offence so used." T. C. lib. i. p. 198.

‡ [See the Text to Note *, p. 386.]

herein, I suppose that they which have bent their study to search more diligently such matters, do, for the most part, find that names advisedly given had either regard unto that which is naturally most proper; or, if perhaps to some other specialty, to that which is sensibly most eminent in the thing signified; and concerning popular use of words, that which the wisdom of their inventors did intend thereby is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceived in gross; as may appear in that if you ask of the common sort what any certain word, for example, what a Priest doth signify; their manner is not to answer, a Priest is a Clergyman which offereth sacrifice to God, but they show some particular person whom they use to call by that name. And, if we list to descend to grammar, we are told by masters in those schools, that the word *Priest* hath his right place ἐπὶ τοῦ ψιλῶς προεστῶτος τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, Etymol. magn. [ἱερεύς.] in him whose mere function or charge is the service of God. Howbeit, because the most eminent part both of Heathenish and Jewish Service did consist in sacrifice, when learned men declare what the word *Priest* doth properly signify, according to the mind of the first imposer of that name, their ordinary scholies do well expound it to imply Sacrifice.* Seeing then that sacrifice is now no part of the Church-ministry, how should the name of Priesthood be thereunto rightly applied? Surely as even St. Paul applieth the name 1 Cor. xv. 30. of flesh unto that very substance of fishes, which hath a proportionable correspondence to flesh, although it be in nature another thing. Whereupon, when Philosophers will speak warily, they make a difference between flesh in one sort of living creatures, and that other substance in the rest which hath but a kind of analogy to flesh;† the Apostle contrariwise, having matter of greater importance whereof to speak, nameth indifferently both “flesh.” The Fathers of the Church of Christ, with like security of speech, call usually the Ministry of the Gospel *Priesthood*, in regard of that which the Gospel hath *proportionable* to ancient sacrifices; namely, the Communion of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ, although it have properly now no sacrifice. As for

* Ἱερεῦσαι, θυσιάσαι. Hesych. “Christus homo dicitur, quia natus est; Propheta, quia futura revelavit; Sacerdos, quia pro nobis *hostiam* se obtulit.” Isid. Orig. lib. vii. cap. 2.

† Ἐχει δ' ἀπορίαν... τί τὸ ἀισθητήριον τὸ τοῦ ἀπτοῦ ἀπτικόν, πότερον ἢ σὰρξ· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ οὐ. Arist. de Anim. lib. ii. c. 11.

the people, when they hear the name, it draweth no more *their* minds to any cogitation of sacrifice, than the name of a Senator or of an Alderman causeth them to think upon old age, or to imagine that every one so termed must needs be ancient, because years were respected in the first nomination of both. Wherefore to pass by the name, let them use what dialect they will, whether we call it a Priesthood, a Presbytership, or a Ministry, it skilleth not: although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth seem more fit, and in propriety of speech more agreeable than *Priest* with the drift of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ.* For what are they that embrace the Gospel but sons of God? What are Churches but his families? Seeing therefore we receive the adoption and state of sons by their Ministry whom God hath chosen out for that purpose; seeing also that when we are the sons of God, our continuance is still under their care which were our progenitors, what better title could there be given them than the reverend name of *Presbyters*, or fatherly guides? The Holy Ghost, throughout the body of the New Testament, making so much mention of them, doth not any where call them Priests. The Prophet *Isaiah*, I grant, doth; but in such sort as the ancient Fathers, by way of analogy. A Presbyter, according to the proper meaning of the New Testament, is *he unto whom our Saviour Christ hath communicated the power of spiritual procreation*.† Out of twelve Patriarchs issued the whole multitude of Israel according to the flesh. And, according to the mystery of heavenly birth, our Lord's Apostles we all acknowledge to be the Patriarchs of his whole Church. St. John therefore beheld sitting about the throne of God in Heaven four-and-twenty Presbyters, the one half Fathers of the old, the other of the new Jerusalem. In which respect the Apostles likewise gave themselves the same title, albeit that name were not proper, but common unto them with others. For of Presbyters, some were greater, some less in power, and that by our Saviour's own appointment; the greater they which received fulness of spiritual power, the less they to whom less was granted. The

Isaiah
lxvi. 21.

Rev.
iv. 4.
xxi. 14.

Matt.
xix. 28.
1 Pet.
v. 1.

* [See the Text to Note †, p. 384.]

† [This definition applies to any Christian who is instrumental in the work of Conversion. And, particularly on HOOKER's position respecting Baptismal Regeneration, does it not apply to Midwives, by changing the personal pronoun, if they use the prescribed Form? See Sect. 62, p. 228, Text of Note †.]

Apostles' peculiar charge was to publish the Gospel of Christ unto all nations, and to deliver them his Ordinances received by immediate revelation from himself.* Which pre-eminence excepted, to all other offices and duties incident into their Order, it was in them to ordain and consecrate whomsoever they thought meet, even as our Saviour did himself assign seventy other of his own Disciples inferior Presbyters, whose commission to preach and baptize was the same which the Apostles had. Whereas, therefore, we find that the very first Sermon which the Apostles did publicly make, was the conversion of above three thousand souls, unto whom there were every day more and more added, they having no open place† permitted them for the exercise of Christian Religion, think we that twelve were sufficient to teach and administer Sacraments in so many private places, as so great a multitude of people did require? This harvest our Saviour, no doubt, foreseeing, provided accordingly labourers for it beforehand. By which means it came to pass that the growth of that Church, being so great and so sudden, they had notwithstanding in a readiness Presbyters enow to furnish it. And therefore the history doth make no mention by what occasion Presbyters were instituted in Jerusalem, only we read of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elsewhere. To these two Degrees appointed of our Lord and Saviour Christ, his Apostles soon after annexed Deacons. "Deacons, therefore, must know (saith Cyprian) that our Lord himself did elect Apostles;‡ but Deacons, after his ascension into Heaven, the Apostles ordained." Deacons were stewards of the Church, unto whom at the first was committed the distribution of Church-goods, the care of providing therewith for the poor, and the charge to see that all things of expense might be religiously and faithfully dealt in. A part also of their office was attendance upon their Presbyters at the time of divine Service. For which cause Ignatius, to set forth the dignity of their calling, saith, that they are in such case to

Acts ii.
41. 47.

Cypr.
Ep. ix.
1. 3. ad.
Rogatianum.

Ignat.
Epist.
ad Tral.

* Οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν θεσφαρδότης νομοθέται. Dionys. Areop. p. 110.

† [The phrase "in one place," verse 1, and the word "together," verse 44, are expressed alike in the Greek; ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ.]

‡ ["Apostolos, id est, Episcopus et Præpositus, Dominus elegit, Our Lord chose the Apostles, that is, the Bishops and Rulers," are Cyprian's words; thus, by comprehending the latter terms in "Apostolos," acknowledging and preserving the Scriptural identity observed by St. Peter in his First Epistle, ch. v. 1—4. Theodoret says, "The same persons were anciently called promiscuously both Bishops and Presbyters; while those who are now called

the Bishop, as if Angelical powers did serve him.* These only being the uses for which Deacons were first made, if the Church have sithence extended their Ministry farther than the circuit of their labour at the first was drawn, we are not herein to think the Ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appear some prohibition which hath abridged the Church of that liberty. Which I note chiefly in regard of them to whom it seemeth a thing so monstrous, that Deacons should sometime be licensed to preach, whose institution was at the first to another end.† To charge them for this as men not contented with their own vocations, and as breakers into that which appertaineth unto others, is very hard. For, when they are thereunto once admitted, it is a

Bishops, were called Apostles." *Com.* in 1 Tim. iii. 1. Phil. i. 1. And Ambrose says, "All Bishops were called Apostles at first." *Com.* in Eph. iv. 11. At the commencement of the Reformation, when it was necessary to repel the aggressions of the Papists, and to enlighten the people by casting away much of the rubbish of ages, it was found convenient in the year 1537 to publish that remarkable book, *The Erudition of a Christian Man*, composed by Archbishop Cranmer, with the assistance of the Convocation; and authorized by the King, approved by the Parliament, and commanded to be read to the whole kingdom; there it is expressly said, (Sacrament of Orders) "That although the Fathers of the succeeding Church after the Apostles, instituted certain inferior Degrees of Ministry; yet the truth is, that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any other Degree or distinction in Orders, but only of Deacons or Ministers, and Presbyters or Bishops;" and throughout the whole discourse makes Presbyters and Bishops one and the same.]

* ["'Ignatius can best witness of their Office.' What, better than Luke; better than Paul; that is to say, better than God himself! . . . But mark we beseech you, how this Ignatius, not content to add unto their Office, doth deny that they served Tables; directly contrary to that which Luke affirmeth of them, which is, to have been ordained for that purpose. ('They are not Servitors of meat and drink, but Ministers of the Church of God. For what are Deacons but imitators or followers of Christ; ministering to the Bishop, as Christ to his Father . . . even as St. Stephen to James, &c.' Ep. 2. ad Tral.) . . . Hear what undoubted antiquity doth judge of this cause. And first of all Chrysostom (in this place) saith, 'The Deacons have need of great wisdom although the Preaching of the Word be not committed unto them:' and further sheweth, that 'It is absurd that they should do both the office of Preaching and caring for the Poor; considering that they be not able to do both thoroughly.' Whereupon Oecumenius, that followed long after Chrysostom, when this Office was degenerated from the first institution, affirmeth (in hunc locum) that the 'Deacons of his time, were not according to the Order of the Deacons mentioned of [by] Luke.' Jerome also (in Evag.), reproving the Deacons for preferring themselves before the Elders, calleth them to their first institution of 'ministering to Tables:' where he alloweth to Elders both Preaching and Prayer. Ambrose also confesseth (in Ephea. iv.), that 'Deacons did not Preach' in his time. An ancient Council (Constantinop. vi. can. 16.) calleth them 'Ministers of Tables, and not of holy things;' meaning the Preaching of the Word and administration of the Sacraments. Another Council (Vasens. ii. can. 4.) decreed, that 'In the Minister's sickness, the Deacons should read the Homilies of the Fathers.' Whereby it appeareth, that howsoever the corruptions of time did cast other things upon the Deacons than the Apostolical institution did ordain them unto, yet that the Lord left not himself without witness." *T. C. Confut. of the Rhemists*, p. 273. Et vide *Con. iv. Car. can. 4.*]

† ["The limitation of their office, work, and power, is so express as will not admit of any debate. (Acts vi. 1—3. 1 Tim. iii.) Persons once called unto this Office might of old in an extraordinary manner,—may at present in an ordinary way, be called unto the Preaching of the Word; but they were not then, they cannot now be authorized thereunto by virtue of this Office. If a new Office be erected under the name of Deacons, it is in the will of them by whom it is erected, to assign what Power unto it they please." *True Nature of a Gospel Church*, by JOHN OWEN, D. D. 1689. posth. 4to. chap. ix. p. 189.]

part of their own vocation, it appertaineth now unto them as well as others; neither is it intrusion for them to do it, being in such sort called, but rather in us it were temerity to blame them for doing it. Suppose we the office of Teaching to be so repugnant unto the office of Deaconship, that they cannot concur in one and the same person? What was there done in the Church by Deacons, which the Apostles did not first discharge being Teachers? Yea, but the Apostles found the burthen of teaching so heavy, that they judged it meet to cut off that other charge, and to have Deacons which might undertake it. Be it so. The multitude of Christians increasing in Jerusalem, and waxing great, it was too much for the Apostles to teach, and to minister unto Tables also. The former was not to be slackened, that this latter might be followed. Therefore unto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this axiom, That when the subject wherein one man's labours of sundry kinds are employed doth wax so great, that the same men are no longer able to manage it sufficiently as before, the most natural way to help this is by dividing their charge into slips, and ordaining of under-officers; as our Saviour under twelve Apostles, seventy Presbyters; and the Apostles, by his example, seven Deacons to be under both. Neither ought it to seem less reasonable, That when the same men are sufficient both to continue in that which they do, and also to undertake somewhat more, a combination be admitted in this case, as well as division in the former. We may not therefore disallow it in the Church of Geneva, that Calvin and Beza were made both Pastors and Readers of Divinity, being men so able to discharge both. To say they did not content themselves with their pastoral vocations, but brake into that which belonged to others; to allege against them, "He that exhorteth, on exhortation," as against us, Rom. xii. 8. "He that distributeth, in simplicity," is alleged in great dislike of granting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient custom of the Church was to yield the poor much relief, especially widows. But as poor people are always querulous, and apt to think themselves less respected than they should be, we see that when the Apostles did what they could without hindrance to their weightier business, yet there were which grudged that others had too much, and they too little; the Grecian widows shorter

Epiph.
l. i. c.
21.

Acts
xxi. 10.
xi. 27.

Acts
ix. 17.
xviii. 24.
2 Tim.
iv. 5, 9.
Acts
xxi. 8.
Euseb.
Eccles.
Hist.
l. iii.
c. 37.

commons than the Hebrews. By means whereof the Apostles saw it meet to ordain Deacons. Now, tract of time having clean worn out those first occasions for which the Deaconship was then most necessary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other services, and so remain, as at this present day, a Degree in the Clergy of God which the Apostles of Christ did institute. That the first seven Deacons were chosen out of the seventy Disciples, is an error in Epiphanius. For to draw men from places of weightier, unto rooms of meaner labour, had not been fit. The Apostles, to the end they might follow Teaching with more freedom, committed the Ministry of Tables unto Deacons. And shall we think they judged it expedient to choose so many out of those seventy to be Ministers unto Tables, when Christ himself had before made them Teachers? It appeareth therefore how long these three degrees of Ecclesiastical Order have continued in the Church of Christ: the highest and largest that which the Apostles, the next that which Presbyters, and the lowest that which Deacons, had. Touching Prophets, they were such men as, having otherwise learned the Gospel, had from above bestowed upon them a special gift of expounding Scriptures, and of foreshowing things to come. Of this sort Agabus was, and besides him in Jerusalem sundry others, who notwithstanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the Clergy, because no man's gifts or qualities can make him a Minister of holy things, unless Ordination do give him Power. And we no where find Prophets to have been made by Ordination*; but all whom the Church did ordain, were either to serve as Presbyters or as Deacons. Evangelists were Presbyters of principal sufficiency, whom the Apostles sent abroad, and used as agents in Ecclesiastical affairs wheresoever they saw need. They whom we find to have been named in Scripture Evangelists, as Ananias,† Apollos, Timothy, and others, were thus employed. And concerning Evangelists, afterwards in Trajan's days, the History Ecclesiastical noteth, that many of the Apostles' disciples and scholars which were then alive, and did with

* [Their station in Acts xiii. 1; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11, implies that they must have been ordained, especially if it be considered that their gifts were, as there is good reason to infer, not exercised incidentally only, but regularly.]

† [It cannot be concluded that Ananias was an Evangelist. For various conjectures concerning his Office, see CALMET's *Dict.* 1823. 4to. Vol. I. under viii. ANAN.]

singular love of wisdom affect the heavenly Word of God, to show their willing minds in executing that which Christ first of all required at the hands of men, they sold their possessions, gave them to the poor, and betaking themselves to travel, undertook the labour of Evangelists; that is, they painfully preached Christ, and delivered the Gospel to them who as yet had never heard the doctrine of Faith. Finally, whom the Apostle nameth Pastors and Teachers, what other were they than Presbyters also, howbeit settled in some charge, and thereby differing from Evangelists? I beseech them, therefore, which have hitherto troubled the Church with questions about degrees and offices of Ecclesiastical calling, because they principally ground themselves upon two places, that, all partiality laid aside, they would sincerely weigh and examine whether they have not misinterpreted both places, and all by surmising incompatible offices, where nothing is meant but sundry graces, gifts, and abilities, which Christ bestowed. To them of Corinth his words are these: "God placed in the Church first of all, some, Apostles; secondly, Prophets; thirdly, Teachers; after them powers, then gifts of cures, aids, governments, kinds of languages. Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Is there power in all? Have all grace to cure? Do all speak with tongues? Can all interpret? But be you desirous of the better graces." They which plainly discern first, that some *one general** thing there is, which the Apostle doth here divide into all these branches, and do secondly conceive that general to be Church-offices, besides a number of other difficulties, can by no means possibly deny but that many of these might concur in one man, and peradventure in some one all; which mixture, notwithstanding, their Form of Discipline doth most shun. On the other side, admit that *Communicants of special infused grace*, for the benefit of members knit into one body, the Church of Christ, are here spoken of, which was in truth the plain drift of that whole discourse; and see if every thing do not answer in due place with that fitness which sheweth easily what is likeliest to have been meant. For why are Apostles the first, but because unto them was granted the revelation

1 Cor.
xii. 28,
31.

1 Cor.
xii.]

* ["To that I alleged of Epaphroditus called an Apostle, Phil. ii. 25 (messenger, ἀπόστολον) . . . he (Dr. Whitgift) allegeth out of Calvin 'that it is taken there *generally*, for any sent to preach' (Cal. in Phil. ii.). Therefore it cannot be taken in that signification of Apostles in which the twelve and Paul were." T. C. Hb. ii. p. 304.]

of all truth from Christ immediately? Why Prophets the second, but because they had of some things knowledge in the same manner? Teachers the next, because whatsoever was known to them, it came by hearing; yet God withal made them able to instruct, which every one could not do that was taught? After gifts of edification, there follow general abilities to work things above nature, grace to cure men of bodily diseases, supplies against occurrent defects and impediments, dexterities to govern and direct by counsel; finally, aptness to speak or interpret foreign tongues. Which graces, not poured out equally, but diversely sorted and given, were a cause why not only they all did furnish up the whole body, but each benefit and help other. Again, the same Apostle otherwhere in like sort, "To every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. He therefore gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ." In this place none but gifts of instruction are exprest. And because of Teachers some were Evangelists, which neither had any part of their knowledge by revelation, as the Prophets, and yet in ability to teach were far beyond other Pastors, they are, as having received one way less than Prophets, and another way more than Teachers, set accordingly between both. For the Apostle doth in neither place respect what any of them were by office or power given them through Ordination, but what by grace they all had obtained through miraculous infusion of the Holy Ghost. For in Christian Religion, this being the ground of our whole belief, that the promises which God of old had made by his Prophets concerning the wonderful gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, wherewith the reign of the true Messiah should be made glorious, were immediately after our Lord's Ascension performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apostles did take more often occasion to speak. Out of men thus indued with gifts of the Spirit upon their conversion to Christian Faith, the Church had her Ministers chosen, unto whom was given Ecclesiastical power by Ordination. Now, because the Apostle, in reckoning degrees and varieties of grace, doth

Ephes.
iv. 7, 8,
11, 12.
Psal.
lxxviii.
18.

mention Pastors and Teachers, although he mention them not in respect of their Ordination to exercise the Ministry, but as examples of men especially enricht with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, divers learned and skilful men have so taken it, as if those places did intend to teach what Orders of Ecclesiastical persons there ought to be in the Church of Christ; which thing we are not to learn from thence, but out of other parts of Holy Scripture, whereby it clearly appeareth that Churches Apostolic did know but three degrees in the power of Ecclesiastical Order; at the first, Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons; afterwards, instead of Apostles, Bishops, concerning whose Order we are to speak in the seventh Book. There is an error which beguileth many who much entangle both themselves and others, by not distinguishing Services, Offices, and Orders Ecclesiastical: the first of which three, and in part the second, may be executed by the Laity; whereas none have, or can have, the third, but the Clergy.* Catechists, Exorcists,† Readers, Singers, and the rest of like sort, if the nature only of their labours and pains be considered, may in that respect seem Clergymen, even as the Fathers for that cause term them usually Clerks; as also in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up, which was to be Ordered when years and experience should make them able. Notwithstanding, inasmuch as they no way differed from others of the Laity longer than during that work of Service, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tied by irrevocable Ordination, we find them always exactly severed from that body whereof those three before-rehearsed Orders alone are natural parts. Touching Widows, of whom some men are persuaded, that if such as St. Paul describeth may be gotten, we ought to retain them in the Church for ever; certain mean Services there were of attendance, as about women at the time of their Baptism, about the bodies of the sick and dead, about the necessities of travellers, wayfaring men, and such like, wherein the Church did commonly use them when need required, because they lived of the alms of the Church, and

T. C.
lib. i.
p. 191.
1 Tim.
v. 9.
[Rom.
xvi. 1.
Phebe,
διδασκο-
νυν τῆς
ἐκκλη-
σίας.]

* [See Sect. 77, p. 372, Note †.]

† [“No Minister or Ministers, shall, without the Licence and direction of the Bishop of the Diocess first obtained . . . attempt, upon any pretence whatsoever, either of possession or obsession, by fasting and prayers, to cast out any Devil or Devils, under pain of imputation of imposture or cozenage, and deposition from the Ministry.” *Canons*, 1603. Can. LXXII.]

were fittest for such purposes: St. Paul doth therefore, to avoid scandal, require that none but women well experienced and virtuously given, neither any under threescore years of age, should be admitted of that number. Widows were never in the Church so highly esteemed as Virgins. But seeing neither of them did* or could receive Ordination, to make them Ecclesiastical persons were absurd.† The ancientest therefore of the Fathers mention those three degrees of Ecclesiastical Order specified, and no more [more]: "When your Captains (saith Tertullian), that is to say, the Deacons, Presbyters and Bishops, fly, who shall teach the Laity that they must be constant?" Again: "What should I mention Laymen (saith Optatus), yea, or divers of the ministry itself? To what purpose Deacons, which are in the third, or Presbyters in the second, degree of Priesthood, when the very Heads and Princes of all, even certain of the Bishops themselves, were content to redeem life with the loss of Heaven?" Heaps of allegations in a case so evident and plain are needless. I may securely therefore conclude, that there are at this day in the Church of England, no other than the same Degrees of Ecclesiastical Order, namely, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Christ and his blessed Apostles themselves. As for Deans, Prebendaries, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Officials, Commissaries, and such other the like names, which being not found in Holy Scripture, we have been thereby through some men's error, thought to allow of Ecclesiastical Degrees not known, nor ever heard of in the better ages of former times; all these are in truth but titles of Office, whereunto partly Ecclesiastical persons, and partly others, are in sundry forms and conditions admitted, as the state of the Church doth need, Degrees of Order still continuing the same they were from the first beginning. Now what Habit or Attire doth beseem each Order to use in the course of common life, both for the gravity of his place, and for example' sake to other men, is a matter frivolous to be

Tertul.
de Per-
secut.

Optat.
lib. i.

* [Deaconesses were appointed with the imposition of hands. Vide Concil. Laodic. can. xi.]

† ["I stand upon the authority of God's Word, and not upon the opinions of men, be they never so well learned; and if the matter should also be tried by the judgment of men, I am able to shew the judgment of as learned as this age hath brought forth, which thinketh that the institution of Widows is perpetual." T. C. lib. i. p. 191.]

disputed of. A small measure of wisdom may serve to teach them how they should cut their coats. But seeing all well-ordered Polities have ever judged it meet and fit by certain special distinct ornaments to sever each sort of men from other when they are in public, to the end that all may receive such complements of civil honour as are due to their rooms and callings, even when their persons are not known, it argueth a disproportioned mind in them whom so decent orders displease.*

79. We might somewhat marvel what the Apostle St. Paul should mean, to say that "Covetousness is idolatry,"† if the daily practice of men did not show, that whereas Nature requireth God to be honoured with wealth, we honour for the most part wealth as God. Fain we would teach ourselves to believe, that for worldly goods it sufficeth frugally and honestly to use them to our own benefit, without detriment and hurt of others; or if we go a degree farther, and perhaps convert some small contemptible portion thereof to charitable uses, the whole duty which we owe unto God herein is fully satisfied. But forasmuch as we cannot rightly honour God, unless both our souls and bodies be sometime employed merely in his service; again, sith we know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of so great a part of the time of our lives quite and clean from our own business, and the bestowing of the same in his; suppose we that nothing of our wealth and substance is immediately due to God, but all our own to bestow and spend as ourselves think meet? Are not our riches as well his, as the days of our life are his? Wherefore, unless with part we acknowledge his supreme Dominion by whose benevolence we have the whole, how give we honour to whom honour belongeth, or how hath God the things that are God's? I would know what nation in the world did ever honour God, and not think it a point of their duty to do him honour with their very goods. So that this we may boldly set down as a principle clear in Nature, an axiom

Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of Religion; which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergy's certain and sufficient maintenance must needs by alienation of Church-livings be made frustrate.

[Matt. xxii. 21.]

* [Dr. Whitgift himself, in Nov. 1565, opposed conformity by threatening with four other Heads of Houses to withdraw from their University (Cambridge) under the apprehension of an approaching Proclamation to impose the *Clerical Habits*; which imposition they deprecated as injurious to the preaching of the Gospel and to Literature; and by implication represented their opinion to be that of the "nation at large." For this interference they were reprehended by the higher powers. See STRYPE's *Life of Abp. Parker*, p. 194, and App. p. 69, 70; and BROOK's *Hist. of Relig. Liberty*, 1820. Vol. I. p. 304, 345.]

† [Col. iii. 5.]

[Prov.
iii. 9.]

which ought not to be called in question, a truth manifest and infallible, That men are eternally bound to honour God with their substance, in token of thankful acknowledgment that all they have is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by spending them in lawful manner, and by using them without offence, but also by alienating from ourselves some reasonable part or portion thereof, and by offering up the same to him as a sign that we gladly confess his sole and sovereign Dominion over all, is a duty which all men are bound unto, and a part of that very worship of God, which, as the Law of God and Nature itself requireth, so we are the rather to think all men no less strictly bound thereunto than to any other natural duty; inasmuch as the hearts of men do so cleave to these earthly things, so much admire them for the sway they have in the world, impute them so generally either to nature or to chance and fortune, so little think upon the grace and providence from which they come, that, unless by a kind of continual tribute we did acknowledge God's dominion, it may be doubted that in short time men would learn to forget whose tenants they are, and imagine that the world is their own absolute, free, and independent inheritance. Now, concerning the kind or quality of gifts which God receiveth in that sort, we are to consider them, partly as first they proceed from us, and partly as afterwards they are to serve for divine uses. In that they are testimonies of our affection towards God, there is no doubt but such they should be as beseemeth most his glory to whom we offer them. In this respect the fatness of Abel's sacrifice is commended; the flower of all men's increase assigned to God by Solomon; the gifts and donations of the people rejected as oft as their cold affection to God-ward made their presents to be little worth. Somewhat the Heathens saw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they unto their gods did not think they might consecrate any thing which was "impure," or "unsound," or "already given," or else "not truly their own to give."* Again, in regard of use, forasmuch as we know that God hath himself no need of worldly commodities, but taketh them because it is our good to be so exercised, and with no other intent

* Purum, probum, profanum, suum. Fest. lib. xiv.

accepteth them, but to have them used for the endless continuance of Religion; there is no place left of doubt or controversy, but that we in the choice of our gifts are to level at the same mark, and to frame ourselves to his known intents and purposes. Whether we give unto God therefore that which himself by commandment requireth, or that which the public consent of the Church thinketh good to allot, or that which every man's private devotion doth best like, inasmuch as the gift which we offer proceedeth not only as a testimony of our affection towards God, but also as a mean to uphold Religion, the exercise whereof cannot stand without the help of temporal commodities; if all men be taught of Nature to wish, and as much as in them lieth to procure, the perpetuity of good things; if for that very cause we honour and admire their wisdom, who, having been founders of Commonweals, could devise how to make the benefit they left behind them durable; if, especially in this respect, we prefer Lycurgus before Solon, and the Spartan before the Athenian Polity, it must needs follow, that as we do unto God very acceptable service in honouring him with our substance, so our service that way is then most acceptable when it tendeth to perpetuity. The first permanent donations of honour in this kind are Temples. Which works do so much set forward the exercise of Religion, that while the world was in love with Religion, it gave to no sort greater reverence than to whom it could point and say, "These are the men that have built us Synagogues." But of Churches we have spoken sufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the Ornaments of Churches, memorials which men's devotion hath added to remain in the treasure of God's House, not only for uses wherein the exercise of Religion presently needeth them, but also partly for supply of future casual necessities, whereunto the Church is on earth subject, and partly to the end that while they are kept, they may continually serve as testimonies, giving all men to understand that God hath in every age and nation such as think it no burthen to honour him with their substance. The riches first of the Tabernacle of God, and then of the Temple of Jerusalem, arising out of voluntary gifts and donations, were, as we commonly speak, a *Nemo scit*, the value of them above that which any man would imagine. After that

the Tabernacle was made, furnished with all necessities, and set up, although in the wilderness their ability could not possibly be great, the very metal of those vessels which the Princes of the Twelve Tribes gave to God for their first presents, amounted even then to two thousand and four hundred shekels of silver, an hundred and twenty shekels of gold, every shekel weighing half an ounce. What was given to the Temple which Solomon erected we may partly conjecture, when, over and besides wood, marble, iron, brass, vestments, precious stones, and money, the sum which David delivered into Solomon's hands for that purpose, was of gold in mass eight thousand, and of silver seventeen thousand cichars, every cichar containing a thousand and eight hundred shekels, which riseth to nine hundred ounces in every one cichar; whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount unto thirty cichars. After their return out of Babylon, they were not presently in case to make their second Temple of equal magnificence and glory with that which the enemy had destroyed. Notwithstanding, what they could they did. Insomuch that, the building finished, there remained in the coffers of the Church, to uphold the fabric thereof, six hundred and fifty cichars of silver, one hundred of gold. Whereunto was added by Nehemias, of his own gift, a thousand drams of gold, fifty vessels of silver, five hundred and thirty Priests' vestments; by other the Princes of the Fathers twenty thousand drams of gold, two thousand and two hundred pieces [*pounds*] of silver; by the rest of the people twenty thousand of gold, two thousand of silver, threescore and seven attires of Priests. And they furthermore bound themselves towards other charges to give by the poll, in what part of the world soever they should dwell, the third of a shekel, that is to say, the sixth part of an ounce yearly. This out of foreign provinces they always sent in gold.* Whereof Mithridates is said to have taken up by the way before it could pass to Jerusalem from Asia, in one adventure, eight hundred talents;† Crassus after that, to have borrowed of the Temple itself eight thousand; at which time Eleazar having both many other rich ornaments, and all the tapestry of the Temple under his

Nam
vii. 85,
86. ✓

1 Chron.
xxix.
[2-8.]

Exod.
xxxviii.
24.
Ezra ii.
68, 69.
Hag.
ii. 3.

Ezra
viii. 26.

Nehem.
vii. 70,
72.

Nehem.
x. 32.

Joseph.
Antiq.
lib. xlv.
c. 7. § 2.

* "Cum aurum Judeorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus vestris provinciis Hierosolymam exportari solet, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asia exportari liceret." Cic. Orat. pro L. Flac.

† Every talent in value six hundred crowns.

custody, thought it the safest way to grow unto some composition, and so to redeem the residue by parting with a certain beam of gold about seven hundred and a half in weight; a prey sufficient for one man, as he thought, who had never bargained with Crassus till then, and therefore, upon the confidence of a solemn oath that no more should be looked for, he simply delivered up a large morsel, whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed, and the whole lost. Such being the casualties whereunto moveable treasures are subject, the Law of Moses did both require eight and twenty [*forty*] cities, together with their fields and whole territories in the land of Jewry, to be reserved for God himself, and not only provide for the liberty of farther additions, if men of their own accord should think good, but also for the safe preservation thereof unto all posterities, that no man's avarice or fraud, by defeating so virtuous intents, might discourage from like purposes. God's third indowment did therefore of old consist in lands. Furthermore, some cause no doubt there is why besides sundry other more rare donations of uncertain rate, the Tenth should be thought a revenue so natural to be allotted out unto God. For of the spoils which Abraham had taken in war, he delivered unto Melchisedec the Tithes.* The

Num.
xxxv. 7.
Levit.
xxv. 34.
xxvii.
28.

Gen.
xiv. 20.

* ["Our Ministers at this day, being neither Priests nor Levites, nor fitly answering to either of them, can have no just title or pretence to Tithes by any consequence drawn from the Law of Moses. But they think they have yet a better plea in the example of Melchisedec, who took Tithes of Abraham ere the Law was given; whence they would infer Tithes to be of moral right. But they ought to know, or to remember, that not examples, but express commands oblige our obedience to God or man: next, that whatsoever was done in religion before the Law written, is not presently to be counted moral, whenas so many things were then done both ceremonial and judaically judicial, that we need not doubt to conclude all times before Christ more or less under the Ceremonial Law. To what end served else those altars and sacrifices; that distinction of clean and unclean entering into the Ark; circumcision; and the raising up of seed to the elder brother? If these things be not moral, though before the Law, how are Tithes, though in the example of Abraham and Melchisedec? But this instance is so far from being the just ground of a Law, that after all circumstances duly weighed both from Gen. xiv. and Heb. vii. it will not be allowed them so much as an example. Melchisedec, besides his priestly benediction, brought with him bread and wine sufficient to refresh Abraham and his whole army; incited to do so, first, by the secret providence of God, intending him for a type of Christ and his priesthood; next, by his due thankfulness and honour to Abraham, who had freed his borders of Salem from a potent enemy: Abraham, on the other side, honours him with the tenth of all, that is to say, for he took not sure his whole estate with him to that war, of the spoils, Heb. vii. 4. Incited he also by the same secret providence, to signify as grandfather of Levi, that the Levitical priesthood was excelled by the priesthood of Christ. For the giving of a tenth declared, it seems, in those countries and times, him the greater who received it. That which next incited him, was partly his gratitude to requite the present, partly his reverence to the person and his benediction: to his person, as a king and priest, greater therefore than Abraham, who was a priest also, but not a king. And who unhired will be so hardy as to say, that Abraham at any other time ever paid him Tithes, either before or after; or had then, but for this accidental meeting and obligation; or that else Melchisedec had demanded or exacted

Gen.
xxviii.
20, 22.

Deut.
xiv. 22.

Plin.
Hist.
Nat.
lib. xii.
c. 14.

vow of Jacob, at such time as he took his journey towards Haran, was, "If God will be with me, and will keep me in this voyage which I am to go, and will give me bread to eat, and clothes to put on, so that I may return to my father's house in safety, then shall the Lord be my God; and this stone which I have set up as a pillar, the same shall be God's House; and of all thou shalt give me I will give unto thee the Tithe."* And as Abraham gave voluntarily, as Jacob vowed to give God Tithes, so the Law of Moses did require at the hands of all men the self-same kind of tribute, the tenth of their corn, wine, oil, fruit, cattle, and whatsoever increase his heavenly providence should send.† Insomuch, that Painims being herein followers of their steps, paid Tithes likewise. Imagine we that this was for no cause

them, or took them otherwise than as the voluntary gift of Abraham? But our Ministers, though neither priests nor kings more than any other Christian (1 Pet. ii. 9. Rev. i. 6. v. 10), greater in their own esteem than Abraham and all his seed, for the verbal labour of a seventh day's preaching, not bringing, like Melchisedec, bread or wine at their own cost, would not take only at the willing hand of liberality or gratitude, but require and exact as due, the tenth, not of spoils, but of our whole estates and labours; nor once, but yearly. We then it seems, by the example of Abraham, must pay Tithes to these Melchisedecs: but what if the person of Abraham can neither no way represent us; or, will oblige the Ministers to pay Tithes no less than other men? Abraham had not only a Priest in his loins, but was himself a Priest." . . . "They will reply perhaps, that if one Priest gave Tithes to another, it must needs be understood that the people did no less to the Priest. But . . . in those days was no Priest but the Father, or the first-born of each family; and by consequence no people to pay him Tithes, but his own children and servants, who had not wherewithal to pay him, but of his own. Yet grant that the people then paid Tithes, there will not yet be the like reason to enjoin us; they being then under Ceremonies, a mere Laity, we now under Christ, a royal Priesthood, 1 Pet. ii. 9, as we are coheirs, kings and priests with him. . . . Neither doth the collateral place, Heb. vii. make other use of this story, than to prove Christ, personated by Melchisedec, a greater Priest than Aaron: ver. 4. . . . No other sort of Ministers, as they must needs be another sort under another Priesthood, can receive that tribute of Tithes which fell with that Law, unless renewed by another express command, and according to another Law; no such Law is extant. . . . The words of ver. 8 intimate, that as Christ offered himself once for us, so he received once of us in Abraham, and in that place, the typical acknowledgment of our redemption: which had it been a perpetual annuity to Christ, by him claimed as his due, Levi must have paid it yearly, as well as then, ver. 9, and our Ministers ought still, to some Melchisedec or other, as well now as they did in Abraham. But that Christ never claimed any such tenth as his annual due, much less resigned it to the Ministers, his so officious receivers, without express commission or assignment, will be yet clearer as we proceed. This much may at length assure us, that this example of Abraham and Melchisedec, though I see of late they build most upon it, can so little be the ground of any Law to us, that it will not so much as avail them as to the authority of an Example."—MILTON'S *Likeliest means to remove Hirelings*. Works, 1730. Vol. I. pp. 565, 6.]

* ["The example of Jacob doth utterly overthrow your Tenth: for a Vow being of things which are in our choice whether we will give or no, and not of things that by the Moral Law of God we are commanded to do; it must needs follow that Jacob's Tithes being due by Vow were not payable by any natural duty: which appeareth yet further in that his Vow was upon condition of his prosperous return into his country and Father's House, which condition he could not have tied unto his Promise of Tithes if it had been absolutely due by natural duty." T. C. *Confut. of the Rhemists*. In Heb. vii. 4. p. 611.]

† [Hooker has overlooked the application of Tithes in the subsequent verses of this chapter in Deut.]

done, or that there was not some special inducement to judge the tenth of our worldly profits the most convenient for God's portion? Are not all things by him created in such sort, that the forms which give them their distinction are number, their operations measure, and their matter weight? Three being the mystical number of God's unsearchable perfection within himself; Seven the number whereby our own perfections, through grace, are most ordered; and Ten* the number of Nature's perfections† (for the beauty of Nature is order; and the foundation of order, number; and of number, Ten the highest we can rise unto without iteration of numbers under it), could Nature better acknowledge the power of the God of Nature, than by assigning unto him that quantity which is the continent of all she possesseth?‡ There are in Philo the Jew many

* *Δεκάς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐστὶ πέρας τελευτάτων.* Philo.

† [“There be also in your Book divers Theorems not so familiar to us common Christians, neither do we perceive them in the English Creed; neither in the reading of the holy Writings of God. We pray you therefore, declare unto us by what Spirit or Word you teach them unto us? What foundation they have in Holy Writ; and, how they pertain to the Faith or Discipline of the English Church? Such as are these, ‘Ten, the number of Nature’s perfections:’ ‘Angel’s perpetuity; the hand that draweth out celestial motion’ (p. 312): ‘Church-attire with us, lively resembleth the glory of the Saints in Heaven’ (p. 100): ‘Daily bruises, Spiritual Promotions use to take by often falling’ (p. 109): ‘Multiplied petitions of worldly things, a kind of heavenly fraud, to take the souls of men as with certain baits’ (p. 116); ‘In Baptism, God doth bestow presently remission of sins and the Holy Ghost, binding also himself to add, in process of time, what grace soever shall be farther necessary for the attainment of everlasting Life’ (p. 252): ‘The Sign of the Cross (as we use it) is in some sort a mean to work our preservation from reproach’ (p. 262), ‘and Christ’s mark’ (p. 266): ‘Assuredly whosoever doth well observe how much all inferior things depend upon the orderly courses and motions of those greater Orbs, will hardly judge it meet or good, that the Angels assisting them should be driven to betake themselves unto other stations, although by nature they were not tied where now they are, but had charge, also elsewhere, as long as their absence from beneath might but tolerably be supplied, and by descending their rooms above should become vacant’ (Sect. 81): and such like, whereof your writing is not a little stored. But shew us only concerning these, that if, all Angels be ‘ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for their sakes which shall be heirs of Salvation,’ as God’s Spirit testifieth, Heb. i. 14; Where is it revealed, that they attend upon the celestial ‘Orbs;’ or, that their ‘perpetuity is the hand that draweth out celestial motion?’ And if they do, Whether it be not sin in them to leave their natural charge, and to attend upon that which they are not tied unto? Do you not mean, ‘the Angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, whom God hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day’ (Jude, ver. 6)? Or, would you have: the elect Angels to be like unto ‘the Angel of the bottomless pit, whose name is Abaddon’ (Rev. ix. 11)? When, where, or how did Christ tell thee, that ‘the Sign of the Cross (as we use it)’ is ‘the mark of Christ,’ and ‘preserveth from reproach?’ And, what warrant have you, of present ‘grace’ in the very work wrought of Baptism? Did you see in the mountain of God, the pattern (Exod. xxv. 40) of that ‘heavenly fraud’ which, you say, is to catch men by ‘multiplied petitions of worldly things?’ And, what be the ‘bruises’ and falls that ‘Spiritual Promotions,’ ordained by Christ do or can ‘take?’ And, how doth it appear in Nature, or from the God of Nature, that ‘Ten’ is ‘the number of Nature’s perfections?’” *A Christian Letter*, p. 35.]

‡ [Plutarch says it was a Precept of the Pythagoreans, “To offer an odd number to the celestial gods, and an even one to the terrestrial.” *Numa*. In their Notes on this passage

arguments to show the great congruity and fitness of this number in things consecrated unto God. But because over-nice and curious speculations become not the earnestness of holy things, I omit what might be farther observed, as well out of others, as out of him, touching the quantity of this general sacred tribute; whereby it cometh to pass, that the meanest and the very poorest amongst men yielding unto God as much in proportion as the greatest, and many times in affection more, have this as a sensible token always assuring their minds, that in his sight, from whom all good is expected, they are concerning acceptance, protection, divine privileges and pre-eminences whatsoever, equals and peers with them unto whom they are otherwise in earthly respects inferiors; being furthermore well assured, that the top, as it were, thus presented to God, is neither lost nor unfruitfully bestowed, but doth sanctify to them again the whole mass, and that he by receiving a little undertaketh to bless all. In which consideration the Jews were accustomed to name their Tithes, the *hedge* of their riches.* Albeit, a hedge do only fence and preserve that which is contained; whereas their Tithes and Offerings did more, because they procured increase of the heap out of which they were taken. God demanded no such debt for his own need, but for their only benefit that owe it. Wherefore detaining the same, they hurt not him whom they wrong; and themselves, whom they think they relieve, they wound; except men will happily affirm, that God did, by fair speeches and large promises, delude the world in saying, "Bring ye all the Tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house (deal truly, defraud not God of his due, but bring all); and prove if I will not open unto you the windows of Heaven, and pour down upon you an immeasurable blessing." That which St. James hath concerning the effect of our Prayers unto God, is for the most part of like moment in our gifts: we pray and obtain not, because he which knoweth our hearts, doth know our desires are evil. In like manner we give, and we are not the more accepted, because he

Mal.
iii. 10.

(Jas.
iv. 3.)

in Plut. the LANGHORNE's remark, that "The Pagans looked on an odd number as the more perfect, and the symbol of concord, because it cannot be divided into two equal parts, as the even number may, which is therefore the symbol of division. This prejudice gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, which are still kept up by those whom reason and religion ought to have undeceived."]

* "Massoreth sepes est legis; divitiarum sepes Decimæ." R. Aquiba in Pirk. Aboth.

beholdeth how unwisely we spill our gifts in the bringing.* It is to him, which needeth nothing, all one, whether any thing or nothing be given him: but for our own good, it always behoveth that whatsoever we offer up into his hands, we bring it seasoned with this cogitation, "Thou, Lord, art worthy of all honour." With the Church of Christ, touching these matters, it standeth as it did with the whole world before Moses. Whereupon, for many years, men being desirous to honour God in the same manner as other virtuous and holy personages before had done, both during the time of their life, and, if farther ability did serve, by such device as might cause their works of piety to remain always; it came by these means to pass, that the Church from time to time had treasure proportionable unto the poorer or wealthier estate of Christian men. And as soon as the state of the Church could admit thereof, they easily condescended to think it most natural and most fit that God should receive, as before, of all men his ancient accustomed revenues of Tithes.† Thus, therefore, both God and Nature have taught to convert things temporal to eternal uses, and to provide for the perpetuity of Religion, even by that which is most transitory. For to the end that in worth and value there might be no abatement of any thing once assigned to such purposes, the Law requireth precisely the best of that we possess: and to prevent all damages by way of commutation; where, instead of natural commodities or other rights, the price of them might be taken, the Law of Moses determined their rates and the payments to be always made by "the shekel of the Sanctuary," wherein there was great advantage of weight above the ordinary current shekel. The truest and surest way for God to have always his own, is by making him payment in kind out of the very self-same riches which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yield. This, where it may be without inconvenience, is for every man's conscience safe. That which cometh from God to us by the natural course of his providence, which we know to be innocent and pure, is perhaps best accepted, because least spotted with the stain of unlawful or indirect procurement. Besides, whereas prices

* "Nemo libenter debet quod non accepit sed expressit." Sen. de Benef. lib. i. c. 1.

† [Canonists have affirmed, that the Clergy are entitled to the Tithe of the profits made by Courtiezans: Padre PAOLO, sopra *Benef. Eccles.* 1675. p. 132.]

daily change, Nature, which commonly is one, must needs be the most indifferent and permanent standard between God and man. But the main foundation of all, whereupon the security of these things dependeth, as far as any thing may be ascertained amongst men, is, that the title and right which man had in every of them before donation, doth by the act, and from the time, of any such donation, dedication, or grant, remain the proper possession of God till the world's end, unless himself renounce or relinquish it. For, if equity have taught us, that every one ought to enjoy his own; that what is ours no other can alienate from us, but with our own* deliberate consent;† finally, that no man, having past [passed] his consent or deed, may change it to the prejudice of any other;‡ should we presume to deal with God worse than God hath allowed any man to deal with us? Albeit, therefore, we be now free from the Law of Moses, and consequently not thereby bound to the payment of Tithes;§ yet, because Nature hath taught men to honour God with their substance, and Scripture hath left us an example of that particular proportion,|| which for moral considerations hath been thought fittest by him whose wisdom could best judge; furthermore, seeing that the Church of Christ hath long sithence entered into like obligation;¶ it seemeth in these days a question altogether vain and superfluous, whether Tithes be a matter of divine right:** because, howsoever at the first it might have been thought doubtful, our case is clearly the same now with theirs unto whom St. Peter sometime spake, saying, "While it was whole, it was whole thine." When our Tithes might have probably seemed our own, we had colour of liberty to use them as we ourselves saw good.†† But having made them his whose they are, let us be warned by other men's example what it is *ροσφισασθαι*,‡‡ to wash or

Acts
v. 4.

* L. xi. de Reg. Jur.

† "Cujus per errorem dati repetitio est, ejus consulto dati donatio est." Lib. i. D. de cond. indeb. This, the ground of Consideration in alienations from man to man.

‡ "Nemo potest mutare consilium suum in alterius præjudicium." L. lxxv. de Reg. Jur. § [Heb. vii. 12.]

|| [Only the third part of Tithes was assigned to the Priest by the old Law as the Canons of Ebert and Elfric witness. *Concil. Brit.*]

¶ ["The first authority which our adversaries bring, after those fabulous Apostolic Canons, which they dare not insist upon, is a Provincial Council held at Cullen, where they voted Tithes to be God's Rent, in the year 356."—MILTON's *Likeliest means*, &c. p. 568. ut sup.]

** ["If the opinion of divine authority be found mistaken and erroneous, it follows that the Laws respecting Tithes fall of themselves with their false foundation." MILTON, p. 569, ut sup. p. 399, Note.]

†† ["After it was sold, was it not in thine own power?" Acts v. 4.]

‡‡ ["To keep back part of the price." Ver. 3.]

clip that coin which hath on it the mark of God. For that all these are his possessions, and that he doth himself so reckon them, appeareth by the form of his own speeches. Exod. xxii. 29, 30. Touching Gifts and Oblations, "Thou shalt give them me;" touching Oratories and Churches, "My House shall be called the House of Prayer:" touching Tithes, "Will a man spoil God?" yet, behold, even me your God ye have spoiled,* notwithstanding ye ask, "Wherein?" as though Mal. iii. 8. ye were ignorant, what injury there hath been offered in Tithes; ye are heavily accursed, because with a kind of [Ver. 9.] public consent ye have joined yourselves in one to rob me, imagining the commonness of your offence to be every man's particular justification: touching Lands, "Ye shall offer to the Lord a sacred portion of ground, and that sacred portion Ezek. xiv. 1— shall belong to the Priests." Neither did God only thus ordain amongst the Jews; but the very purpose, intent, and meaning of all that have honoured him with their substance, was to invest him with the property of those benefits, the use whereof must needs be committed to the hands of men. In which respect the style of ancient grants and charters is, "We have given unto God both for us and our heirs for ever:" Mag. Char. c. 1. yea, "We know (saith Charles the Great) that the goods of the Church are the sacred indowments of God; to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatsoever we deliver unto his Church." Capit. Carol. lib. vi. c. 284. Whereupon the Laws Imperial do likewise divide all things in such sort, that they make some to belong by right of nature indifferently unto every man, some to be the certain goods and possessions of Commonweals, some to appertain unto several corporations or companies of men, some to be privately men's own in particular, and some to be separated quite from all men;† which last branch compriseth things sacred and holy, because thereof God alone is owner. The sequel of which received opinion, as well without as within the walls of the House of God touching such possessions hath been ever, that there is not an act more honourable than by all means to amplify and to defend the patrimony of Religion; not any more impious‡ and hateful than to impair those possessions which men in former

* "Non videntur rem amittere quibus propria non fuit." L. lxxxiii. de Reg. Jur.

† "Nullius autem sunt res sacræ et religiøse et sanctæ. Quod enim divini juris est, id nullius in bonis est." Inst. lib. ii. tit. 1.

‡ "Soli cum Diis sacrilegi pugnant." Curt. lib. vii. "Sacrum sacrove commendatum qui clepserit rapseritve, parricida esto." Leg. xii. Tab.

Capit.
Carol.
lib. vi.
c. 285.

[Lan-
rent.]

Præ-
dent.
Στεφ. ii.

times, when they gave unto holy uses, were wont at the altar of God, and in presence of their ghostly superiors, to make as they thought inviolable, by words of fearful execration, saying, "These things we offer to God; from whom if any take them away (which we hope no man will attempt to do), but if any shall, let his accompt be without favour in the last day, when he cometh to receive the doom which is due for sacrilege against that Lord and God unto whom we dedicate the same."* The best and most renowned Prelates of the Church of Christ have in this consideration rather sustained the wrath, than yielded to satisfy the hard desire, of their greatest commanders on earth coveting with ill advice and counsel that which they willingly should have suffered God to enjoy. There are of Martyrs, whom posterity doth much honour, for that having under their hands the custody of such treasures,† they could by virtuous delusion‡ invent how to save them from prey, even when the safety of their own lives they gladly neglected; as one, sometime an Archdeacon under Xistus the Bishop of Rome, did, whom when his Judge understood to be one of the Church-stewards, thirst of blood began to slake, and another humour to work, which first by a favourable countenance, and then by quiet speech, did thus calmly disclose itself: "You that profess the Christian Religion make great complaint of the wonderful cruelty we show towards you: neither peradventure altogether without cause. But for myself, I am far from any such bloody purpose. Ye are not so willing to live, as I unwilling that out of these lips should proceed any capital sentence against you. Your Bishops are said to have rich vessels of gold and silver, which they use in the exercise of their Religion; besides the fame is, that numbers sell away their lands and livings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church-coffers; by which means the devotion, that maketh them and their whole posterity poor, must needs mightily enrich you, whose God we know was no coiner of money, but left behind him many wholesome and good precepts, as namely, that Cæsar should have of you the things that are fit for and due to Cæsar. His wars are costly and chargeable unto him. That

* [Things may be offered unto God, but how is it known that he has accepted them? See Isai. i. 13.]

† "Deposita pietatis." Tertul. Apologet.

‡ [Job xiii. 7.]

which you suffer to rust in corners, the affairs of the Commonwealth do need. Your profession is not to make account of things transitory. And yet if ye can be contented but to forego that which ye care not for, I dare undertake to warrant you both safety of life and freedom of using your conscience, a thing more acceptable to you than wealth." Which fair parley the happy Martyr quietly hearing, and perceiving it necessary to make some shift for the safe concealment of that which being now desired was not unlikely to be more narrowly afterwards sought, he craved respect* for three days to gather the riches of the Church together, in which space against the time the Governor should come to the doors of the Temple, big with hope to receive his prey, a miserable rank of poor, lame, and impotent persons was provided, their names delivered him up in writing as a true inventory† of the Church's goods, and some few words used to signify how proud the Church was of these treasures.‡ If men did not naturally abhor sacrilege, to resist or defeat so impious attempts would deserve small praise. But such is the general detestation of rapine in this kind, that whereas nothing doth either in peace or war more uphold men's reputation than prosperous success, because in common construction, unless notorious improbity be joined with prosperity, it seemeth to argue favour with God; they which once have stained their hands with these odious spoils, do thereby fasten unto all their actions an eternal prejudice, in respect whereof, for that it passeth through the world as an undoubted rule and principle that Sacrilege is open defiance to God, whatsoever they afterwards undertake, if they prosper in it men reckon it but Dionysius his navigation;§ and, if any thing befall them otherwise, it is not, as commonly, so in them ascribed to the great uncertainty of casual events, wherein the providence of God doth control the purposes of men oftentimes much more for their good than if all things did answer fully their hearts desire, but the censure of the world is ever directly against them both bitter and peremptory.|| To make such actions therefore

* [Protection from molestation.]

† [Rom. iii. 7, 8.]

‡ ["Policy I hate: I had as lief be a BROWNIST, as a politician." SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*. Act III. sc. 2.]

§ ["Dionysio Siciliæ tyranno, cum pulsus est ea potentia, accidisse prodigium, ut uno die in portu dulcesceret mare." PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* lib. ii. cap. 104. Edit. Hard.]

|| "Novimus multa regna et reges eorum propterea cecidisse, quia Ecclesias spoliaverunt, resque earum vastaverunt, alienaverunt vel diripuerunt, Episcopisque et Sacerdotibus, atque,

less odious, and to mitigate the envy of them, many colourable shifts and inventions have been used, as if the world did hate only wolves, and think the fox a goodly creature. The time it may be will come,* when they that either violently have spoiled, or thus smoothly defrauded God, shall find they did but deceive themselves. In the meanwhile there will be always some skilful persons, which can teach a way how to grind treatably the Church with jaws that shall scarce move, and yet devour in the end more than they that come ravening with open mouth as if they would worry the whole in an instant: others also who, having wastefully eaten out their own patrimony, would be glad to repair, if they might, their decayed estates with the ruin they care not of what nor of whom, so the spoil were theirs; whereof in some part if they happen to speed, yet commonly they are men born under that constellation which maketh them, I know not how, as unapt to enrich themselves as they are ready to impoverish others; it is their lot to sustain during life both the misery of beggars and the infamy of robbers. But though no other plague and revenge should follow sacrilegious violations of holy things, the natural secret disgrace and ignominy, the very turpitude, of such actions in the eye of a wise understanding heart, is itself a heavy punishment.† Men of virtuous quality are by this sufficiently moved to beware how they answer and requite the mercies of God with injuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not absolutely say concerning the goods of the Church, that they may in no case be seized on by men,‡ or that no obligation, commerce, and bargain, made between man and man, can ever be of force to alienate the property which God hath in them. Certain cases I grant there are, wherein it is not so dark what

quod majus est, Ecclesiis eorum abstulerunt, et pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello nec in fide stabiles fuerunt, nec victores exstiterunt; sed terga multi vulnerati, et plures interfecti verterunt, regnaque et regiones, et, quod pejus est, regna cœlestia perdidērunt, atque propriis hœreditatibus caruerunt, et hactenus carent." Verba Carol. Mag. in Capit. Carol. lib. vii. c. 104.

* "Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum

Intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque

Oderit."

Virg. Æn. lib. x. 503.

† 'Η τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ οὐδεμιᾷς ἐλάττων ζημία τοῖς γε σώφροσι. Demosth.

"Pœnam non dico legum quas sæpe perrumpunt, sed ipsius turpitudinis quæ acerbissima est non vident." Cic. Offic. lib. iii. "Impunita tu credes esse quæ invisa sunt? aut ullum supplicium gravius existimas publico odio?" Sen. de Benef. lib. iii. c. 17.

‡ [Was not this concession forced from Hooker by the recent transfer and alienation of "Church goods" that had been held by the papists?]

God himself doth warrant, but that we may safely presume him as willing to forego for our benefit, as always to use and convert to our benefit whatsoever our Religion hath honoured him withal. But surely under the name of that which may be, many things that should not be are often done.* By means whereof the Church most commonly for gold hath flannel; and whereas the usual saw of old was, "Glaucus his change,"† the proverb is now, "A Church-bargain." And for fear lest covetousness alone should linger out the time too much, and not be able to make havock of the House of God with that expedition which the mortal enemy thereof did vehemently wish, he hath by certain strong enchantments so deeply bewitched Religion itself, as to make it in the end an earnest solicitor and an eloquent persuader of Sacrilege, urging confidently that the very best service which men of power can do to Christ, is without any more ceremony to sweep all, and to leave the Church as bare as in the day it was first born; that fulness of bread having made the children of the household wanton, it is without any scruple to be taken away from them, and thrown to dogs; that they which laid the prices of their lands as offerings at the Apostles' feet, did but sow the seeds of Superstition; that they which endowed Churches with lands, poisoned Religion;‡ that Tithes and Oblations are now in the sight of God as the sacrificed blood of goats; that if we give him our hearts and affections, our goods are better bestowed otherwise; that Irenæus, Polycarp's Disciple, Iren. lib. iv. c. 34. should not have said, "We offer unto God our goods as tokens of thankfulness for that we receive;" neither Origen, Orig. in xviii. Num. hom. xi. "He which worshippeth God, must by gifts and oblations acknowledge him the Lord of all;" in a word, that to give unto God is error; reformation of error, to take from the Church that which the blindness of former ages did unwisely

* [No doubt but allusion is here made to consequences following from the precedent remarked on in the foregoing Note.]

† ["Glauci et Diomedis permutatio." Vide HOM. II. vi.

"Then Jove so blinded Glaucus, that for brass

He barter'd gold; gave armour such as cost

An hundred oxen, for the cost of nine."

COWPER'S HOM.]

‡ ["In deducing the history of the Statutes of Mortmain it will be matter of curiosity to observe the great address and subtle contrivance of the Ecclesiastics in eluding from time to time the Laws in being, and the zeal with which successive Parliaments have pursued them through all their finesses: how new remedies were still the parents of new evasions; till the Legislature at last, though with difficulty, hath obtained a decisive victory." BLACKSTONE'S *Com. on the Laws of Eng.* Book II. chap. xviii.]

Psal.
xc. 10.

give: by these or the like suggestions, received with all joy, and with like sedulity practised in certain parts of the Christian world, they have brought to pass that as David doth say of man, so it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole Religion and service of God; "The time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threescore and ten years, or if strength do serve unto fourscore, what followeth is likely to be small joy for them whosoever they be that behold it." Thus have the best things been overthrown, not so much by puissance and might of adversaries, as through defect of counsel in them that should have upheld and defended the same.

Of Ordinations lawful without Title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their quality is that enter into Holy Orders.

80. There are in a Minister of God these four things to be considered; his Ordination, which giveth him power to meddle with things sacred; the charge or portion of the Church allotted unto him for exercise of his Office; the performance of his duty, according to the exigence of his charge; and, lastly, the maintenance which in that respect he receiveth. All Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons, which either concern the bestowing or the using of the power of Ministerial Order, have relation to these four. Of the first we have spoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more convenient discharge of Ecclesiastical duties, as the body of the people must needs be severed by divers precincts, so the Clergy likewise accordingly distributed. Whereas, therefore, Religion did first take place in cities, and in that respect was a cause why the name of Pagans, which properly signifieth country people, came to be used in common speech for the same that Infidels and Unbelievers were; it followed thereupon that all such cities had their Ecclesiastical Colleges, consisting of Deacons and of Presbyters, whom first the Apostles or their delegates the Evangelists did both ordain and govern. Such were the Colleges of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, Corinth, and the rest, where the Apostles are known to have planted our Faith and Religion. Now because Religion and the cure of souls was their general charge in common over all that were near about them, neither had any one Presbyter his several cure apart, till Evaristus, Bishop in the See of Rome, about the year 112, began to assign precincts unto every Church or Title which the Christians held, and to appoint unto each Presbyter a certain compass whereof

himself should take charge alone, the commodiousness of this invention caused all parts of Christendom to follow it, and at the length amongst the rest our own Churches about the year 636 became divided in like manner.* But other distinction of Churches there doth not appear any in the Apostles' writings, save only, according to those cities wherein they planted the Gospel of Christ, and erected Ecclesiastical Colleges. Wherefore to ordain *κατὰ πόλιν* "throughout every city," and *κατ' ἐκκλησίαν* "throughout every Church," do in them signify the same thing. Churches then neither were nor could be in so convenient sort limited as now they are; first, by the bounds of each State, and then within each State by more particular Precincts, till at the length we descend unto several congregations, termed Parishes, with far narrower restraint than this name at the first was used. And from hence hath grown their error, who as oft as they read of the duty which Ecclesiastical persons are now to perform towards the Church, their manner is always to understand by that Church, some particular Congregation or Parish Church. They suppose that there should now be no man of Ecclesiastical Order, which is not tied to some certain Parish. Because the names of all Church-officers are words of relation, because a shepherd must have his flock, a teacher his scholars, a minister his company which he ministereth unto, therefore it seemeth a thing in their eyes absurd and unreasonable, that any man should be ordained a Minister, otherwise than only for some particular Congregation.† Perceive they not

Acts
xv. 36.
Apoc.
i. 20.

Tit. i. 5.

Acts
xiv. 23.

* [By Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury. PARKER, *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* p. 77.]

† ["Then (in the primitive Church), none admitted to the Ministry, but a place was void aforehand, to which he should be called: but now Bishops, to whom the right of Ordering Ministers doth at no hand appertain, do make sixty, eighty, or a hundred at a clap, and send them abroad into the country like masterless men." *Admon. to the Parl.* "Pastor or Bishop, which name soever we consider of them, they do forthwith as soon as they are once either spoken or thought of, imply and infer a certain and definite Charge, being as the Logicians term them, actual relatives. For what Shepherd can there be unless he have a flock; and how can he be a Watchman, unless he have some city to look unto; or how can a man be a Master, unless he have a servant; or a Father, unless he have a child? ... That there be no controversy left, what is a Flock? St. Paul defineth it plainly, when he saith, appoint Pastors, or Elders, or Bishops, (for these words are indifferently used) through (not every shire, or province, or realm, but through) every city (or town). Tit. i. 5. ... St. Luke in Acts xiv. 23, doth declare the meaning of this place, where he saith, that they appointed Elders throughout every congregation; so that if the city or town be great, and the professors of the Gospel in it be more than will make conveniently a congregation, then there must be, by the rule of God, more Pastors and Bishops. Whereupon it appeareth, that both no Pastor or Bishop ought to be made without there be a Flock, as it were a void place for him; and that a Flock is not a realm, or province, or diocese (as we now call a diocese), but so many as may conveniently meet in one assembly or congregation.

how by this mean they make it unlawful for the Church to employ men at all in converting nations? For if so be the Church may not lawfully admit to an Ecclesiastical function, unless it tie the party admitted unto some particular Parish, then surely a thankless labour it is, whereby men seek the conversion of Infidels, which know not Christ, and therefore cannot be as yet divided into their special congregations and flocks.* But, to the end it may appear how much this one thing amongst many moe [*more*] hath been mistaken, there is first no precept requiring that Presbyters and Deacons be made in such sort, and not otherwise. Albeit therefore the Apostles did make them in that order, yet is not their example such a Law, as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Again, if we will consider that which the Apostles themselves did, surely no man can justly say, that herein we practise any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordained only in each Christian city a College of Presbyters and Deacons to administer holy things. Evaristus did, a hundred years after the birth of our Saviour Christ, begin the distinction of the Church into Parishes. Presbyters and Deacons having been ordained before to exercise Ecclesiastical functions in the Church of Rome promiscuously, he was the first that tied them each one to his own station. So that of the two, indefinite Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons doth come more near the Apostles' example, and the tying of them to be made only for particular Congregations may justlier ground itself upon the example of Evaristus, than of any Apostle of Christ. It hath been the opinion of wise men and good men heretofore, that nothing was ever devised more singularly beneficial unto God's Church, than this which our honourable predecessors have to their endless praise

And that this is the meaning of St. Paul, appeareth by the practice of the Churches from time to time. . . . But you ask, what place Paul and Barnabas had appointed them? What? mean you thereby to conclude that because the Apostles had no place, therefore a Pastor or Bishop should not: when this is one difference between an Apostle and a Bishop, that the one hath no certain place appointed, and the other hath!" T. C. lib. i. p. 63, 64.]

* ["When the Churches have been by antichrist even rased from the foundations, God hath stirred up Evangelists even immediately by his Spirit, without any calling of men, to restore his Churches again. Of which sort was Master Wickliff in our country; Master Huss and Jerome of Prague, in Bohemia; Luther and Zuinglius, in Germany, &c. And after this sort, God may at his good pleasure work, when he purposeth to set his Gospel in any nation, where the whole face of the earth is covered with the darkness of ignorance, and want of the knowledge of God." T. C. lib. i. p. 63.]

found out, by the erecting of such Houses of study, as those two most famous Universities do contain, and by providing that choice wits, after reasonable time spent in contemplation, may at the length either enter into that holy vocation for which they have been so long nourished and brought up, or else give place and suffer others to succeed in their rooms, that so the Church may be always furnished with a number of men, whose ability being first known by public trial in Church-labours there where men can best judge of them, their calling afterwards unto particular charge abroad may be according. All this is frustrate, those worthy Foundations we must dissolve, their whole device and religious purpose which did erect them is made void, their Orders and Statutes are to be cancelled and disannulled, in case the Church be forbidden to grant any power of Order unless it be with restraint to the party ordained unto some particular Parish or Congregation. Nay, might we not rather affirm of Presbyters and of Deacons, that the very nature of their Ordination is unto necessary local restraint a thing opposite and repugnant? The Emperor Justinian doth say of tutors, "*Certæ rei vel causæ tutor dari non potest, quia personæ, non causæ vel rei, tutor datur.*" He that should grant a tutorship, restraining his grant to some one certain thing or cause, should do but idly, because tutors are given for personal defence generally, and not for managing of a few particular things or causes. So he that ordaining a Presbyter or a Deacon should, in the form of Ordination, restrain the one or the other to a certain place, might with much more reason be thought to use a vain and a frivolous addition, than they reasonably to require such local restraint, as a thing which must of necessity concur evermore with all lawful Ordinations. Presbyters and Deacons are not by Ordination consecrated unto places, but unto Functions.* In which respect, and in no other, it is, that sith they are by virtue thereof bequeathed unto God, severed and sanctified to be employed in his service, which is the highest advancement that mortal creatures on earth can be raised unto, the Church of Christ hath not been acquainted in former ages with any such profane and unnatural custom, as doth hallow men with Ecclesiastical

Just.
lib. i.
tit. 14.
sect. 4.

* ["As the twelfth place was to Matthias, Acts i. 26, so is a certain Church unto a Pastor or Minister." T. C. lib. i. p. 63.]

functions of Order only for a time, and then dismiss them again to the common affairs of the world: Whereas, contrariwise, from the place or charge where that power hath been exercised, we may be by sundry good and lawful occasions translated, retaining nevertheless the self-same Power which was first given. It is some grief to spend thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath so little ground to uphold it, especially sith they themselves that teach it do not seem to give thereunto any great credit, if we may judge their minds by their actions. There are amongst them that have done the work of Ecclesiastical persons, sometime in the families of noblemen, sometime in much more public and frequent congregations; there are that have successively gone through perhaps seven or eight particular Churches after this sort; yea, some that at one and the same time have been, some which at this present hour are, in real obligation of Ecclesiastical duty, and possession of commodity thereto belonging, even in sundry particular Churches within the land; some there are amongst them which will not so much abridge their liberty, as to be fastened or tied unto any place; some which have bound themselves to one place only for a time, and that time being once expired, have afterwards voluntarily given unto other places the like experience and trial of them.* All this I presume they would not do, if their persuasion were as strict as their words pretend. But, for the avoiding of these and such other the like confusions as are incident into the cause and question whereof we presently treat, there is not any thing more material, than First, to separate exactly the nature of the Ministry from the use and exercise thereof; Secondly, to know that the only true and proper act of Ordination is to invest men with that power which doth make them Ministers, by consecrating their persons to God and his service in holy things during term of life, whether they exercise that power or no; Thirdly, that to give them a Title or Charge where to use their Ministry, concerneth not the making, but the placing of God's Ministers; and therefore the Laws which concern only their election or admission unto place of charge, are not applicable to infringe any way their Ordination; Fourthly,

* ["If a man be able to live of himself, and mind not to be burdensome to the Church, it seemeth unreasonable to you, that he may not go about and preach throughout all Churches." T. C. lib. i. p. 64.]

that as oft as any ancient Constitution, Law or Canon, is alleged concerning either Ordinations or Elections, we forget not to examine whether the present case be the same which the ancient was, or else do contain some just reason for which it cannot admit altogether the same rules which former affairs of the Church, now altered, did then require. In the question of making Ministers without a Title, which to do they say is a thing "unlawful,"* they should at the very first have considered what the name of Title doth imply, and what affinity or coherence Ordinations have with Titles; which thing observed would plainly have shewed them their own error. They are not ignorant, that when they speak of a Title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a Minister in some Charge; that the Place of charge, wherein a Minister doth execute his office, requireth some House of God for the people to resort unto, some definite number of souls unto whom he there administereth holy things, and some certain allowance whereby to sustain life; that the Fathers at the first named Oratories, and Houses of Prayer, Titles, thereby signifying how God was interested in them, and held them as his own possessions. But, because they know that the Church had Ministers before Christian Temples and Oratories were, therefore some of them understand by a Title, *a definite congregation* of people only, and so deny that any Ordination is lawful which maketh Ministers that have no certain flock to attend: forgetting how the Seventy, whom Christ himself did ordain Ministers, had their calling in that manner, whereas yet no certain charge could be given them. Others, referring the name of a Title especially to the *maintenance* of the Minister, infringe all Ordinations made, except they which receive Orders be first entitled

[Lake
x. 1.]

* "Unlawful to ordain a Minister without a Title." Abstract, p. 243. [An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament: of certaine her Maesties Injunctions: of certaine Canons, Constitutions, and Synodalles prouinciall: established and in force, for the peaceable government of the Church, within her Maesties Dominions and Countries, for the most part heretofore vnkknown and vnpractized. 1584, 4to. pp. 266. "The Author's design was to shew that the Bishops in their Ecclesiastical Courts had exceeded their power, and broke through the Laws and Statutes of the realm; which was so notorious, that the Answerer, instead of confuting the Abstracter, blames him for exposing their fathers' nakedness, to the thrusting through of religion, by the sides of the Bishops." NEAL, *Hist. of the Puritans*. Vol. i. p. 359. Edit. 1822, where he refers to Strype's Ann. Vol. iii. p. 233, 283. This Answerer was Dr. Cosin, under the title of "An Answer to the two first and principal Treatises of a certain factious Libel, put forth lately without name of Author or Printer, and without approbation by Authority, and with the Title of An Abstract, &c. Printed by H. Denham, 1584."]

to a competent Ecclesiastical Benefice, and (which is most ridiculously strange) except besides their present title to some such Benefice they have likewise some other title of annual rent or pension whereby they may be relieved, in case, through infirmity, sickness, or other lawful impediment, they grow unable to execute their Ecclesiastical function.* So that every man lawfully ordained must bring a bow which hath two strings, a Title of present right, and another to provide for future possibility or chance. Into these absurdities and follies they slide, by misconceiving the true purpose of certain Canons,† which indeed have forbidden “to ordain a Minister without a Title;” not that simply it is “unlawful” so to ordain, but because it might grow to an inconvenience, if the Church did not somewhat restrain that liberty. For, seeing they which have once received Ordination cannot again return into the world, it behooveth them which ordain to foresee how such shall be afterwards able to live, lest their poverty and destitution should redound to the disgrace and discredit of their calling. Which evil prevented, those very Laws, which in that respect forbid, do expressly admit Ordinations to be made at large, and without Title; namely, if the party so ordained have of his own for the sustenance of this life; or, if the Bishop which giveth him Orders will find him competent allowance, till some place of ministration, from whence his maintenance may arise, be provided for him; or, if any other fit and sufficient means be had against the danger before-mentioned. Absolutely therefore it is not true, that any ancient Canon of the Church, which is or ought to be with us in force, doth make Ordinations at large unlawful; and as the state of the Church doth stand, they are most necessary. If there be any conscience in men touching that which they write or speak,‡ let them consider as well what the

* “The Law requireth, that every one admitted unto Orders having for his present relief some Ecclesiastical Benefice, should also have some other title unto some annual rent or pension whereby he might be relieved, in case he were not able, through infirmity, sickness, or other lawful impediment, to execute his Ecclesiastical office and function.” *Abstract*, p. 246.

† [“Both which kind of Titles, the Bishops themselves, by their Canons of Discipline, published, 1571, have what in them lay, against themselves ratified and confirmed. ‘The Bishop shall lay his hands on none at any other time but when it shall chance that some place of Ministration is void in the same Diocess.’ ‘The Bishop shall lay his hands on none henceforward but on such as have some Title whereby he may live if by God his sufferance he become blind, or fall into grievous sickness of the body, or into a continual languishing disease.’” *Abstract*, p. 246, 247.]

present condition of all things doth now suffer, as what the Ordinances of former ages did appoint; as well the weight of those causes for which our affairs have altered, as the reasons in regard whereof our fathers and predecessors did sometime strictly and severely keep that, which for us to observe now is neither meet nor always possible. In this our present cause and controversy, whether any not having Title of right to a Benefice may be lawfully ordained a Minister, is it not manifest in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a Benefice doth signify some standing Ecclesiastical revenue, taken out of the treasure of God, and allotted to a Spiritual* person, to the end he may use the same and enjoy it as his own for term of life, unless his default cause deprivation; the Clergy for many years after Christ had no other benefices, but only their Canonical portions, or monthly dividends allowed them according to their several degrees and qualities, out of the common stock of such Gifts, Oblations, and Tithes, as the fervour of Christian piety did then yield? Yea, that even when Ministers had their Churches and flocks assigned unto them in several, yet for maintenance of life, their former kind of allowance continued, till such time as Bishops and Churches Cathedral being sufficiently endowed with lands, other Presbyters enjoyed, instead of their first Benefices, the Tithes and profits of their own congregations whole to themselves? Is it not manifest, that in this Realm, and so in other the like dominions, where the tenure of lands is altogether grounded on military Laws, and held as in fee under Princes which are not made Heads of the people by force of voluntary election but born the sovereign lords of those whole and intire territories, which territories their famous progenitors obtaining by way of conquest, retained what they would in their own hands, and divided the rest to others with reservation of sovereignty and capital interest; the building of Churches, and consequently the assigning of either Parishes or Benefices, was a thing impossible without consent of such as were principal owners of land; in which consideration, for their more encouragement hereunto, they which did so far benefit the Church had by common consent granted (as great equity and reason was) a right for them and their

* [See Note †, p. 373, apud fin.]

heirs till the world's end, to nominate in those Benefices men whose quality the Bishop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifest, that from hence inevitably such inequality of Parishes hath grown, as causeth some, through the multitude of people which have resort unto one Church, to be more than any one man can wield, and some to be of that nature by reason of Chapels annext, that they which are Incumbents should wrong the Church if so be they had not certain Stipendiaries under them, because, where the corps of the profit or benefice is but one, the Title can be but one man's, and yet the Charge may require *more*? Not to mention, therefore, any other reason, whereby it may clearly appear how expedient it is and profitable for this Church to admit Ordinations without Title, this little may suffice to declare how impertinent their allegations against it are out of ancient Canons; how untrue their confident asseverations, that only through negligence of Popish Prelates the custom of making such kind of Ministers hath prevailed in the Church of Rome against their Canons, and that with us it is expressly against the Laws of our own government when a Minister doth serve as a stipendiary Curate, which kind of service nevertheless the greatest Rabbins of that part do altogether follow. For howsoever they are loth peradventure to be named Curates, Stipendiaries they are, and the labour they bestow is in other men's Cures; a thing not unlawful for them to do, yet unseemly for them to condemn which practise it. I might here discover the like oversight throughout all their discourses, made in behalf of the people's pretended right to elect their Ministers before the Bishop may lawfully ordain. But because we have elsewhere at large disputed of popular elections, and of the right of patronage, wherein is drowned whatsoever the people under any pretence or colour may seem to challenge about admission and choice of the Pastors that shall feed their souls, I cannot see what one duty there is which always ought to go before Ordination, but only care of the party's worthiness as well for integrity and virtue, as knowledge; yea, for virtue more, inasmuch as defect of knowledge may sundry ways be supplied, but the scandal of vicious and wicked life is a deadly evil.

[Book
VIII.
sect. 14.]

Or the
Learn-
ing

81. The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greatest is that threefold blot or blemish of notable

Ignorance, unconscionable absence from the Cures whereof men have taken charge, and unsatiable hunting after spiritual Preferments, without either care or conscience of the public good. Whereof, to the end that we may consider, as in God's own sight and presence, with all uprightness, sincerity, and truth, let us particularly weigh and examine in every of them; first, how far forth they are reprobable by reasons and maxims of common right; secondly, whether that which our Laws do permit be repugnant to those maxims, and with what equity we ought to judge of things practised in this case, neither on the one hand defending that which must be acknowledged out of square, nor on the other side condemning rashly whom we list for whatsoever we disallow. Touching arguments therefore taken from the principles of common right to prove that Ministers should be Learned,* T. C. lib. i. p. 70, 66, 69. that they ought to be resident upon their Livings,† and that more than one only Benefice or Spiritual Living may not be granted unto one man;‡ the first, because St. Paul requireth in a Minister ability to teach, to convince, to distribute the Word rightly;§ because also the Lord himself hath protested they shall be no Priests to him which have rejected knowledge, and because, if the blind lead the blind,

* ["If tag and rag be admitted, learned and unlearned, it is the fault of some, not of all, nor of the Law." *WHITGIFT. Ans.* p. 37. "The Papists never take so great occasion of slandering the Gospel at the ignorance of the ministers, for they have of themselves those that be as ignorant and more." *Ibid.* p. 38. "I wish that every Minister were a Preacher, but that being impossible as the State now is, I see not how you (the Admonitioners) can condemn Reading Ministers." *Ib.* p. 52.—"If you should be a father of many books, and all your children like their eldest brother, you would, without better advice, shake many grounds of our religion: for here again you wish that all Pastors were able to teach, 'but that being impossible, &c.' You, through your whole book, make this a marvellous good State, and always turn the best side outward, and when men go about to urge the deformities thereof, to the end they might be remedied, then you lay open the shame and nakedness of it, and make it greater than it is indeed. For, as I have shewed before, the Church standeth not so much in need of your Reading Ministers, as you would make the world believe. And although it be a great deformity and sore plague of the Church which you here speak of, and confess at unawares, yet you will let no man come near to heal it." T. C. lib. i. p. 70.]

† ["Knowledge of the people's state cannot be without a continual abode amongst them, therefore a continual residence is necessary. . . . For therein Aristotle said very well, That that which was cared for of all men, was neglected of all, and cared for of none; so that the preservation of wife or children, or of any other possession, was then best and surest whenas every man had a certain possession committed unto him which he should care for and take charge of. And so the Lord his wisdom was for the better surety and salvation of his Church, not to make many ministers which should in common and indifferently take care of all; but he ordained that the Church should be divided into divers parts, and that every one should have a piece to care for and to give account for." T. C. lib. i. p. 66.]

‡ ["Hereupon is ended another question that the Answerer (Dr. *WHITGIFT*) maketh, p. 50, Whether one may have many flocks? which is, Whether one shepherd may be many shepherds; one watchman, many watchmen? For if his residence be necessary in one place, then he ought to content himself with one." T. C. lib. i. p. 69.]

§ 1 Tim. iii. 2. Titus i. 9. 2 Tim. ii. 15.

they must both needs fall into the pit:* the second, because Teachers are shepherds whose flocks can be at no time secure from danger: they are watchmen whom the enemy doth always besiege;† their labours in the Word and Sacraments admit no intermission; their duty requireth instruction and conference with men in private;‡ they are the living Oracles of God, to whom the people must resort for counsel; they are commanded to be patterns of holiness, leaders, feeders,§ supervisors, amongst their own;|| it should be their grief, as it was the Apostle's to be absent, though necessarily, from them over whom they have taken charge:¶ finally, the last, because plurality and residence are opposite; because the placing of one Clerk in two Churches is a point of merchandise and filthy gain;** because no man can serve two masters;†† because every one should remain in that vocation whereunto he is called;‡‡ what conclude they of all this? Against Ignorance, against Nonresidence, and against Plurality of Livings, is there any man so raw and dull, but that the volumes which have been written both of old and of late may make him in so plentiful a cause eloquent? For, if by that which is *generally* just and requisite we measure what knowledge there should be in a Minister of the Gospel of Christ; the arguments which light of nature offereth; the Laws and Statutes which Scripture hath; the Canons that are taken out of ancient Synods; the Decrees and Constitutions of sincerest times; the sentences of all antiquity; and, in a word, even every man's full consent and conscience, is against Ignorance in them that have charge and cure of souls. Again, what availeth it if we be Learned and not faithful? or what benefit hath the Church of Christ, if there be in us sufficiency without endeavour or care to do that good which our place exacteth? Touching the pains and industry, therefore, wherewith men are in conscience bound to attend the work of their heavenly calling, even as much as in them lieth bending thereunto their whole endeavour, without either fraud, sophistication, or guile; I see not what

* Hosea iv. 6. Matt. xv. 14.

† Luke ii. 8.

‡ Acts xx. 20.

§ ["*Not by constraint*, (in obedience to Canons and Constitutions of the Church, devised not for an incentive to good works, but in terror to the evil) *but willingly*; &c." *A Charge*, Sep. 1827, at the Prim. Visit. by Charles Richard, Bp. of Landaff (Dr. SUMNER). 8vo. p. 13.]

|| 1 Tim. iv. 12. John x. 4. 1 Pet. v. 2. Acts xx. 28.

¶ 1 Thes. ii. 17.

** Council. Nic. can. 15.

†† Matt. vi. 24.

‡‡ 1 Cor. vii. 24.

more effectual obligation or bond of duty there should be urged, than their own only vow and promise made unto God himself at the time of their Ordination. The work which they have undertaken requireth both care and fear. Their sloth, that negligently perform it, maketh them subject to malediction. Besides, we also know that the fruit of our pains in this function, is life both to ourselves and others. And do we yet need incitements to labour? Shall we stop our ears both against those conjuring exhortations which Apostles, and against the fearful comminations which Prophets, have uttered out of the mouth of God, the one for prevention, the other for reformation, of our sluggishness in this behalf? St. Paul, "Attend to yourselves and to all the flock whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood." Again, "I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, which shall judge the quick and dead at his coming, preach the Word; be instant." Jeremiah, "Wo unto the Pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture; I will visit you for the wickedness of your works, saith the Lord; the remnant of my sheep I will gather together out of all countries, and will bring them again to their folds; they shall grow and increase, and I will set up shepherds over them which shall feed them." Ezekiel, "Should not the shepherds, should they not, feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe yourselves with the wool, but the weak ye have not strengthened, the sick ye have not cured, neither have ye bound up the broken, nor brought home again that which was driven away; ye have not inquired after that which was lost, but with cruelty and rigour ye have ruled." "Wherefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will require my sheep at their hands, nor shall the shepherds feed themselves any more, for I will deliver my sheep from their mouths, they shall no more devour them." Nor let us think to excuse ourselves if haply we labour, though it be at random, and sit not altogether idle abroad. For we are bound to attend that part of the flock of Christ, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers. The Residence of Ministers upon their own peculiar charge is by so much the rather necessary, for that absenting themselves from the place where they ought to labour, they neither can do the good which is looked for at their hands,

Acts
xx. 28.2 Tim.
iv. 1, 2.Jer.
xxiii.
1-4.Ezek.
xxxiv.
2-4.

nor reap that comfort which sweeteneth life to them that spend it in these travails upon their own. For it is in this, as in all things else which are through private interest dearer than what concerneth either others wholly, or us but in part, and according to the rate of a general regard. As for Plurality, it hath not only the same inconveniences which are observed to grow by absence; but over and besides, at the least in common construction, a show of that worldly humour which men do think should not reign so high. Now from hence their collections are, as followeth: first, a repugnancy or contradiction between the principles of common right, and that which our Laws in special considerations have allowed; secondly, a nullity or frustration of all such acts as are by them supposed opposite to those principles, an invalidity in all Ordinations of men unable to preach, and in all Dispensations which mitigate the Law of common right for the other two. And why so? Forsooth, because whatsoever we do in these three cases, and not by virtue of common right, we must yield it of necessity done by warrant of peculiar right or privilege. Now "a privilege is said to be that, that for favour of certain persons cometh forth *against* common right; things *prohibited* are dispensed with, because things *permitted* are dispatched by common right, but things *forbidden* require dispensations. By which descriptions of a privilege and dispensation it is," they say, "apparent, that a privilege must license and authorize the same which the Law against Ignorance, Nonresidence, and Plurality doth infringe; and so be a Law contrariant or repugnant to the Law of Nature, and the Law of God, because all the reasons whereupon the positive Law of Man against these three was first established, are taken and drawn from the Law of Nature, and the Law of God." For answer whereunto, we will but lead them to answer themselves. First, therefore, if they will grant (as they must) that all direct oppositions of speech require one and the self-same subject to be meant on both parts where opposition is pretended, it will follow that either the maxims of common right do enforce *the very same things* not to be good which we say are good, grounding ourselves on the reasons by virtue whereof our privileges are established; or, if the one do not reach unto that *particular subject* for which the other have provided,

then there is no contradiction between them. In all contradictions, if the one part be true, the other eternally must be false. And therefore, if the principles of common right do at any time truly enforce *that particular* not to be good which privileges make good, it argueth invincibly that such privileges have been grounded upon some error. But to say, that every privilege is opposite unto the principles of common right, because it dispenseth with that which common right doth prohibit, hath gross absurdity. For the voice of equity and justice is, that a general Law doth never derogate from a special privilege; whereas, if the one were contrariant to the other, a general Law being in force should always dissolve a privilege. The reason why many are deceived by imagining that so it should do, and why men of better insight conclude directly it should not, doth rest in the *subject* or *matter* itself; which matter, *indefinitely* considered in Laws of common right, is in privileges considered as *beset and limited with special circumstances*; by means whereof, to them which respect it but by way of generality, it seemeth one and the same in both, although it be not the same, if once we descend to particular consideration thereof. Precepts do always propose perfection, not such as none can attain unto, for then in vain should we ask or require it at the hands of men, but such perfection as all men must aim at; to the end that as largely as human providence and care can extend it, it may take place. Moral Laws are the Rules of Politic; those Politic, which are made to order the whole Church of God, Rules unto all particular Churches; and the Laws of every particular Church, Rules unto every particular man within the body of the same Church. Now, because the higher we ascend in these Rules, the further still we remove from those specialities, which, being proper to the subject whereupon our actions must work are therefore chiefly considered by us, by them least thought upon that wade altogether in the two first kinds of general directions, their judgment cannot be exact and sound concerning either Laws of Churches, or actions of men in particular, because they determine of effects by a part of the causes only out of which they grow; they judge conclusions by demi-premises and half-principles; they lay them in the balance stript from those necessary material circumstances which should give them weight; and by show of

falling uneven with the scale of most universal and abstracted Rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to weigh it. This is the reason why men altogether conversant in study do know how to teach, but not how to govern; men experienced contrariwise govern well, yet know not which way to set down orderly the precepts and reasons of that they do. He that will therefore judge rightly of things done, must join with his forms and conceits of general speculation the matter wherein our actions are conversant. For by this shall appear what equity there is in those privileges and peculiar grants or favours which otherwise will seem repugnant to justice; and because in themselves considered they have a show of repugnancy, this deceiveth those great Clerks, which hearing a privilege defined to be "an especial right brought in by their power and authority that make it for some public benefit *against* the general course of reason,"* are not able to comprehend how the word "against" doth import *exception* without any *opposition* at all. For, inasmuch as the hand of justice must distribute to *every particular* what is due, and judge what is due with respect had no less of particular circumstances, than of general rules and axioms; it cannot fit all sorts with one measure, the wills, counsels, qualities, and states, of men being divers. For example; the Law of common right bindeth all men to keep their promises, perform their compacts, and answer the faith they have given either for themselves or others. Notwithstanding, he which bargaineth with one under years can have no benefit by this allegation, because he bringeth it against a person which is exempt from the common Rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certain men from the Law of common right is against God, against Nature, against whatsoever may avail to strengthen and justify that Law before alleged; or else acknowledge (as the truth is) that special causes are to be ordered by special Rules; that if men grown unto ripe age disadvantage themselves by bargaining, yet what they have wittingly done is strong and in force against them, because they are able to dispose and manage their own affairs; whereas youth, for lack of experience and judgment, being easily subject to

* "Jus singulare est, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam utilitatem auctoritate constituentium introductum est." Paulus ff. de Legib.

circumvention, is therefore justly exempt from the Law of common right whereunto the rest are justly subject? This plain inequality between men of years and under years, is a cause why equity and justice cannot apply equally the same general rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right, and granteth to the other a special privilege. Privileges are either transitory or permanent: transitory, such as serve only some one turn, or at the most extend no farther than to this or that man, with the end of whose natural life they expire;* permanent, such as the use whereof doth continue still, for that they belong unto certain *kinds* of men and causes which never die. Of this nature are all immunities and pre-eminences, which for just considerations one sort of men enjoyeth above another, both in the Church and Commonwealth, no man suspecting them of contrariety to any branch of those Laws or reasons whereupon the general right is grounded. Now there being general Laws and Rules whereby it cannot be denied but the Church of God standeth bound to provide that the Ministry may be Learned, that they which have charge may reside upon it, and that it may not be free for them in scandalous manner to multiply Ecclesiastical Livings; it remaineth in the next place to be examined, what the Laws of the Church of England do admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alleged, and in what special consideration they seem to admit the same. Considering, therefore, that to furnish all Places of cure in this Realm, it is not an army of twelve thousand Learned Men that would suffice, nor two Universities that can always furnish as many as decay in so great a number, nor a fourth part of the Livings with cure, that when they fall are able to yield sufficient maintenance for Learned Men, is it not plain that unless the greatest part of the people should be left utterly without the public use and exercise of Religion, there is no remedy but to take into the Ecclesiastical Order a number of men meanly qualified in respect of Learning? For whatsoever we may imagine in our private closets, or talk for communication sake at our boards, yea, or write in our books through a notional conceit of things needful for performance of each man's duty, if once we come from the theory of

* "*Privilegium personale cum persona extinguitur, et privilegium datum actioni transit cum actione.*" *Op. de Regulis*, par. 1. 227.

Learning, to take out so many Learned Men, let them be diligently viewed out of whom the choice shall be made, and thereby an estimate made what degree of skill we must either admit, or else leave numbers utterly destitute of guides, and I doubt not but that men indued with sense of common equity will soon discern, that, besides eminent and competent knowledge, we are to descend to a lower step, receiving knowledge in that degree which is but tolerable.* When we commend any man for Learning, our speech importeth him to be more than meanly qualified that way; but when Laws do require Learning as a quality which maketh capable of any function, our measure to judge a learned man by must be some certain degree of learning, beneath which we can hold no man so qualified. And if every man that listeth may set that degree himself, how shall we ever know when Laws are broken, when kept, seeing one man may think a lower degree sufficient, another may judge them unsufficient that are not qualified in some higher degree. Wherefore of necessity either we must have some judge, in whose conscience they that are thought and pronounced sufficient, are to be so accepted and taken, or else the Law itself is to set down the very lowest degree of fitness that shall be allowable in this kind. So that the question doth grow to this issue. St. Paul requireth Learning in Presbyters, yea, such learning as doth inable them to exhort in doctrine which is sound, and to disprove them that gainsay it. What measure of ability in such things shall serve to make men capable of that kind of office, he doth not himself precisely

Tit. i. 9. determine, but referreth it to the conscience of Titus, and others which had to deal in ordaining Presbyters. We must therefore of necessity make this demand, Whether the Church, lacking such as the Apostle would have chosen, may with good conscience take out of such as it hath in a meaner degree of fitness, them that may serve to perform the Service of public Prayer, to minister the Sacraments unto the people, to solemnize marriage, to visit the sick and bury the dead, to instruct by reading although by preaching they be not as yet so able to benefit and feed Christ's flock. We constantly hold, that in this case the Apostle's Law is

* ["Certain perverse, conceited and self-weaning men sooth themselves and foster their dotages with these rules of Law, Non requiritur summa perfectio (ff. De ædil. Edict. l. e. Sciend.); and that Sufficit mediocris scientia (Illud et l. e. Si quis venditor.): A perfect knowledge is not required; and, A mean knowledge is sufficient." *Abstract*, p. 16.]

not broken. He requireth more in Presbyters than there is found in many whom the Church of England alloweth. But no man being tied unto impossibilities, to do that we cannot we are not bound. It is but a stratagem of theirs, therefore, and a very indirect practice, when they publish large declamations to prove that Learning is required in the Ministry, and to make the silly people believe that the contrary is maintained by the Bishops, and upheld by the Laws of the Land; whereas the question in truth is not, whether Learning be required, but whether a Church, wherein there is not sufficient store of Learned Men to furnish all congregations, should do better to let thousands of souls grow savage, to let them live without any public Service of God, to let their children die unbaptized, to withhold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this world like Pagans, without any thing as much as read unto them concerning the way of life, than, as it doth in this necessity, to make such Presbyters as are so far forth sufficient, although they want that ability of preaching which some others have.* In this point therefore we obey necessity, and of two evils we take the less; in the rest a public utility is sought, and in regard thereof some certain inconveniences tolerated, because they are recompensed with greater good. The Law giveth liberty of Non-residence for a time to such as will live in Universities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that so they may afterwards the more edify and the better instruct their congregations. The Church in their absence is not destitute, the people's salvation not neglected for the present time, the time of their absence is in the intendment of Law bestowed to the Church's great advantage and benefit; those necessary helps are procured by it, which turn by many degrees more to the people's comfort in time to come, than if their Pastors had continually abidden with them. So that the Law doth hereby provide in some part to remedy and help that evil, which the former necessity hath imposed upon the Church. For, compare two men of equal meanness, the one perpetually resident, the other absent for a space in such sort as the Law permitteth. Allot unto both

* ["Her Majesty in her Injunctions says, As in these latter days many have been made *Priests*, being *children*, and otherwise utterly unlearned so that they could read *Mattins* or *Mass*; the Ordinaries shall not admit any such to any Cure, or Spiritual function." *Abstract*, p. 26.]

some nine years' continuance with cure of souls. And must not three years' absence, in all probability and likelihood, make the one more profitable than the other unto God's Church, by so much as the increase of his knowledge, gotten in those three years, may add unto six years' travail following? For the greater ability there is added to the instrument, wherewith it pleaseth God to save souls, the more facility and expedition it hath to work that which is otherwise hardlier effected.* As much may be said touching absence granted to them that attend in the families of Bishops; which Schools of gravity, discretion, and wisdom, preparing men against the time that they come to reside abroad, are, in my poor opinion, even the fittest places that any ingenuous mind can wish to enter into, between departure from private study, and access to a more public charge of souls; yea, no less expedient for men of the best sufficiency and most maturity in knowledge, than the very Universities themselves are, for the ripening of such as be raw. Employment in the families of Noblemen, or in Princes' Courts, hath another end for which the self-same leave is given, not without great respect to the good of the whole Church. For assuredly, whosoever doth well observe how much all inferior things depend upon the orderly courses and motions of those greater Orbs, will hardly judge it either meet or good, that the Angels assisting them should be driven to betake themselves unto other stations, although by nature they were not tied where now they are, but had charge also elsewhere, as long as their absence from beneath might but tolerably be supplied, and by descending their rooms above should become vacant.† For we are not to dream in this case of any platform which bringeth equally high and low unto Parish Churches, nor of any constraint to maintain at their own charge men sufficient for that purpose; the one so repugnant to the majesty and greatness of English Nobility;‡ the other so improbable and unlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both, seem not indeed to have conceived what either is.

[Rom. ii. 14, 15.] But the eye of Law is the eye of God; it looketh into the

* ["They proceed right-well in all knowledge which do couple Study with their practice, and do not first study altogether, and then practise altogether; and therefore they may very well study at their Benefice." *Considerations for the better establishment of the Church of England.* By Lord BACON. Edit. 1689. 4to. p. 23.]

† [See Sect. 79. p. 401, Note †.]

‡ [See Hooker's Pref. Sect. 8. p. 52. "Again, it may justly be feared, whether our English Nobility," &c.]

hearts and secret dispositions of men, it beholdeth how far ^{1 Cor. xv. 41.]} one star differeth from another in glory, and, as men's several degrees require, accordingly it guideth them; granting unto principal personages privileges correspondent to their high estates, and that not only in civil but even in spiritual affairs,* to the end they may love that Religion the more, which no way seeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminisheth their dignity and greatness, but to do them good doth them honour also, and by such extraordinary favours teacheth them to be in the Church of God, the same which the Church of God esteemeth them, more worth than thousands. It appeareth therefore in what respect the Laws of this Realm have given liberty of Nonresidence to some, that their knowledge may be increased, and their labours by that mean be made afterwards the more profitable, to others lest the houses of great men should want that daily exercise of Religion, wherein their example availeth as much, yea many times peradventure more than the Laws themselves with the common sort. A third thing respected both in permitting absence, and also in granting to some that liberty of addition or Plurality, which necessarily enforceth their absence, is a mere both just and conscionable regard, that as men are in quality, and as their services are in weight for the public good, so likewise their rewards and encouragements, by special privilege of Law, might somewhat declare how the State itself doth accept their pains, much abhorring from their bestial and savage rudeness which think that oxen should only labour, and asses feed.† Thus to Readers in Universities, whose very paper and book-expenses their ancient allowances and stipends at this day do either not, or hardly, sustain; to Governors of Colleges, lest the great overplus of charges

* ["It is said that it is necessary to induce *gentlemen* to enter into the ministry, because the Church ought to raise her head in courts and palaces, and the Rich should have Spiritual Comforters as polite as themselves. What then? Were the fishers of Galilee sent out to teach the vulgar only, and not all mankind? There was not one *gentleman* amongst the twelve Apostles! Paul, perhaps, might have claimed that appellation; but certainly his ministry was not very successful with the philosophers, and the polite of the world. We doubt very much, whether the Rich are best instructed by rich persons like themselves: riches are very apt to spoil the teachers. The Christian doctrines of humility, and mortification, and self-denial, sound strangely in the mouths of our wealthy and luxurious Prelates, whose magnificent fortunes out-top the Nobility of the land. There is, in fact, such a wide discrepancy between the doctrines of the Gospel, and the outfit of the higher-orders of the Church Establishment, that it is almost ludicrous; and the Rich, who are furnished with such magnificent Pastors, cannot avoid seeing the ridicule of the thing."—O'DRISCOL's *Views of Ireland*, &c. 1823. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 131.]

† ["Imagine these our Sir Johns, the very asses of our Schools, having approbation from some Bishop, &c."—*Abstract*, p. 16.]

necessarily enforced upon them, by reason of their place, and very slenderly supplied, by means of that change in the present condition of things which their Founders could not foresee; to men called away from their cures, and employed in weightier business either of the Church or Commonwealth, because to impose upon them a burthen which requireth their absence, and not to release them from the duty of Residence, were a kind of cruel and barbarous injustice; to Residents in Cathedral Churches, or upon Dignities Ecclesiastical, forasmuch as these being rooms of greater hospitality, places of more respect and consequence than the rest, they are the rather to be furnished with men of best quality, and the men for their quality's sake to be favoured above others; I say unto all these, in regard of their worth and merit, the Law hath therefore given leave, while themselves bear weightier burthens, to supply inferior by Deputation, and in like consideration partly, partly also by way of honour to learning, nobility, and authority, permitteth, that men which have taken theological degrees in schools, the Suffragans of Bishops, the household Chaplains of men of honour or in great office, the brethren and sons of Lords temporal, or of Knights, if God shall move the hearts of such to enter at any time into Holy Orders, may obtain to themselves a faculty or licence to hold two Ecclesiastical Livings though having cure; any spiritual person of the Queen's Council, three such Livings; her Chaplains, what number of promotions herself in her own princely wisdom thinketh good to bestow upon them. But, as it fareth in such cases, the gap which for just considerations we open unto some, letteth in others through corrupt practices, to whom such favours were neither meant nor should be communicated. The greatness of the harvest, and the scarcity of able workmen, hath made it necessary that Law should yield to admit numbers of men but slenderly and meanly qualified. Hereupon, because whom all other worldly hopes have forsaken, they commonly reserve Ministerial vocation as their last and surest refuge ever open to forlorn men; the Church, that should nourish them whose service she needeth, hath obtruded upon her their service that know not otherwise how to live and sustain themselves. These, finding nothing more easy than means to procure the writing of a few lines to some one or other which hath authority,

and nothing more usual than too much facility in condescending unto such requests, are often received into that vocation, whereunto their unworthiness is no small disgrace. Did any thing more aggravate the crime of Jeroboam's profane apostacy, than that he chose to have his Clergy the scum and refuse of his whole land? Let no man spare to tell it them, they are not faithful towards God that burthen wilfully his Church with such swarms of unworthy creatures. I will not say of all degrees in the Ministry, that which St. Chrysostom doth of the highest, "He that will undertake so weighty a charge, had need to be a man of great understanding, rarely assisted with divine grace, for integrity of manners, purity of life, and for all other virtues, to have in him more than a man:" but surely this I will say with Chrysostom, "We need not doubt whether God be highly displeased with us, or what the cause of his anger is, if things of so great fear and holiness as are the least and lowest duties of his service, be thrown wilfully on them whose not only mean, but bad and scandalous, quality doth defile whatsoever they handle." These eyesores and blemishes in continual attendants about the service of God's Sanctuary, do make them every day fewer that willingly resort unto it, till at length all affection and zeal towards God be extinct in them, through a wearisome contempt of their persons which for a time only live by Religion, and are for recompense, in fine, the death of the nurse that feedeth them. It is not obscure, how incommodious the Church hath found both this abuse of the liberty which Law is enforced to grant; and not only this, but the like abuse of that favour also which Law, in other considerations already mentioned, affordeth touching Residence and Plurality of Spiritual Livings. Now that which is practised corruptly to the detriment and hurt of the Church against the purpose of those very Laws which notwithstanding are pretended in defence and justification thereof, we must needs acknowledge no less repugnant to the grounds and principles of common right, than the fraudulent proceedings of tyrants to the principles of just sovereignty. Howbeit, not so those special privileges which are but instruments wrested and forced to serve malice. There is in the Patriarch of Heathen Philosophers this precept, "Let no husbandman, nor no handicraftsman, be a

[2 Kings
xvii. 32.]Chry-
sost. de
Sacerd.
lib. iii.
c. 16.

[cap. 16.]

Priest."* The reason whereupon he groundeth is a maxim in the Law of Nature; It importeth greatly the good of all men that God be revered, with whose honour it standeth not that they which are publicly employed in his service should live of base and manuary trades. Now compare herewith the Apostle's words, "Ye know that these hands have ministered to my necessities and them that are with me."† What think we? Did the Apostle any thing opposite herein, or repugnant, to the rules and maxims of the Law of Nature? The self-same reasons, that accord his actions with the Law of Nature, shall declare our privileges and his Laws no less consonant. Thus, therefore, we see, that although they urge very colourably the Apostle's own sentences, requiring that a Minister should be able to divide rightly the Word of God; that they who are placed in charge should attend unto it themselves, which in absence they cannot do; and that they which have divers cures, must of necessity be absent from some, whereby the Law Apostolic seemeth apparently broken, which Law requiring attendance cannot otherwise be understood than so as to charge them with perpetual residence: again, though in every of these causes they infinitely heap up the Sentences of Fathers, the Decrees of Popes, the ancient Edicts of Imperial authority, our own national Laws and Ordinances prohibiting the same, and grounding evermore their prohibitions partly on the Laws of God, and partly on reasons drawn from the light of Nature, yet hereby to gather and infer contradiction between those Laws which forbid indefinitely, and ours which in certain cases have allowed the ordaining of sundry Ministers whose sufficiency for Learning is but mean; again, the licensing of some to be absent from their flocks, and of others to hold more than one only Living which hath cure of souls; I say, to conclude repugnancy between these especial permissions and the former general prohibitions which set not down their own limits, is erroneous, and the manifest cause thereof ignorance in differences of matter which both sorts of Law concern. If then the considerations be reasonable, just, and good, whereupon we ground whatsoever our Laws have by special

* Οὕτε γεωργὸν οὔτε βάνυσσον ἱερέα καταστατέον ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς θεούς. Arist. Polit. lib. vii. c. 9.

† Acts xx. 34. 1 Cor. iv. 12. 1 Thess. ii. 9. 2 Thess. iii. 8.

right permitted; if only the effects of abused privileges be repugnant to the maxims of common right, this main foundation of repugnancy being broken, whatsoever they have built thereupon falleth necessarily to the ground. Whereas therefore, upon surmise or vain supposal of opposition between our special, and the principles of common, right, they gather that such as are with us ordained Ministers before they can preach be neither lawful, because the Laws already mentioned forbid generally to create such, neither are they indeed Ministers, although we commonly so name them, but whatsoever they execute by virtue of such their pretended vocation is void; that all our grants and tolerations as well of this as the rest, are frustrate and of no effect; the persons that enjoy them possess them wrongfully, and are deprivable at all hours; finally, that other just and sufficient remedy of evils there can be none, besides the utter abrogation of these our mitigations, and the strict establishment of former Ordinances to be absolutely executed whatsoever follow;—albeit the answer already made in discovery of the weak and unsound foundation whereupon they have built these erroneous collections, may be thought sufficient; yet because our desire is rather to satisfy, if it be possible, than to shake them off, we are with very good will contented to declare the causes of all particulars more formally and largely than the equity of our own defence doth require. There is crept into the minds of men, at this day, a secret pernicious and pestilent conceit, that the greatest perfection of a Christian man doth consist in discovery of other men's faults, and in wit to discourse of our own profession. When the world most abounded with just, righteous, and perfect men, their chiefest study was the exercise of piety, wherein for their safest direction they reverently hearkened to the readings of the Law of God, they kept in mind the oracles and aphorisms of wisdom which tended unto virtuous life; if any scruple of conscience did trouble them for matter of actions which they took in hand, nothing was attempted before counsel and advice were had, for fear lest rashly they might offend. We are now more confident, not that our knowledge and judgment is riper, but because our desires are another way. Their scope was obedience, ours is skill; their endeavour was reformation of life, our virtue nothing but to hear gladly the reproof of

vice;* they in the practice of their Religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, we especially our ears and tongues. We are grown as in many things else, so in this, to a kind of intemperancy, which (only Sermons excepted) hath almost brought all other duties of Religion out of taste. At the least they are not in that accompt and reputation which they should be. Now, because men bring all Religion in a manner to the only office of hearing Sermons, if it chance that they who are thus conceited do embrace any special opinion different from other men, the Sermons that relish not that opinion can in no wise please their appetite. Such, therefore, as preach unto them, but hit not the string they look for, are rejected as unprofitable, the rest as unlawful and indeed no Ministers, if the faculty of Sermons want. For why? A Minister of the Word should, they say, be able rightly to *divide* the Word. Which Apostolic Canon many think they do well observe, when in opening the sentences of Holy Scripture they draw all things favourably spoken unto one side; but whatsoever is reprehensive, severe, and sharp, they have others on the contrary part whom that must always concern; by which their overpartial and unindifferent proceeding, while they thus labour amongst the people to *divide* the Word, they make the Word a mean to divide and distract the people. “Ὁρθοτομεῖν, to divide aright,” doth note in the Apostle’s writings soundness of doctrine only; and in meaning standeth opposite to “καινοτομεῖν, the broaching of new opinions against that which is received.”† For questionless the first things delivered to the Church of Christ were pure and sincere truth: which whosoever did afterwards oppugn, could not choose but divide the Church into two moieties; in which division, such as taught what was first believed, held the truer part; the contrary side, in that they were teachers of

[2 Tim.
ii. 15.]

* Ἄλλ’ οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ πράττουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον καταφεύγοντες οἴονται φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἔσσεσθαι σπουδαῖοι· ὁμοίον τι ποιῶντες τοῖς κάμνουσιν, οἱ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀκούουσι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, ποιῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν προσταττομένων. ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι εἰς ἔξουσι τὸ σῶμα οὕτω θεραπευόμενοι, οὐδὲ οὗτοι τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω φιλοσοφούντες. Arist. Eth. lib. ii. cap. 4.

† [Καινοτομεῖν is no where used by the Apostle. Dr. DODDRIDGE on ὀρθοτομεῖν, says, “Some think here is an allusion to what the Jewish priest or Levite did in dissecting the victim, and separating the parts in a proper manner; as some were to be laid on God’s altar, and others to be given to those who were to share in the sacrifice. Others think it refers to guiding a plough aright, in order to divide the clods in the most proper manner, and to make straight furrows. But, perhaps, the metaphor may be taken from the distribution made by a steward, in delivering out to each person under his care such things as his office and their necessities required.” *Fam. Expos.* in 2 Tim. ii. 15.]

novelty, erred. For prevention of which evil, there are in this Church many singular and well-devised remedies; as namely, the use of Subscribing to the Articles of Religion before admission to degrees of Learning,* or to any Ecclesiastical Living; the custom of reading the same Articles, and of approving them in public assemblies, where-soever men have Benefices with cure of souls; the order of testifying under their hands allowance of the Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of Ordaining Ministers; finally, the discipline and moderate severity which is used, either in otherwise correcting or silencing them that trouble and disturb the Church with doctrines which tend unto innovation; it being better that the Church should want altogether the benefit of such men's labours, than endure the mischief of their inconformity to good† Laws;‡ in which case, if any repine at the course and proceedings of justice,

* ["What is it else, but before-hand
T' engage, and after understand?" HUDIBRAS, Part I. C. 2. l. 639.]

† [A *petitio principii* not uncommon with Hooker. See Pref. p. 37.]

‡ ["There cannot be a plainer proof that any society wants a reformation, than to shew undeniably that it is faulty in its constitution, as well as its morals; that the Laws made for its preservation and well-being are, many of them, wicked, unreasonable, ridiculous, or contradictory to one another; that, for the most part, those Laws, which are so, are more insisted upon, and more rigorously executed than those which are not so. . . . To give a just account of the state of the University of Oxford, I must begin where every fresh-man begins, with admission and matriculation; for it so happens, that the first thing a young man has to do there, is to prostitute his conscience, and enter himself into perjury, at the same time that he enters himself into the University. If he comes elected from any public School, as from Westminster, Winchester, or Merchant-Taylors, to be admitted upon the foundation of any College, he swears to a great volume of Statutes, which he never read; and to observe a thousand customs, rights, and privileges, which he knows nothing of, and with which, if he did, he could not perhaps honestly comply. He takes one oath, for example, that he has not an estate in land of inheritance, nor a perpetual pension of five pounds per annum, though perhaps he has an estate of ten times that value; being taught that it is mere matter of form. . . . To evade the force of this oath, several persons have made their estates over in trust to a friend . . . till they have taken the oath . . . a practice which depreciates the value of an oath, and opens the door to numberless evasions and prevarications. Within fifteen days after his admission into any College, he is obliged to be matriculated, or admitted a member of the University; at which time he subscribes to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, though often without knowing what he is doing, being ordered to write his name in a book, without mentioning upon what account. . . . At the same time he takes the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which he is prætaught to evade, or think null. . . . He also swears to another volume of Statutes, which he knows no more of than of his private College Statutes, and which contradict one another in many instances, and demand unjust compliances in many others; all which he swallows ignorantly, and in the dark, without any wicked design. . . . But I have not mentioned the most absurd thing in matriculation. The Statute says, if the person to be matriculated is sixteen years of age, he must subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, and take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, as also an oath of fidelity to the University; but, if the person is not sixteen years of age, and above twelve, then he is only to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. What a pack of conjurors were our forefathers! to disqualify a person, to make a plain simple promise to obey his King, until he is sixteen years of age, which a child of six is able to do; and at the same time suppose him capable, at twelve years of age, to subscribe Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, which a man of threescore, with all his experience, learning, and application, finds hard to understand! . . . From such an initiation it is no wonder that we have such proficient, a race of

Valer.
lib. vi.
cap. 3.

they must learn to content themselves with the answer of M. Curius, which had sometime occasion to cut off one from the body of the Commonwealth; in whose behalf because it might have been pleaded that the party was a man serviceable, he therefore began his judicial sentence with this preamble, "Non esse opus Reip. eo cive, qui parere nesciret; The Commonwealth needeth men of quality, yet never those men which have not learned how to obey." But the ways which the Church of England taketh to provide, that they who are Teachers of others may do it soundly, that the purity and unity as well of ancient Discipline as Doctrine may be upheld, that avoiding singularities we all may glorify God with one heart and one tongue, they of all men do least approve that most urge the Apostle's Rule and Canon. For which cause they allege it not so much to that purpose, as to prove that unpreaching Ministers (for so they term them) can have no true nor lawful calling in the Church of God. St. Augustine hath said of the will of man, that "simply to will proceedeth from Nature, but our well-willing is from Grace." We say as much of the Minister of God, "publicly to teach and instruct the Church is necessary in every Ecclesiastical Minister, but ability to teach by Sermons is a grace which

profligate unprincipled men; insincerity and immorality are the first rudiments of their education; they are trained up and tutored in the arts of deceiving and of being deceived. ... The Lectures and Professorships ... with profitable salaries annexed to them are preposterously disposed of. ... I have known a profligate debauchee chosen Professor of Moral Philosophy; and a Fellow, who never looked upon the stars soberly in his life, Professor of Astronomy: we have had History Professors, who never read any thing to qualify them for it ... we have had likewise numberless Professors of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, who scarce understood their mother-tongue ... I would humbly propose a reformation of Learning from the philosophical popery which prevails at present in our Universities; I would have no more an infallibility pretended to in our Schools than in the Church; no absolute determination of speculative points reposed in any man, or body of men; but I would have a universal toleration allowed to all students and lovers of truth, to enquire impartially after it and to dispute freely about it." Extracts from Miscellaneous Passages from Dr. Newton, Principal of Hartford-College, Oxford; in *Liberal Education*, by VICESIMUS KNOX, D.D. late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Edit. 1795. 12mo. Vol. II. Sect. 39. p. 95. *et seq.*

"Have we not tracked the Felon home, and found
His birth-place and his dam? The country mourns,
Mourns because every plague, that can infest
Society, and that saps and worms the base
Of the Edifice, that *policy has raised*,
Swarms in all quarters: meets the eye, the ear,
And suffocates the breath at every turn.
Profusion breeds them; and the cause itself
Of that calamitous mischief has been found:
Found too where most offensive, in the skirts
Of the Robed Pedagogue! Else let the arraigned
Stand up unconscious, and refute the charge."

Poems by W. COWPER, Esq. 1782. *The Time Piece*, in fin.]

God doth bestow on them whom he maketh sufficient for the commendable discharge of their duty." That, therefore, wherein a Minister differeth from other Christian men is not, as some have childishly imagined, the "sound preaching of the Word of God;" but, as they are lawfully and truly Governors to whom authority of Regiment is given in the Commonwealth according to the Order which Polity hath set, so Canonical Ordination in the Church of Christ is that which maketh a lawful Minister "as touching the validity of any act which appertaineth to that vocation." The cause why St. Paul willed Timothy not to be over ^[1 Tim. v. 22.] ^{Oxf. Man. p. 21]} hasty in ordaining Ministers, was (as we very well may conjecture) because Imposition of Hands doth consecrate and make them Ministers, whether they have gifts and qualities fit for the laudable discharge of their duties or no. If want of Learning and skill to preach did frustrate their vocation, Ministers ordained before they be grown unto that maturity should receive new Ordination whensoever it chanceth that study and industry doth make them afterwards more able to perform the office; than which what conceit can be more absurd? Was not St. Augustine himself contented to admit an assistant in his own Church, a man of small erudition; considering, that what he wanted in knowledge was supplied by those virtues which made his life a better orator than more Learning could make others whose conversation was less holy? Were the Priests sithence Moses all able and sufficient men, learnedly to interpret the Law of God? Or was it ever imagined that this defect should frustrate what they executed, and deprive them of right unto any thing they claimed by virtue of their Priesthood? Surely, as in Magistrates the want of those gifts which their office needeth is cause of just imputation of blame in them that wittingly choose unsufficient and unfit men when they might do otherwise, and yet therefore is not their choice void, nor every action of magistracy frustrate in that respect; so whether it were of necessity, or even of very carelessness, that men unable to preach should be taken in Pastors' rooms, nevertheless it seemeth to be an error in them which think the lack of any such perfection defeateth utterly the calling. To wish that all men were so qualified as their places and dignities require;* to hate

* ["The number of Ministers in the Church not fit to Teach, and grossly ignorant of the main truths of the Gospel, is greater than in, perhaps, any other Church; except it be in

The Author of the Abstract.

all sinister and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any let; to covet speedy redress of those things whatsoever whereby the Church sustaineth detriment; these good and virtuous desires cannot offend any but ungodly minds. Notwithstanding, some in the true vehemency, and others under the fair pretence, of these desires, have adventured that which is strange, that which is violent and unjust. There are which, in confidence of their general allegations concerning the knowledge, the residence, and the single Livings of Ministers, presume not only to annihilate the solemn Ordinations of such as the Church must of force admit, but also to urge a kind of universal proscription against them; to set down articles, to draw commissions, and almost to name themselves of the Quorum for inquiry into men's estates and dealings, whom at their pleasure they would deprive and make obnoxious to what punishment themselves list; and that not for any violation of Laws either Spiritual or Civil, but because men have trusted the Laws too far; because they have held and enjoyed the liberty which Law granteth; because they had not the wit to conceive as these men do, that Laws were made to entrap the simple, by permitting those things in show and appearance, which indeed should never take effect, forasmuch as they were but granted with a secret condition to be put in practice, If they should be profitable and agreeable with the Word of God; which condition failing in all Ministers that cannot preach, in all that are absent from their Livings, and in all that have divers Livings (for so it must be presumed, though never as yet proved), therefore, as men which have broken the Law of God and Nature, they are deprivable at all hours. Is this the justice of that Discipline whereunto all Christian Churches must stoop and submit themselves? Is this the equity wherewith they labour to reform the world? I will no way diminish the force of those arguments whereupon they ground: but if it please them to behold the visage of these collections in another glass, there are Civil as well as Ecclesiastical unsufficiencies, nonresidences, and pluralities; yea, the reasons which light of Nature hath ministered against both are of such affinity, that much less they cannot enforce in the one than in the other. When they that bear great

that of Rome, where Preaching is little thought of."—THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER, conducted by Members of the Established Church, Oct. 1828, Art. *Extempore Preaching*, p. 603.]

offices be persons of mean worth, the contempt whereinto their authority groweth weakeneth the sinews of the whole State.* Notwithstanding, where many Governors are needful, and they not many whom their quality can commend, the penury of worthier must needs make the meaner sort of men capable.† Cities, in the absence of their Governors, are as ships wanting pilots at sea: but were it therefore justice to punish whom superior authority pleaseth to call from home, or alloweth to be employed elsewhere?‡ In committing many offices to one man there are apparently these inconveniences; the Commonwealth doth lose the benefit of serviceable men, which might be trained up in those rooms; it is not easy for one man to discharge many men's duties well; in service of warfare and navigation, were it not the overthrow of whatsoever is undertaken, if one or two should engross such offices, as, being now divided into many hands, are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition?§ Nevertheless, be it far from the mind of any reasonable man to imagine, that in these considerations Princes either ought of duty to revoke all such kind of grants, though made with very special respect to the extraordinary merit of certain men, or might in honour demand of them the resignation of their offices with speech to this or the like effect: "Forasmuch as you A. B. by the space of many years have done us that faithful service in most important affairs, for which we, always judging you worthy of much honour, have therefore committed unto you from time to time very great and weighty offices, which offices hitherto you quietly enjoy; we are now given to understand, that certain grave and learned men have found, in the books of ancient Philosophers, divers arguments drawn from the common light of Nature, and declaring the wonderful discommodities which use to grow by dignities thus heaped together in one: for which cause, at this present, moved in conscience and tender care for the public good, we have summoned you hither to dispossess you of those places, and to depose you from those rooms, whereof

* *Μεγάλων κύριοι καθιστάτες ἂν ἐντελείς ὄσι μεγάλα βλάπτουσι.* Arist. Pol. ii. c. 11.

† "Nec ignoro maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria meliorum solere deferri." Mamertin, Paneg. ad Julian.

‡ "Neque enim æquum visum est absentem Reipub. causa inter reos referri, dum Reipub. operatur." Ulpian. leg. xv. Si maritus ad legem Julian. de Adulter.

§ Arist. Polit. lib. ii. cap. 11.

indeed by virtue of our own grant, yet against reason, you are possessed. Neither ought you, or any other, to think us rash, light, or unconstant, in so doing; for we tell you plain, that herein we will both say and do that thing which the noble and wise Emperor sometimes both said and did in a matter of far less weight than this, ‘*Quod inconsulto fecimus, consulto revocamus; That which we unadvisedly have done, we advisedly will revoke and undo.*’”* Now, for mine own part, the greatest harm I would wish them who think that this were consonant with equity and right, is, that they might but live where all things are with such kind of justice ordered till experience have taught them to see their error. As for the last thing which is incident into the cause whereof we speak, namely, what course were the best and safest whereby to remedy such evils as the Church of God may sustain, where the present liberty of Law is turned to great abuse, some light we may receive from abroad, not unprofitable for direction of God’s own sacred house and family. The Romans being a people full of generosity, and by nature courteous, did no way more show their gentle disposition, than by easy condescending to set their bondmen at liberty. Which benefit, in the happier and better times of the Commonwealth, was bestowed for the most part as an ordinary reward of virtue, some few now and then also purchasing freedom with that which their just labours could gain, and their honest frugality save. But as the Empire daily grew up, so the manners and conditions of men decayed, wealth was honoured, and virtue not cared for; neither did any thing seem opprobrious, out of which there might rise commodity and profit, so that it could be no marvel in a State thus far degenerated, if when the more ingenuous sort were become base, the baser, laying aside all shame and face of honesty, did some by robberies, burglaries, and prostitutions of their bodies, gather wherewith to redeem liberty; others obtain the same at the hands of their lords, by serving them as vile instruments in those attempts, which had been worthy to be revenged with ten thousand deaths. A learned, judicious, and polite Historian, having mentioned so foul disorders, giveth his

* See the like preamble framed by the Author of the Abstract, where he sanctieth a Bishop deposing one unapt to preach, whom himself had before ordained. [p. 89.]

judgment and censure of them of this sort: "Such eyesores in the Commonwealth have occasioned many virtuous minds to condemn altogether the custom of granting liberty to any bondslave, forasmuch as it seemed a thing absurd, that a people which commanded all the world, should consist of so vile refuse. But neither is this the only custom wherein the profitable inventions of former are depraved by latter ages; and for myself I am not of their opinion that wish the abrogation of so grossly used customs, which abrogation might peradventure be cause of greater inconveniences ensuing: but as much as may be, I would rather advise that redress were sought through the careful providence of chief rulers and overseers of the Commonwealth, by whom a yearly survey being made of all that are manumised, they which seem worthy might be taken and divided into tribes with other citizens, the rest dispersed into colonies abroad, or otherwise disposed of, that the Commonwealth might sustain neither harm nor disgrace by them." The ways to meet with disorders growing by abuse of Laws are not so intricate and secret, especially in our case, that men should need either much advertisement or long time for the search thereof. And if counsel to that purpose may seem needful, this Church, God be thanked, is not destitute of men endued with ripe judgment, whensoever any such thing shall be thought necessary. For which end, at this present, to propose any special inventions of mine own, might argue in a man of my place and calling more presumption perhaps than wit. I will therefore leave it intire unto graver consideration, ending now with request only and most earnest suit; first, that they which give Ordination would, as they tender the very honour of Jesus Christ, the safety of men, and the endless good of their own souls, take heed lest unnecessarily, and through their default, the Church be found worse or less furnished than it might be: secondly, that they which by right of patronage have power to present unto Spiritual Livings, and may in that respect much damnify the Church of God, would, for the ease of their own accompt in that dreadful day, somewhat consider what it is to betray for gain the souls which Christ hath redeemed with blood, what to violate the sacred bond of fidelity and solemn promise given at the first to God and his Church by them, from whose original interest, together with the

Dionys.
Halicar.
Rom.
Antiq.
lib. iv.

self-same title of right, the same obligation of duty likewise is descended: thirdly, that they unto whom the granting of Dispensations is committed, or which otherwise have any stroke in the disposition of such Preferments as appertain unto learned men, would bethink themselves what it is to respect any thing either above or besides merit; considering, how hardly the world taketh it, when to men of commendable note and quality there is so little respect had, or so great unto them whose deserts are very mean, that nothing doth seem more strange than the one sort because they are not accomplished of, and the other because they are; it being every man's hope and expectation in the Church of God especially, that the only purchase of greater rewards should be always greater deserts, and that nothing should ever be able to plant a thorn where a vine ought to grow: fourthly, that honourable personages, and they who by virtue of any principal office in the Commonwealth are enabled to qualify a certain number, and make them capable of favours or faculties above others, suffer not their names to be abused, contrary to the true intent and meaning of wholesome Laws, by men in whom there is nothing notable besides covetousness and ambition: fifthly, that the graver and wiser sort in both Universities, or whosoever they be, with whose approbation the marks and recognizances of all learning are bestowed, would think the Apostle's caution against unadvised Ordinations not impertinent or unnecessary to be borne in mind, even when they grant those degrees of schools, which degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ*, kindnesses bestowed by way of humanity, but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, favours which always imply a testimony given to the Church and Commonwealth concerning men's sufficiency for manners and knowledge; a testimony upon the credit whereof sundry Statutes of the Realm are built; a testimony so far available, that nothing is more respected for the warrant of divers men's abilities to serve in the affairs of the Realm; a testimony wherein if they violate that Religion wherewith it ought to be always given, and do thereby induce into error such as deem it a thing uncivil to call the credit thereof in question, let them look that God shall return back upon their heads, and cause them in the state of their own Corporations to feel either one way or other the punishment of those harms which the Church

through their negligence doth sustain in that behalf: finally, and to conclude, that they who enjoy the benefit of any special indulgence or favour which the Laws permit, would as well remember what in duty towards the Church, and in conscience towards God, they ought to do, as what they may do by using to their own advantage whatsoever they see tolerated; no man being ignorant, that the cause why absence in some cases hath been yielded unto and in equity thought sufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through industry elsewhere; the reason likewise wherefore Pluralities are allowed unto men of note, a very sovereign and special care, that as Fathers in the ancient world did declare the pre-eminence of priority in birth by doubling the worldly portions of their first-born, so the Church by a course not unlike in assigning men's rewards might testify an estimation had proportionably of their virtues, according to the ancient Rule Apostolic, "They which excel in labour, ought to excel in honour;" and, therefore, unless they answer faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, unless sincerely they bend their wits day and night, both to sow because they reap, and to sow as much more abundantly as they reap more abundantly than other men, whereunto by their very acceptance of such benignities they formally bind themselves, let them be well assured that the honey which they eat with fraud shall turn in the end into true gall, forasmuch as Laws are the sacred image of his wisdom who most severely punisheth those colourable and subtle crimes that seldom are taken within the walk of human justice."* I therefore conclude, that the grounds and maxims of common right whereupon Ordinations of Ministers unable to preach, tolerations of absence from their Cures, and the multiplications of their Spiritual Livings are disproved, do but indefinitely enforce them unlawful, not unlawful universally and without exception; that the Laws which indefinitely are against all these things, and the privileges which make for them in certain cases, are not the one repugnant to the other; that the Laws of God and Nature are violated through the effects of abused privileges; that neither our Ordinations of men unable to make Sermons, nor our Dispensations for the rest, can be justly

[1 Tim.
v. 17.]

* For the main hypothesis or foundation of these conclusions, let that before set down in the ninth, be read together with this last, the eighty-first paragraph [or section].

proved frustrate, by virtue of any such surmised opposition between the special Laws of this Church which have permitted, and those general which are alleged to disprove, the same; that when privileges by abuse are grown incommodious, there must be redress; that for remedy of such evils, there is no necessity the Church should abrogate either in whole or in part the specialties before-mentioned;* and that the most to be desired were a voluntary reformation thereof on all hands which may give passage unto any abuse.†

To the Reader.—*Have patience with me for a small time, and by the help of Almighty God, I will pay the whole.*—[HOOKER, *Orig. Edit.*]

* [" Since, therefore, for one man to enjoy many Benefices by Dispensation maintaineth covetousness, and is contrary to the ancient Canons; maintaineth ambition, and ministereth matter for a roaging, a gadding, and a dissolute Ministry: since it conveyeth stipends due unto many, from many unto one: since it is an hindrance of Residence, and containeth peril of souls: since it is a kind of theft, ravin, and spoil: since it is undecent and uncomely: since it is contrary to the good customs of the Church: since the honesty of the Church thereby is defiled, the authority thereof contemned; the truth of Christ trodden under foot, and love banished: since among the rich Prelates and pluralified men themselves, strifes, contentions, brawls, and envies, arise and are nourished: since the fire of God his wrath is kindled against us by them: since it is against the Law of nature, and repugnant to the Law of God, and therefore nourisheth a monster in nature: since it is against the weal, peace, profit, and conservation of the Realm: since it is against the utility of the Church, and that the necessity of the Church requireth the clean contrary: since it is prejudicial and derogatory to the last wills and testaments of our ancestors: since it is dishonourable and dangerous for her Majesty's person and safety: since private necessity and poverty, is no sufficient cause for the maintenance thereof: since the miserable penury of our stipendiary Curates thereby is made intolerable: and again, since all these things are offensive; and that a privilege so soon as it becometh offensive, and not exercised to the profit of many, but to the will of one, is forthwith to be withdrawn: since every privilege ought to be such that it damnify none; and since it forthwith loseth the name of a privilege if once it turn to any injustice: since that nothing is more contrary to natural reason than that one and the self-same man should take unto himself divers stipends of the Church, in divers and far distant places: since it is against the policy of every good commonwealth of man: since it is contrary to the government of every good and provident householder: since it carrieth headlong the souls, as well of him that giveth it, as of him that taketh it, to hell: yea, and since it is an impoverishing of her Majesty's treasure and diminishing of her revenues: let us conclude, For one man to enjoy two or moe [*more*] Benefices by Dispensation, to be a thing altogether intolerable, and utterly unlawful." *Abstract*, p. 162.]

† [" Our Reverend Fathers converting their studies from School Authors unto the Holy Scriptures, and causing others to do the like, brought many to be well seen in Divinity, and themselves and others well affected in Religion (Dr. Cranmer; as Mr. Fox writeth, *Book of Mart.* p. 1752); and, therefore, constantly affirm, that 'The heavenly doctrine of our Saviour Christ was so buried in the darkness of School-learning, that no man tasted the sweetness of it' (Tho. Bp. of Lincoln, *Serm.* 1. on *Rom.* i. 16. p. 7); which to be true, that worthy man Martin Luther, through God's goodness to his Church, finding by great experience in himself and others, is bold to say 'Theologia illa Scholastica exulem nobis fecit veram et sinceram theologiam, That School-divinity hath banished from us the true and sincere divinity' (*Respons. M. Luth. ad dialect. Silvest. const. conclus. sextam.*). And again, 'Totus Aristoteles ad Theologiam est tenebra ad lucem, All Aristotle unto Divinity is darkness unto light' (*Conclus. 50. Vol. I. p. 56*). Now, in all your Books, although we find many good things, many truths and fine points bravely handled, yet in all your Discourse, for the most part, Aristotle the patriarch of Philosophers (with divers other human writers) and the ingenious Schoolmen, almost in all

points have some finger: Reason is highly set up against Holy Scripture (Pref. Sect. 3. p. 29); and Reading against Preaching; the Church of Rome, favourably admitted to be of the House of God; Calvin, with the Reformed Churches full of faults; and most of all, they which endeavoured to be most removed from Conformity with the Church of Rome: almost all the principal points of an English Creed, greatly shaken and contradicted! If you do not sincerely, plainly, and truly, answer all these our necessary doubts and demands, what shall we have cause to think of these your tedious and laborious Writings? Shall we do you wrong, to suspect you as a privy and subtle enemy to the whole state of the English Church, and that would have men to deem her Majesty to have done ill in abolishing the Romish Religion and banishing the Pope's Authority? And, that you would be glad to see the backsliding of all Reformed Churches to be made conformable to that wicked synagogue of Rome; and, shame and reproach to all faithful Ministers, whom God hath raised up to reveal and beat down Antichrist? And, that you esteem the preaching and writing of all the Reverend Fathers of our Church, and the books of Holy Scripture to be, at the least, of no greater moment than Aristotle and the Schoolmen? Or else, do you mean to bring in a confusion of all things, to reconcile heaven and earth, and to make all Religions equal? Will you bring us to Atheism, or to Popery; or, to prepare a plot for an *Interim*, that our streets may run with blood, when all Religions shall be tolerated, and one shall beard and provoke another? Are there not examples sufficient of unspeakable massacres abroad, unless we should fet [*sic*] the same home to our country, rejoicing under the blessed unity of the Gospel of peace? Think you, that the long experience of God's protection, in these golden days of quiet concord, the religious and peaceable heart of our dear Sovereign Lady and Queen, Elizabeth (for whose joyful preservation all good and Christian minded Englishmen do unceasingly pray), and the thousands of faithful subjects who have learned Christ under the shadow of her most happy and honourable reign, would ever give you thanks for such great service, or ever agree unto such abominations, if they should once begin to espy such strategemical operations to appear in their effects, and to shew themselves directly and openly? We beseech you, therefore, in the Name of Jesus Christ, and as you will answer for the use of those great gifts which God hath bestowed upon you, that you would return and peruse advisedly all your Five Books, compare them with the Articles of our profession set out by public Authority; and with the works Apologetical and other authorized Sermons and Homilies of our Church and of the Reverend Fathers of our Land, and with the Holy Book of God, and all other the Queen's Majesty's proceedings; and then read and examine with an indifferent and equal mind a Book set out in Latin called '*Querimonia Ecclesiæ*,' and another in English late come abroad, speaking of Scotizing and Genevatzizing, and Allobroglal Discipline; and, having maturely, with a judicious conscience, in the fear of God, pondered and weighed them in the balance of truth and justice, then tell us roundly and smoothly, that if the Reverend Fathers of our Church, assisted with some of the approved divines of both Universities, did read, peruse, and examine your Books and those Two other Books, Whether they would not judge in their conscience, and give sentence with their mouths, that by those Three Writings, the Church of England and all other Christian Churches are undermined; and, that they are very notable bellows (if God's mercy stayed it not) to blow the coals of sedition and fiery civil war between all Christian Churches; and, to make all people who read them, to fall either flatly to Atheism, or backward to Popery, when they shall see all Godly Ministers and Christian Churches, by men of their own side and profession, to be so openly traduced and notoriously detected, and all the Articles of our Religion and many parts of our Church-government to be checked, blamed, or contradicted? And might they not think, that the Pope's factors in England have some intelligence with such writers? Or, is that new found Discipline so nearly seated with our English Creed, that such expert archers aiming at the one, must needs hit the other?

"Our last scruple and demand is this, Seeing your Books be so long and tedious, in a style not usual, and (as we verily think) the like hard to be found; far differing from the simplicity of Holy Scripture, and nothing after the frame of the writings of the Reverend and learned Fathers of our Church, as of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Jewel, Whitgift, Fox, Fulke, &c.; and, that your Prefaces and Discourses before you come to the question are so long, and mingled with all kind of matters and suits of learning and doctrine; Whether your meaning be to shew yourself to be some rare Demosthenes, or extraordinary Rabbi, or some great Pythagoras, that enjoin your scholars or your adversaries to five years' silence before they can be perfect in your meaning or able to reply; or, that these men you write against

* ["An *unlimited Toleration*, after Sects have diffused themselves, and are strongly rooted, is the only expedient which can *allay their fervour*, and make Civil union acquire a superiority above Religious distinctions."—HUME, *Hist. of Eng.* Chas. II. chap. 66.]

be not sound in matters of Faith, and therefore you handle all things, or else you had no better way to make doubtful the chief grounds of our Faith and Religion, and that you would have men better seen in philosophy and schoolmen's divinity, and namely, in Aristotle (Vol. I. p. 87.); or, that you were afraid, that if you had not handled it with so grave, heroical and lofty a majesty, you should have been reputed like some other man, and so your fame should have been but small; or, that you would weary your adversary with such thick and continual falling strokes, that he should not be able to stand before you to strike one blow against you; or, that you would bear down the cause with swelling words of vanity, and cunningly framed sentences, to blind and entangle the simple; or that you would shew yourself another Aristotle, by a certain metaphysical and cryptical method to bring men into a maze, that they should rather wonder at your learning, than be able to understand what you teach in your writing? We which stand for the defence of our English Church highly commend R. H.' Books, we allege your opinions as well as we can to stop the mouths of foolish carpers: we commend your Books as very excellent and learnedly penned, and not to be answered; then they promptly ask your reasons, and require of us to shew by what arguments you maintain those assertions: then return we to your Books; we seek, and beat our brains, but are hardly able, by our mean capacity, to gather any thing; but, as a man afar off beholding a brier tree all blown over with his flowers, with great desire approacheth near unto it and findeth himself deceived, so the delight of reading your Book is marvellous great, but the fruit thereof (howsoever it came to pass) unto us that search and examine it, is far unlike the goodly shew and appearance! In the Book of that most learned and Reverend Father Dr. Whitgift, we find the question judicially set down; his answer to the matter in question sensible; his reasons either from Holy Scripture, from Fathers, or new writers, without all circumferences and crooked windings, directly applied; so as such poor men as we be may bear away what he saith, and what he intendeth; but in your writing we are mightily encumbered, we walk as in a labyrinth, and are suddenly overwhelmed as in the deep sea: sometime it seemeth to us, that we see great flourishing of warlike and glittering weapons, and to hear the loud outcries and noise of them which pursue their enemies in battle, thundering, gunshot, tossing of spears, and rattling of harness; yet, cannot we perfectly perceive any thing almost rightly to touch the adversary pretended, but rather (as in our demands before, we verily think doth manifestly appear) most heavy strokes, poisoned pellets, and dangerous pushes of the pikes, against the Jerusalem of God, the Holy Christian Church of England, whom you would seem to defend. We desire you, therefore, with all instance, that you would not deny us three things: First, to shew unto us what arguments you have alleged, which are material and of weight, which are not to be found in the 'Aunswere' of that Reverend Father unto Master Cartwright; and herein plainly to declare which be your arguments or direct answers, which are neither fine and close ironies, or blustering bitter scoffs, begging of the question, or peremptory affirmations, and how we may know what is the state of the question, and when you are in or out, and what you hold in your conscience to be the truth in God's sight: how great and large your Five Books would be, if you had used reasonable, intelligible and logical arguments only, as other writers and disputers do; and had left out all needless witty glosses and rhetorical shadows in preambles, discourses, digressions, amplifications; and had kept yourself out of the common jail of sophistical elenches, and impertinent outleaps; and had followed St. Peter's prescrip^t, in a meek, reverend and direct apology and defense proceeding from 'a good conscience' (1 Pet. iii. 15, 16). Secondly, that if you set forth your other Books which are promised, you would be more plain and sensible; and follow the usual language and style of other learned men and English writers; leaving out unnecessary long discourses and common places, set out your reasons in plain terms and words of sincerity, without these huge embossments or stuffed bombasting, that poor plain men which cannot skill of such hidden mysteries, may perceive and learn something by your great travails. Thirdly, that you would be careful not to corrupt the English Creed and pure doctrine (whereunto you have subscribed) either by philosophy or vain deceit of schoolmen's new-born divinity, or by any other beggarly rudiments of this world; nor set these Churches by the ears with these closely carried and dainty insinuations; and that, through desire of vain-glory, you provoke not your brethren, and help the common and sworn enemy which fighteth against God, against Christ's Church, against our peaceable country, and against our religious, godly, and Christian Princess. And, especially, that you beware in the cause of Supremacy to give your lawful Sovereign her right and full due, and not so to make the Church of Rome of the family of Christ Jesus that you lift up the son of pride, the blasphemous tyrant the Pope into that high chair of pestilence to be Christ's vicar upon earth, and ministerial head of his universal Church (Sar. contr. Bezam, cap. ii. p. 57). For as there is one that saith, the Church of Rome is Mater nostra 'our mother;' so if you should go but one step further, we know not what

injury may be done to her Majesty's rightful imperial crown and dignity. And, Lastly, that you remember Him which is high and excellent, the King of all glory and Lord of all power; that you please not man to displease God; and seeking yourself, you forsake not your own mercy. You know that it is written, 'Only by pride doth man make contention; but with the well-advised is wisdom' (Prov. xiii. 10): and, 'When pride cometh, then shame cometh; but with the lowly is wisdom' (Ibid. xi. 2): you know, also, who hath said, 'Vengeance is mine,' &c. (Deut. xxxii. 35): and again, 'Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm' (Psal. cv. 15): and again, 'The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous; and the way of the wicked shall perish' (Ibid. i. 6).

"Now in all these things good Master Hoo. though we thus write, we do not take upon us to censure your Books; neither rashly to judge of you for them; but, because we be all children born in this Church, and every child loving his mother is jealous over that which seemeth disgraceful to his mother; and all Christians are exhorted to 'contend earnestly for the Faith which was once given to the saints' (Jude, ver. 3), and he that toucheth our Faith toucheth the apple of our eye; we could not but utter our inward grief, and yet in as charitable manner as the cause in hand would suffer, (for is it not a great matter, when you seem to us to make a wide open breach in the Church, and to stain the pure doctrine of Faith?) we seek that the truth be not darkened or defaced; and, that you by wise, plain, and honest resolution unto these our doubts and demands, may approve yourself as the faithful and sincere servant of Jesus Christ. If then, in all these our demands and requests, you do lovingly and faithfully satisfy us your native countrymen who have sucked out the sincere milk of the Gospel, by the doctrine in England professed, published, and preached, by sermons, apologies, articles, and reading of Holy Scripture, even now these forty years; (for which we are not able to render sufficient praise and thanks to our most merciful Father in Jesus Christ, and namely for that worthy instrument of our joy, that blessed Halcyon and Christian Deborah, the anointed handmaid our Sovereign Lady and Queen, Elizabeth, whom the Sun of righteousness hath raised up to still the raging streams and roaring waves of God's enemies, even the cursed Canaanites of Romish Babylon; whose peaceable and flourishing reign we most humbly pray the mighty God of heaven, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, still to continue in joy and honour) if, indeed, you answer our desire in love and faithfulness, we shall have good cause to commend well of your sincere meaning; we shall be beholding unto you for your Godly zeal in defending our Church, and give unto you your condign praise in all places, for your true and upright dealing; and pray earnestly unto God for you, that such excellent gifts and graces which he hath vouchsafed unto you above many, may be alway wisely employed to the advancing of the glory of the most High God, and of his most glorious Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to the furtherance of the prosperous wealth of his holy Church, the faithful service of your sovereign Prince and native country, and to your own inward comfort and undeceivable joy of conscience, in and through Jesus Christ our blessed Lord and Saviour, to whom be all praise and glory in his Church and in all places of the world for ever, Amen."—*A Christian Letter*, p. 42, ad fin.]



A JUST AND TEMPERATE
DEFENCE
OF THE
FIVE BOOKS "OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY"

WRITTEN BY

MR. RICHARD HOOKER:

AGAINST AN UNCHARITABLE "LETTER OF CERTAIN ENGLISH PROTESTANTS"
(AS THEY TERM THEMSELVES)

"CRAVING RESOLUTION, IN SOME MATTERS OF DOCTRINE, WHICH SEEM
TO OVERTHROW THE FOUNDATION OF RELIGION, AND THE
CHURCH AMONGST US."

BY

WILLIAM COVEL, D.D.

"The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance."—PSALM cxii. 6.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1603.



THE EDITOR'S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

Dr. Zouch says, that Dr. Covel, with equal modesty and learning, has discussed all the positions advanced in the "Christian Letter" (p. 309.). This is not saying much for the ability or success of the "Defence." But another D.D. has assumed a higher tone, and moves with a loftier bearing; he says, speaking of the "Letter,"—"This book is one of the earliest productions of those *malcontents*, who were afterwards called 'Doctrinal Puritans:.' " and he adds, that he believes the work is deserving of notice, "as exhibiting the earliest example, both in matter and manner, of the argument of those numerous publications in which some *Calvinistic* writers have thoughtlessly and intemperately indulged themselves, from the days of this 'Christian Letter.' "

Anon, he proceeds thus: "Can it be believed, the Authors of the Letter in question tax the meek, the wise, the virtuous, the saint-like Richard Hooker with betraying and renouncing the doctrines to which he had solemnly subscribed. They charge him with designs of bringing back Popery. They accuse him of a wanton attack on the memory of Calvin. They condemn him of unsoundness of doctrine respecting Grace, and Free Will, and Justification, and Predestination, and the conditions of the Christian Covenant, and the Sacraments of the Christian Church. It is curious to see the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Homilies, Bishop Jewel's Apology, Dean Nowell's Catechism, and the writings of many others of Hooker's Protestant predecessors, solemnly cited against him, and confronted in due form with extracts from the Ecclesiastical Polity, for the purpose of convicting him of deserting and denying the principles of that Church of which he was a Minister, in whose cause he toiled day and night, and in the defence of which I believe, it may be truly said, that it was God's good pleasure that he should die."—*Eccles. Biog.* by C. Wordsworth, D.D. Edit. 2, 1818. Vol. IV. p. 269, 271.

Dr. W. concludes without a word to characterize the performance of Covel, from whom he merely extracts what Hooker's "answer would have been" if he had not been "loth to intermeddle with so *weak* adversaries," which nevertheless, Covel says, "*having taken it in hand*, his urgent and greater affairs, &c. would not give him time to see it finished." (See *inf.* p. 464).

Are not these the expressions of decided partisans whose accommodating optics do not permit them to see blemishes among themselves, nor excellencies in others? The whole contents of these rare Tracts, the "Christian Letter" and the "Defence," are in the Reader's possession; he need no longer, therefore, to be influenced respecting those works by the sentiments of any man however distinguished by talents and station. The "Letter" is no ordinary production for vigour of style, and the insight it gives into the *latent* principles, errors, and mistakes, or whatever they may be called, of the great Hooker; who is encountered by talents which *he* dared not to disregard, and which must have *awed* and *unnerved* him for the remainder of his undertaking.

Whatever the merits of the "Defence" are, as they have not been characterized by those who have had the opportunity, so they will now appear more capable of being duly estimated: for the *bulk* of this Tract consists of only the repetition and in some instances the accommodation of Hooker's very words and sentiments, which Covel had but rarely distinguished from his own, and would be taken by the casual reader for the Doctor's own style and reasoning. In this edition, however, many passages have been traced, and the usual quotation marks and references applied to them. It remains to be seen, Whether Hooker's partisans can content themselves with this "Defence;" or Whether they must not again investigate the whole argument!

B. H.

THE ARTICLES HANDLED IN THIS BOOK.

- I. Of the Deity of the Son of God.
- II. Of the Coeternity of the Son, and the Proceeding of the Holy Ghost.
- III. Whether the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to Salvation ?
- IV. Whether the Scriptures be above the Church ?
- V. Of the nature and freedom of Man's Will.
- VI. Of the Use of Faith and Good Works.
- VII. Whether God allow more than he commandeth ?
- VIII. Of the Virtue of Good Works.
- IX. None free from every Sin ; how from all ?
- X. Of Predestination.
- XI. Whether the Church of Rome be any part of the visible Church ?
- XII. Of Preaching and Sermons.
- XIII. Of the Minister's office.
- XIV. Of the nature of the Sacraments.
- XV. Of Christ's institution of the Sacraments.
- XVI. Of the Necessity of Baptism.
- XVII. Of Transubstantiation.
- XVIII. Of speculative doctrine, or sentences mistaken.
- XIX. Of Calvin and the Reformed Churches.
- XX. Of Schoolmen, Philosophy, Reason, &c.
- XXI. Of the style and manner of Mr. Hooker's writing.

TO THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, MY VERY GOOD LORD,
THE
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY HIS GRACE,
PRIMATE, AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL ENGLAND.

THREE principal causes, Right Reverend, have moved me to offer this small Labour to your Grace's view: First, the just respect of my particular duty; which challengeth all parts of my labour, as a most thankful acknowledgement of that service which I owe unto you. Secondly, the Form of our Church-Government, which imposeth a submitting of our labours to the censure and allowance of those to whom, by right, that charge belongeth; wherein seeing your authority and care, next unto our dread Sovereign, is, and is to be esteemed, greatest, I desire you to vouchsafe to give that allowance, which your Grace in your wisdom shall think fit. The last reason, is the person of him, who (whilst he lived) was advanced, honoured and esteemed by you; and now being dead, his learning, and sincerity, against the false accusations of others, challengeth a Defence at your Grace's hand: for doubtless it is more right to virtue, to defend the deceased, than to advance those that are living. This, as reason ever expecteth at the hands of virtue; so especially then, when men of worth, of desert, of learning, are mistaken and accused, by those that do want all. I crave to the rest of all your Grace's favours, that this last may be added, That whatsoever my imperfections are, in this Just and Temperate Defence, they may no way diminish the honourable remembrance of him, whom I do defend: all allowance is his due; the faults are mine; for which in all humility, I crave pardon.

Your Grace's to be commanded,

W. COVEL.

TO THE READER.

SEEING we are all bound, in the dutiful respect of a common just cause, even to defend those who are strangers to us; it cannot seem unfit to any, if we afford them so much favour, whose persons and deserts are very well known. There is no better contentment for

our labour past, than in the assurance from our conscience, that it is well employed: for, doubtless, the spurning at virtue giveth a greater stroke to the doer, than to him that suffereth; and yet even that religion, that commandeth patience, forbiddeth not the just defence of ourselves in a good cause; especially then, when by wronging a particular man, there may be some hazard of the Truth itself. Our Church hath had some enemies more openly discontent, in the case of Discipline, than they now appear; whom to satisfy with reason, Master HOOKER endeavoured with much pains: that which might have contented all, was in divers, a spur to a more violent choler: for medicines, how profitable soever, work not equally in all humours. From hence proceedeth a desire in some, to make question of things whereof there was no doubt, and a request for "resolution," of some points, wherein there was no danger: to this end, "a Letter" (which here is answered) was published by "certain Protestants" (as they term themselves), which I hear (how true I know not) is translated into other tongues; this, they presume, hath given that wound to that reverend and learned man, that it was not the least cause to procure his death. But it is far otherwise; for he contemned it in his wisdom (as it was fit) and yet in his humility would have answered it, if he had lived. Surely for mine own part, I never thought it convenient that the gravity of this present business, and the reverend worthiness of him that is accused, should not be answered with gravity both of person and speech; and my witnesses are both in heaven and earth, how justly I can excuse myself, as Elihu did: "Behold, I did wait upon the word of the ancient, and hearkened for their knowledge:" "I stayed the time,"* and a long time, until some elder and of riper judgment, might have acquitted me from all opinion of presumption in this cause; which being not done by them, whom many reasons might have induced to this Defence, I could not for that part which I bear in that Church, whose Government was defended by Master HOOKER, with patience endure so weak a "Letter" any longer to remain unanswered. And herein I have dealt as with men (although to me unknown) of some learning and gravity, to whom peradventure in many respects I am far inferior; and yet for any thing that I know, or appeareth in this "Letter," they may be clothed with the same infirmities that I am. But if this had been by himself performed (which I hear he hath done, and I desire thee to expect it) thy satisfaction, gentle Reader, would have been much more, yet vouchsafe in thy kindness, to accept this.

* Job xxxii. 11, 16.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

LITTLE hath labour done to make any man excellent, if virtue have not as much power to make it continue : neither were it any honour to deserve well, if our memories might die with our names ; or our names be buried as often as malice or envy doth seek to hide them. Few things are eminently good which are endured, amongst distempered judgments, without bitter reprehension ; for where weakness hath not strength enough to imitate and reverence that virtue which it feareth ; it hath violence and malice sufficient to detract from that virtue which it hateth. Amongst evil persons, as there be few things that are good in themselves ; so there be not many things which they are willing should appear good in others ; for virtue, where it is not followed, must either be dispraised, or our negligence shall want excuse. And whatsoever hath the power to convince, must suffer reproof, where the heart of man wanteth humility to give obedience. The world's greatest error is, in esteeming ; when our corruptions making us ambitious to seem, whilst we are careless to be, winneth allowance from a fond opinion, which the stream of violent fancies denieth to rest upon those that are truly virtuous. Because, for any man to oppose himself against that evil which is grown heady, either by custom, or patience, is to hazard much of himself, if he be strong ; and, in the opinion of many, undoubtedly to perish, if he be weak. And therefore, as vice hath ever had mo *[more]* that did dislike it, than durst dispraise it ; so virtue will ever have mo that are willing to allow it in their judgments, than dare adventure to interpose themselves for the defence of that which they do allow. Jealousy, making those to deprave even the very defence of that which their own judgments did think worthy, and their wishes desired might be defended. For, to do that which every man accounteth his own duty, as it argueth, oftentimes, more strength than courage ; so, amongst many, it reapeth little else but an opinion of singularity. From this corrupt fountain, (a fountain poisoned by malicious ignorance) have flowed these bitter, but small streams, which the importunity of some men's commendations (arising out of a blind love) have made for power and greatness, like the red sea, to drown (as they say) Pharaoh and all his host. Let them perish in it without help, beaten down with that hand that striketh from above, who seek to hold Israel a servant in Egypt, or captive in the house of bondage : but let them pass through without harm, who courageously have freed the posterity of Jacob, and led

Israel to the land of promise. I doubt not but without a miracle, a man of small stature may go through these waters and not be drowned; yet sometimes the most righteous may say, with David, "the overflowing of ungodliness made me afraid."* Deceit usually covereth with a mask (better than the face) that evil which it desireth should kill unseen and unprevented: but error cannot more easily fall, than when it is built upon such a foundation; nor weaker opinions sooner vanish, than when they are bred, nourished, and supported, only with the strength of fancy. It is of small use in the Church (though a thing practised in all ages) for men over-curiously to labour to remove those stains which, like an impure breath, darken the glass of steel, whilst it is warm, but slide off through their own weakness, having no power to make any deeper impression than only air. Any cloth in a hand of no skill or strength, is able to wipe off with ease, those blots or marks that are stained with no greater force or virtue but a hot breath. But, seeing the reputation that virtue challengeth, and industrious labour, seasoned with discretion, doth merit; seeketh rather to gain an approbation from the judgment of the wise, than recompense or reward from the mighty hand of the rich; men of virtuous desert in all ages, (even from the lowest step of humility and obedience) have, with confidence and truth, taught the world a far better judgment, by their wise apologies; and have gained as much honour in removing evil, as they have gotten virtue unto their names in doing well. The malice of envy, out of impatient ignorance, doing virtue this benefit, That that which was clear before, by a few, light, trifling spots, gaineth a wiping, to make it clearer: *desert* and *goodness*, being effects of a first motion: *perfection* and *excellency* the work of a second maker. It must needs seem strange to many, and be displeasing to all that are of any sober, indifferent, or virtuous disposition, that the just Defence of a present, religious, "Ecclesiastical Polity," undertaken without bitterness of spirit, in a grave moderation to reform presumption and inform ignorance, should so far taste of the eagerness of some unlearned pens; that judgment should be thought too weak to answer idle words; or virtue not strong enough to withstand malice; or lastly, that *he* could want a Defence, whose endeavour (as himself professeth) was not so much to overthrow them with whom he contended, as to yield them just and reasonable causes of those things which, for want of due consideration, heretofore they have misconceived; sometimes accusing Laws, for men's oversights; sometimes imputing evils grown through personal defects, to that which is not evil; framing to some sores unwholesome plasters; and applying remedies sometimes where

* Psal. xviii. 4.

no sores were. It is much easier to answer those shadows of reason wherein these *Admonishers* do please themselves; than, by their silence, to make them confess that they are fully answered. For as they know not (for the most part) well how to speak, saving only tinkers' music, like sounding brass, because they want charity; so do they less know how to hold their peace, like clamorous frogs, because they want humility. Holy pretences have ever been the strongest motives that pride hath; and zeal, how preposterous and ignorant soever, hath been deemed reason sufficient to some men, in the opinion of their followers, to warrant and defend whatsoever they have done. Upon this ground, was published, some few Articles in manner of a "Letter," in the year 1599, "requiring resolution in matters of doctrine," concerning some points, which either they misconceive or list not to understand, uttered by Mr. HOOKER, in those Five learned and grave books of "ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY;" wherein, it must needs appear, that their ignorant malice hath done him great honour; who, in an argument so distasted by them, and coming with a proud confidence to reprehend, have only carped sillily at some few things neither of moment nor importance, whereof humility and charity would have craved no answer. But these being willing and desirous to find somewhat to oppose, have only discovered his great, mature, and grave judgment, and their own small, undigested, and shallow learning. For there is nothing that can better both excuse and commend a workman, than to see envy desirous to reprehend, and reprehension to vanish in his [*its*] own smoke. For (saith the Wiseman) "all such as regarded not wisdom, had not only this hurt, that they knew not the things that were good; but also left behind them unto men a memorial of their foolishness; so that in the things wherein they sinned, they could not lie hid;"* "yet the people see and understand it not, and consider no such things in their hearts, how that grace and mercy is upon his Saints, and his providence over the elect."† For, as he himself well noted, "as to the best and wisest (while they live) the world is continually a froward opposite, a curious observer of their defects, and imperfections; so their virtues, it afterwards as much admireth." Those, whom we must make adversaries in this cause, are men, not known either by name, religion or learning; yet such as would seem, in zeal to the present State, to desire a "resolution" in some points that might otherwise give offence. It may be, peradventure, the work of some one, who, desirous to gain an opinion amongst his followers, undertaketh to speak as from the minds of many, hoping those demands (how idle soever) will gain answer, being to satisfy a multitude, which no doubt Mr. HOOKER in

* Wisd. x. 8.

† Ibid. iv. 15.

his wisdom, patience, and gravity, would easily have contemned, if they had but been the private cavils and objections of some one. For there is no man but thinketh *many*, how light soever in themselves, being united, may have that weight to challenge even by a civil right, a direct answer, from one every way far better than had been fitting for their modesty and weakness to provoke. Well; whosoever they are, as I cannot easily conjecture, so I am not curious to know;* this age hath afforded an infinite number whom superstitious fear for want of true understanding, and an ignorant zeal, not directed with discretion, have made violent in matters of Religion, using the razor instead of a knife, and for hatred of tares oftentimes pulling up good corn. But with these we will deal with that temperate moderation, as may serve to give true worthiness a just Defence; and, impatient and furious spirits (unless desperately violent) no just cause to find themselves to be grieved with us.

This which we are to answer, is termed by them, "A Christian Letter of certain English Protestants, unfeigned favourers of the present state of Religion authorised, and professed in England; unto that Reverend and learned man, Mr. Richard Hooker."† Thus the humility and mild temper of their superscription, may peradventure gain the reading at some men's hands, through an opinion that "Protestants," and *many*, and in a "Christian Letter," would hardly be carried with violence so far, to make demands seasoned with so little modesty, learning, or understanding. These men, they may be (as we take the word largely) "Protestants" for any thing that I know; that is, men outwardly of the Christian religion; who live and profess a doctrine, for the most part, opposite to the Church of Rome; but I can hardly be persuaded, that the "Letter" being wholly an uncivil Irony, is either "Christian," or that themselves are "unfeigned favourers of the present state of religion;" or that they think Mr. HOOKER to be either "reverend," or "learned" in their opinions. For, whatsoever they may pretend, in urging the reverend Bishops of our Church against his assertions; as though they ascribed much unto them; yet their desire is, to make an opposition appear, and in that shew of contradiction, to make themselves sport, and in the end proudly and maliciously to condemn both. But St. James telleth these, that "if any man seem religious and refrain not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain."‡ And in this I appeal to the censure of the most modest and discreet amongst themselves, by what shew of reason they could term that "Letter" to be "Christian" wherein were contained so many unseasoned and

* [Their secret seems to have died with themselves.]

† [See Vol. I. p. cxii.]

‡ James i. 26.

intemperate speeches? or, that man to be either "reverend" or "learned," whom they have used with so little respect, and accused of so many defects? But doubtless, as they never thought him to be either "reverend" or "learned" (whom all that knew him whilst he lived, knew to be both), so they little desired that their "Letter" should be such a one as might worthily be accounted "*Christian*." Else what mean these accusations, to account his "goodly promises mere formal," and "great offers" to "serve only to hoodwink such as mean well;" as though "by excellency of words, and enticing speeches of man's wisdom," he meant, as they say, "to beguile and bewitch the Church of God." A little after, they call him a "goodly Champion," and "by the sweet sound of your melodious style, almost cast into a dreaming sleep;"* which style notwithstanding afterwards, they account "not usual," but "long and tedious;" "far differing from the simplicity of holy Scripture;"† and a "hard and harsh style:"‡ for the manner of the style, we shall make our defence when we answer that Article. But, in that you scoffingly account him a "goodly Champion," give me leave to tell you that if our Church were thoroughly furnished with such men, the holy function of our calling had not grown in contempt by ignorant and unlearned Ministers; our peace had not been troubled with furious and violent spirits: worldly men had not seized upon the Church with such eagerness, through an opinion of the unworthiness of the Clergy: they of the Church of Rome had not thus long remained obstinate, through the violent proceedings of indiscreet men, whose remedies were worse than the disease itself: nor, last of all, the general amendment of life (the fruit of our preaching) had not been so small, if these turbulent heads had not more desired to make Hypocrites than truly religious. It is much safer to praise the dead than the living, having seen the period of their days expired; "when neither he that is praised can be puffed up, nor he that doth praise can be thought to flatter."§ He was, as St. Austin said of St. Cyprian, "of such desert, of such a courage, of such a grace, of such a virtue,"|| that as Theodosius said of St. Ambrose, "I have known Ambrose, who alone is worthy to be called a Bishop;" of whom I dare give that judgment (though he were in true estimation great already) which Antigonus gave of Pyrrhus, "that he would have been a *very great* man, if he had been *old*:" Great in his own virtues, of great use in the Church, and in all appearance, (though these times be unthankful) of great authority. I let pass those other terms which shew your

* [See Vol. I. p. 11.]

† [Vol. II. p. 445.]

‡ [Vol. I. p. 11.]

§ "Quando nec laudantem movet adulatio, nec laudatum tentat elatio."

|| "Tanti meriti, tanti pectoris, tanti oris, tantæ virtutis."

"Letter" to be un-"Christian," until we come to their particular answers; and thus much for the Title.

*It hath been no new thing, in all ages, that reprehension hath waited upon those Books, which zeal, from a virtuous mind, hath written to support the Truth; for the nature of man is much apter to reprove others than reform itself; seeing, to see faults in others is an act of the understanding, if they be; and of a frowardness of the will, if they be not: but, to rectify them in ourselves must be the work of a clear understanding and a reformed will; therefore usually men practise themselves, what they punish in others; so that no man can directly conclude, That all men hate what they do accuse.† Therefore St. Jerom, of whom saith St. Austin (no man knew that whereof St. Jerom was ignorant) oftentimes complaineth of the detractions, slanders, and untrue accusations of evil men.‡ These, for the most part, are unstaid, violently carried with the current of the present time, sometimes bitterly either upon discontentments, or to please others, inveighing against those, whom themselves before out of flattery, not *judgment*, have highly praised. Thus Libanius the sophister, who was eloquent against the Christians, to please Julian, was noted with this mark of levity, For writing Panegyrics, or orations of praise, to commend Constantius while he lived, against whom afterward he wrote most bitter invectives when he was dead.§ Thus some small discontentment served to turn the heart, and open the mouth of Porphyry against the Christians: what cause of grief these zealous professors have I know not, but in my opinion, the whole tenour of that uncharitable and unchristian "Letter," argueth some inward discontent; either envious that other men should be excellent, or that themselves being excellent, are not more regarded. Wherein though they dislike the dim eye of government that looketh not clearly into men's virtues, and the niggardly hand that doth not bountifully reward such as deserve well; yet they might out of patience and charity, worthily have forborne to have inveighed against his honour, which consisted in no other wealth but in his religious contentment, and in that true commendation which was the due merit of his own virtues. For the world had not much to take from him, because he had not taken much from the world; for he never affected, flatteringly to please her, nor she never cared fawningly to please him.|| For as all that Scipio brought from Africa, after his danger

* The Preface of the Letter answered: "When men dream they are asleep," &c.

† "Ut argumento non sit propter quod alios accusant has ipsas odisse." DIO. CASS. lib. xxxvi. *Hist.*

‡ Epist. ad Asellam virg. in Prolog. super Jos.

§ Nicephor. Calixtus, lib. x. *Hist.* cap. 36.

|| Bern. In Obit. Humberti.

and travel, to be called his, was only a surname,* so, the greatest recompense that his labours had was the just commendation, That he was a very reverend, learned and grave man. For his judgment taught him out of a Christian patience, the resolution of Cato, "if I have any thing to use, I use it; if not, I know who I am."† And seeking to profit in knowledge, and that this knowledge might profit the Church; he shewed that he was born for the good of many, and few to be born for the good of him. For as St. Jerom speaketh of Nepotian, "despising gold, he followed learning, the greatest riches."‡ But, peradventure, his learning had puffed him up; and his pride had made his writings impatient, and full of bitterness; and this moved you to undertake this uncharitable and unchristian "Letter;" for you say "if we believe them" (meaning the Bishops) "we must think, that Master Hooker is very arrogant and presumptuous, to make himself the only *Rabbi*."§ That you had no cause to provoke him in these terms, all men know that do read his writings; for dealing in an argument of that kind, with adversaries, of that nature; and, in a time grown insolent by sufferance; he hath written with that temperate moderation, rather like a grave father to reform the unstayed errors of hot, young, violent spirits, than severely correcting them with the intemperate bitterness of their own style; and sighing at the scurrilous and more than satirical immodesty of Martinism, he feared with a true sorrow, lest that honourable calling of Priesthood, which was ruined by slander amongst ourselves, could not long continue firm in the opinion of others.|| Well, for all this the government of his passions was in his own power,¶ as Saint Bernard speaketh of Malachy the Bishop. And he was able to rule them; for he was truly of a mild spirit and an humble heart, and abounding in all other virtues; yet he specially excelled in the grace of meekness: for the gravity of his looks (as Saint Bernard speaketh of Humbert), was cleared by those that did sit, or converse with him, lest he should be burdensome unto them; but a full laughter, few ever discerned in him.** Some such our Church hath had in all ages; a few now alive, which are her ornament, if she can use them well; but more that are dead, whom she ought to praise. For "all those were honourable men in their generations, and were well reported of, in their times; there are of them, that have left a name behind them, so that their praise shall be spoken of;" "for

* "Nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur præter cognomen vetuli." VAL. MAX.

† "Si quid est quo utar, utor; si non, ego sum."

‡ "Nepotianus noster aurum calcans schedulas consecratus." § [Vol. I. p. 202.]

|| Lege Carol. Mag. fol. 421. ¶ "Ira ejus in manu ejus." BERN.

•• "Serenebat vultum suum assidietum gratia, ne fieret onerosus, sed risum integrum si bene recolitis non admisit." BERN.

whose posterity a good inheritance is reserved, and their seed is contained in the covenant; their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore; the people speak of their wisdom, and the congregation talk of their praise."* In this number virtue hath placed him whom you accuse: and are not afraid, being now awaked out of a "dream," to account a deceiver. As though in his labours he had meant by "enticing speech," to deceive the Church; or as though by a colourable defence of the Church Discipline, he purposed (as you say) "to make questionable, and to bring in contempt the doctrine and faith itself;"† "beating against the heart of all true Christian doctrine, professed by her Majesty, and the whole State of this realm." Therefore you have made choice of the principal things contained in his Books; wishing him to free himself "from all suspicion of falsehood and treachery;" accounting yourselves to rest "contented," if he will shew himself, either "all one in judgment with the Church of England;" "or else freely and ingenuously acknowledge his unwilling oversight; or at the least shew plainly by good demonstration, that all our reverend Fathers have hitherto been deceived." To this you crave a "charitable, direct, plain, sincere, and speedy answer;" this is the sum of the Preface to your Christian Letter. It is too true that all ages have had deceivers; and, that the most dangerous deceivers have strongly prevailed under pretence of Religion; and therefore whereas all bodies are subject to dissolution, there are undoubtedly more estates overthrown, through diseases within themselves, which familiarly do steal upon them, than through violence from abroad. Because the manner is always to cast a doubtful and a more suspicious eye, towards that, over which men know they have least power; and therefore the fear of apparent dangers, causeth their forces to be more united; it is to all sorts a kind of bridle; it maketh virtuous minds watchful; it holdeth contrary dispositions in suspense; and employeth the power of all wits; and the wits of all men, with a greater care. Whereas deceits covered with good pretences, are so willingly entertained, so little feared, and so long suffered, until their cruelty burst forth when it is too late to cure them. Vice hath not a better means to disperse itself, nor to gain entertainment and favour, than by borrowing the counterfeit name and habit of seeming virtue. Thus that rebellious Sandracot under pretence of liberty moved the Indians against the officers of Alexander the Great; which when they had slain, he that was the author of their liberty turned that into a more cruel bondage; oppressing the people whom he had freed from strangers, under the cruel tyranny of his own

* Eccles. xlv. 7, 8, 11—15.

† [Vol. I. p. 11.]

government.* But of all deceits there is none more dangerous, than when the name of God, or Religion, is pretended, to countenance our heinous crimes. And howsoever even in this kind, this age hath not wanted examples, who being dangerous under holy pretences, the hand of Justice hath cut off; yet the imputation of this fault can in no reason cleave to him, who hath so far hazarded himself for the just defence of religion and Church Government. If he had broached any new fancies, or proudly opposed the wise established Discipline; there had been some reason to have suspected that by "enticing speech" he had meant to deceive "the Church." But seeing he hath laboured in a weighty cause, with reasons, against those whom the Magistrate's severity could not easily suppress; seeing he hath undertaken it by appointment; and performed it with allowance; and seeing he hath made no other shew of supporting Popery, but only by resisting Puritans; the slander must needs be too light, and the accusation without colour, to say that he hath "beaten against the heart of all true Christian doctrine, professed by her Majesty and the whole State of this Realm:" as though (which you desire the world might believe) the heart of Christian religion were only among such whom the affection of singularity hath termed by the name of "Puritans:" And that the rest who are not of that temper, are dangerous and close heretics. Thus Apollinarius the younger, who wrote so much in defence of the Christian faith that St. Basil said of him, that with his volumes he had filled the whole world;† and wrote against raving and frantic Porphyry, thirty books, more excellent than any other of his works: was afterward accused that he held the error of the Millenaries, That into the Trinity he had brought, Great, greater, and greatest of all; that he thought not right of the incarnation of Christ: but seeing Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, who was an enemy unto him, and divers other authors besides, report that he was vehement to confute the Arians, Eunomians, Origenists, and many other heretics, in many volumes, it may be thought whatsoever his other errors were, the malice of his adversaries had forged this, to diminish the authority of those books which he had written against them.‡ So that this practice is no new thing, To diminish the soundness of their religion whose judgments and reasons we are unable to withstand. But I doubt not by that which followeth, but it shall easily be made to appear that he is of the same judgment with the Church of England: that he hath not committed any oversight; nor that he goeth not about to contradict, "the reverend fathers of our Church:" which things (in all likelihood) are matters by all you much desired;

* Justin. lib. xv. ex Trogo. † Sixt. Sin. lib. iv. Bibliothecæ.
‡ Epiphanius in 3. Pannarii.

and therefore I hope you will accept (as you desire) *this* "charitable, direct, plain, and sincere Answer;" which no doubt of it, from himself had been far more learned and more speedy if he could either have resolved to have done it, or after he had resolved could have lived to have seen it finished. But first of all, he was loth to intermeddle with so weak adversaries; thinking it "unfit" (as himself said) "that a man that hath a long journey, should turn back to beat every barking cur;" and having taken it in hand, his urgent and greater affairs, together with the want of strength, weakened with much labour, would not give him time to see it finished. Yet "his mind was stronger than his years, and knew not well how to yield to infirmity."* Wherein if he had somewhat favoured himself, he might peradventure, have lived to have answered you; to the benefit of the Church, and the comfort of a great number. But "death hath done what he could; it hath killed his body, and it is laid up in the heart of the earth; it hath taken from us, and from the church of God, a sweet friend, a wise counsellor, and a strong champion:"† so that I may say, as it was sometimes said of Demosthenes: "Demosthenes is meet for Athens, Demades overgreat." Others fit enough to live in the midst of error, vanity, unthankfulness, and deceit, but he too good. For "he was as the Morning Star in the midst of a cloud, and as the Moon when it is full; and as the Sun shining upon the Temple of the most High, and as the Rainbow that is bright in the fair clouds;" "when he put on the garment of honour, and was clothed with all beauty, he went up to the holy Altar; and made the garment of holiness honourable."‡ But this ought to content us, "That the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them: In the sight of the unwise they appeared to die, and their end was thought grievous, and their departing from us destruction; but they are in peace."§

* "Erat animus victor annorum, et cedere nesciens infirmitati." BERN. in *Vita Humberti*.

† "Mors fecit quantum potuit, occidit carnem, et ecce recondita est in corde terræ; separavit à nobis dulcem amicum, prudentem Consiliarium, Auxiliarium fortem." BERN.

‡ Eccles. i. 6, 7, 11.

§ Wisd. iii. 1—3.

THE D E F E N C E.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE DEITY OF THE SON OF GOD.

ALL points in Divinity are not of the like easiness of apprehension. For in some, the dim light of nature, not wholly darkened, can give a reason of that we do ; as well as faith, out of precept, doth warrant what we do believe. And therefore the Gentiles both before and after the Law, were to themselves a kind of Law, even by the light of nature, not to do all those things that they did desire ; but they had a thing in their hearts, equivalent to the Law in respect of forbidding, because they could accuse and excuse themselves, having the witness of their conscience present with them.* Thus the effect of all the Commandments, was in the Jews before the Law, and in the Gentiles who had not the Law, given unto them. Thus the first commandment was in Terah, Abraham's father ; which was the reason of his departure from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan.† And afterwards in Jacob, when he departed out of Laban's house ; above four hundred years before the law was given :‡ so the second commandment in Rachel ; § the third, in Abraham to his servant : || the fourth, had a precept in the creation : the fifth, for honouring his parents, even in Esau : ¶ the sixth, in Cain, who knew the greatness of that evil which he had committed, that slew his brother ; fear making him, out of a guilty conscience, to deny that, which love before had not power enough to teach him to forbear.** The seventh, in the hatred of the sin of Sicheim ; which Jacob, though he allowed not to be rightly punished, yet he did not approve as to be well done.†† The eighth, even in Egypt, which made Joseph to say, What act is that you have done ? when the cup of Pharaoh was found in the sack of Benjamin.‡‡ The ninth, when Judah feared the witness of

* [Rom. ii. 12—15.]

§ Gen. xxxi. 34.

•• Ibid. iv. 9.

† Gen. xi. 31.

|| Ibid. xxiv. 3.

†† Ibid. xxxiv. 31 ; xlix. 6.

‡ Ibid. xxxi. 3.

¶ Ibid. xxvii. 41.

‡‡ Ibid. xliv. 12, 15.

Thamar.* The last, in Abimelech for taking the wife of Abraham, where the vision did not so much tell him it was a sin, (which he knew by nature) as that she was another man's wife.† Now in these things which were observed before the Moral Law, some were of more apparent dislike, even in the opinion of the heathen, who had no other direction but the light of nature; as the third, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth commandments. For the Egyptians had a Law; "Swear not, lest thou die."‡ And this was punished in the twelve tables of the Romans.§ For the fifth, Homer saith of one that had a misfortune, "it was because he honoured not his parents." For the sixth, nature hath made the murderer to expect what he hath committed.|| For the seventh, Flee the name of an adulterer, if thou wilt escape death.¶ For the eighth, Demosthenes against Timocrates repeateth it as Solon's Law, plainly in the very words.** And for false witness, the Romans did punish it by their twelve tables.†† But the incarnation of Christ, the Sacraments, the Trinity, the Decree of God, are matters of a deeper speculation; wherein humility must follow the direction of Faith, and not seek vainly with curiosity to know that, which our silly weakness is far unable to comprehend. For, as those things that are manifest are not to be neglected, so those things that are hid, are not to be searched; lest in the one we be unlawfully curious, and in the other be found dangerously unthankful.‡‡ Now specially for the matter of the Trinity, wherein you take exception in your two first Articles; doubtless there are few errors more dangerous, or that have stirred up greater tragedies in the church of God. §§ All men see in nature, that there is a God; but the distinction of persons, Trinity in Unity, that, Faith, in humility, must teach us to believe. For who can comprehend by reason, that in that holy and sacred Trinity, one is what three are, and that two is but one thing; and in themselves and every particular infinite; and all in every one, and every one in all, and all in all, and one in all. Fire hath three things, motion, light, and heat: Arius, divide this if thou canst, and then divide the Trinity? Out of this difficulty, together with the rash presumption of ignorant men, have proceeded those dangerous errors, that so long and so hotly have troubled the Church: thus the Manichies have denied the unity of Essence; the Valentinians (or Gnostics) from Carpocrates, held that Christ was man only,

* Gen. xxxviii. 23. † *Ibid.* xx. 3. ‡ Diodorus Sicul. § Fustibus cæditur.

|| Homicida quod fecit expectat.

¶ Fuge nomen mæchi si mortem fugies.

** Stephanus ex Nicostrato.

†† Tarpeio Saxo deiciatur. Leg. 12. Tabul.

‡‡ "Quæ deus occulta esse voluit, non sunt scrutanda; quæ autem manifesta fecit, non sunt negligenda; ne et in illis illicite curiosi, et in his damnabiliter inveniantur ingrati." PROSPER. *de vocat Gentium*.

§§ "Nec periculosius alicubi erratur, nec laboriosius aliquid quæritur, nec fructuosius aliquid invenitur." AUG. lib. iv. *de Trinitat.*

from both sexes born; but that he had such a soul, which knew all things that were above, and shewed them.* Those that have in their erroneous doctrine oppugned the Trinity, are of two sorts; they have either denied the distinction of Persons, or else the sameness of Essence: thus the Arians (for we will not stand to encounter or confute all other heresies) held that Christ was a person before his incarnation; but that he was true and eternal God, equal and of the same essence with his Father, that they denied; for they hold that the Son is not eternally begotten of the substance of his Father, and so that there is an inequality, and indeed a distinction, and priority of essence. Into this dangerous and ignorant blind heresy, confuted long since with powerful and strong reasons, it seems you are of opinion that Master HOOKER is fallen, both against the truth and against the true assertions of the Reverend Fathers of our church. The ground of this so great and so uncharitable accusation, is because he saith, that "The Father alone is originally that Deity which *Christ originally* is not."† Where you seem to infer, against the distinction of the Trinity, that the Godhead of the Father and the Son cannot be all one, if the Son be not originally that Deity. It seems then in your opinions, that this speech uttered very learnedly, and with great wisdom, and truth; "The Father alone is originally that Deity which Christ originally is not," is both unusual, new, and dangerous. First, because it weakeneth "the eternity of the Son, in the opinion of the simple, or maketh the Son inferior to the Father in respect of the Godhead, or else teacheth the ignorant that there may be many Gods."‡ I know your own Christian judgments could easily have freed him from all suspicion of error in this point, if your charity had been equal to your understanding: for he himself hath confessed in the very same place from whence you have taken this whereof you accuse him; that "By the gift of eternal generation, Christ hath received of the Father one, and in number the selfsame substance, which the Father hath of himself unreceived from any other." Who seeth not, saith St. Augustine, that these words, Father, and Son, shew not the diversities of natures, but the relation of persons; and therefore the Son is not of another nature and of a divers substance, because the Father is God, not from another God, but the Son is God from God his Father: "here is not declared the substance but the original; that is, not what he is, but from whence he is, or is not."§ for in God the Father, and in God the Son, if we inquire the nature of them both, both are God, and but one God, neither greater nor less in essence of Godhead, one than the other. But if we speak

* Aug. Tom. VI. Ser. 7.

† Vol. II. p. 182.

‡ [Vol. II. p. 183.]

§ "Hic non indicatur substantia, sed origo, id est, non quid sit, sed unde sit, vel non sit." AUG. Epist. 66. *ad Maxim.*

of the original, saith St. Austin (which you see Master Hooker did) the Father is God originally, from whom the Son is God ; but there is not from whom the Father hath originally his deity. So that to mislike this kind of speech is, contrary to all truth, to affirm, that the Son is not eternally begotten of the Father, and that the Father is not eternally a deity begetting. But here you must take heed of the error of Arius, who against the truth reasoned thus ; If the Son be co-eternal with his Father, tell us, we beseech you, whether he were begotten when he was, or when he was not ; if when he was, then there was before two unbegotten, and afterwards one begot the other ; if when he was not, then he must needs be later, and after his Father. But saith St. Augustine, as we have known only the Father always and without beginning to be unbegotten ; so we confess, the Son always and without beginning to be begotten of his Father : therefore, because the Father is originally that Deity, from whence the Son is the Son ; though he be the same Deity, yet the Father alone, is originally that Deity, which the Son originally is not. The want of Identity being not in the Deity (whereof we must needs with the Church of God acknowledge an Unity) but in that it is not originally the same. "For every thing that is a beginning, is a father unto that which cometh of it, and every offspring is a son unto that out of which it groweth." "Christ then being God, by being of God, light by issuing out of light," though he be the same deity (for in the Trinity there is but one deity) yet the Father is originally that Deity alone, which Christ originally is not. Here, if you note but the difference betwixt that "Deity," and "originally that Deity," you must needs confess that Mr. Hooker speaketh with the consent of reformed antiquity, and hath said nothing to diminish the eternity of the Son, or to make him inferior, in respect of his Father ; or to teach the ignorant, that there be many Gods.

ARTICLE II.

THE CO-ETERNITY OF THE SON, AND THE PROCEEDING OF THE HOLY GHOST.

IN this Article, the thing which you mislike is not any matter of his judgment, but that he seemeth to confess, either out of less learning than you have or more humility than you shew, that "the co-eternity of the Son of God with his Father, and the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, are in Scripture no where to be found by express literal mention:"* and yet you cannot be ignorant, but that undoubtedly he believed both. Therefore, in my opinion, it is strange,

* [Vol. I. p. 133.]

why, out of the Second and Fifth Article holden by our Church, you allege, that "The Son is the Word of the Father, from everlasting begotten of the Father;" and, "The Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son;" as though you dealt with an adversary that denied either. You could not be ignorant (having perused his writings with that diligence to reprehend), but in this great mystery of the Trinity,—both concerning the equality of the Son with the Father, and the Deity of the Holy Ghost who proceedeth from both,—see plainly that he held directly and soundly that doctrine which is most true, and every way agreeable with the judgments and expositions of the Reverend Fathers of our Church. Neither do I know whether, in this point, any of them have left behind them a more sound, learned, and virtuous Confession, than he hath done. For, saith he; "The Lord our God is but one God. In which indivisible unity, notwithstanding, we adore the Father, as being altogether of himself; we glorify that consubstantial Word, which is the Son; we bless and magnify that co-essential Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the Holy Ghost."* What confession can there be, in this point; of greater judgment, learning, and truth? and wherein there is less difference with that which our Church holdeth? both having their ground, as you may see by the places alleged by Mr. Hooker in the margin, from the infallible evidence of God's Word. This troubleth you, that he saith, that these points "are in Scripture no where to be found, *by express literal mention.*" which you, out of your learned observation, have proved (as you think) to be far otherwise, by those places of Scripture, which his careless reading and weak judgment, was no way able to observe! Where, first, to prove the co-eternity of the Son, you allege, "The Lord hath possessed me in the beginning of his way; I was before his works of old."† And again, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."‡ And again, "Glorify me, thou Father, with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was."§ These places I confess, by way of collection, may serve, truly to confirm in this Article, that which our Church holdeth; (and yet they are not the plainest places that might be alleged for this purpose). But in all these, where is there to be found "*express literal mention,*" of the "co-eternity" of the Son, with the Father? Nay, for any thing that ever I could read, I do not think you are able to find the word co-eternal, or co-equal, in the whole Scripture in this sense. For after the Arians had long in this point troubled the Church, the holy Fathers express what they held, by the word "Homousion;" which word St. Augustine affirmeth, not to be found in all the Scripture.||

* Vol. II. p. 172.

§ John xvii. 5.

† Prov. viii. 22.

|| Aug. Tom. II. epist. 174.

‡ John i. 1.

What then hath Master Hooker said; which St. Augustine said not long since? neither of them disproving the thing, but both denying the "express literal mention" of the word; which I persuade myself yourselves are never able to find.

Now, for "the proceeding of the Holy Ghost," you allege, as you say, express words: "When the Comforter shall come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth of the Father:"* Out of this place (as you think) you have sufficiently proved, the "express literal mention" of this point: we contend not with you, nor with any, Whether the truth of this point may directly be warranted by holy Scripture; but, Whether there be, as you say, "express literal mention." First then we call that "express literal mention," which is set down in plain terms, and not inferred by way of consequence: that it is so in this point, we have some reason to doubt until, out of your great observation, you confirm it by more plain and apparent Scripture. For against this place (which is but one) which you have alleged, we take this twofold exception; as thereby accounting it insufficient to prove, as you would have it, that there is "express literal mention" of the proceeding, of the Spirit from the Father and the Son. For first, in that place alleged out of St. John, there is no mention at all of proceeding from the Son. Secondly, as Master Beza (whose authority you will not deny) doth expound the place, Christ speaketh not of the essence of the Holy Ghost in himself, but of the virtue and power of the Holy Ghost in us:† neither doth his interpretation (which we will not examine at this time) any way prejudice the foundation of that truth, which our Church doth hold. For the Deity of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father, and the Son, though not by any "express literal mention," yet may easily be proved by infinite places of Scripture, and other infallible demonstrations besides this. In the days of Liberius the Pope, and of Constantius the Emperor, certain fantastical spirits held, That the Holy Ghost was not God; but only the ministerial instrument of divine working. This began under Arius, and increased by Eunomius, a leprous heretic, but a subtle Logician; whom the Church hath strongly confuted, with arguments impossible to be answered. As first, that the Holy Ghost is every where; to give all things: to know and search all things;‡ that we are commanded to baptize "in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:"§ besides the greatness of the sin against the Holy Ghost:¶ So Ananias that lied, as Peter said, "to the Holy Ghost, lied not to man, but to God."¶ These and many such places, warranted those

* John xv. 26.

† Psal. cxxvi. 1 Cor. ii. 10. James i.

‡ Matt. xii. 31.

† In Comment. in Johan. xv. 26.

§ Matt. xxviii. 20.

¶ [Acts v. 3.]

ancient Councils to conclude the Deity of the Holy Ghost, equal to the Father and the Son; and equally proceeding from both. As first; the Council of Constantinople, consisting of an hundred and fifty Bishops, under Theodosius the elder, and Damasus the Pope, which condemned the heresy of the Macedonians.* The same faith was confirmed by the Council of Ephesus; the Council of Chalcedon;† the Council of Lateran, under Innocentius the Third,‡ and divers others. And Athanasius himself maketh it most plain, That the Father is of none, either made, created, or begotten: the Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten: the Holy Ghost is from the Father, and the Son, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. In this, nothing being first, or last, greater, or less; but all the three persons, co-eternal and co-equal. The proceeding of the Holy Ghost (as the Schoolmen observe) is three-fold; one, unspeakable and eternal, whereby the Holy Ghost eternally, and without time, proceedeth from the Father and the Son; the other, temporal, when he is sent from the Father and the Son, to sanctify the elect. Of this latter proceeding saith Beza, is that place understood,—which you peremptorily allege, for to prove the first. So then we say, for our answer to this cavil, That as yet we see not “express literal mention” of these points; but that they are truly and soundly collected by the Church, we neither do, can, nor dare deny; secondly, That the denial of “express literal mention,” ought not to make any scruple in the minds of weak Christians, concerning these articles, the substance whereof are plain Scripture; though for the words we find not as yet any “express literal mention:” nor, last of all, (as you seem to fear) it can be no *underpropping* to the “traditions” of the Church of Rome; which if they can prove with the like necessary collection out of the holy Scripture, we are ready to embrace them with all our hearts. In the mean time, we account it a wrong to have an article of our faith, for want of “express literal mention” out of Scripture, to be compared to traditions of that kind, for which in Scripture there is no warrant at all. To conclude, then, this article, we say, That in the Trinity there is that Identity of essence—that it admitteth equality, but not plurality: the Father is one, the Son another, the Holy Ghost another, but not another thing.§ For that thing that they all are is this one thing, that they are one God. So that St. Austin saith, “I and my Father are one;” here both the words of the sentence, “one,” and “are,”—in that he saith “one,” he freeth thee from Arius; and in that he saith “are,” he freeth thee from Sabellius.|| For “are,” he would not say of one; and “one,” he

* About the year 381.

† 430.

‡ 451.

§ Aug. in Psal. lxxviii. Alius non aliud. Unum non unus.

|| Aug. Tom. IX. in Evang. Joh. tract. 36. Damasc. de Orthodox. Fid. lib. iii. cap. 6.

would not say of divers: for every person hath his own substance, which no other besides hath, although there be others besides which are of the same substance. For "the Persons of the Godhead, by reason of the unity of their substance, do as necessarily remain one within another, as they are of necessity to be distinguished one from another: because two are the issue of one; and one, the offspring of the other two; only of three, one, not growing out of any other. For sith they all are but one God in number, one indivisible essence or substance, their distinction cannot possibly admit separation; . . . the Father therefore is in the Son, and the Son in him; they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them:"* He that can, saith Austin, conceive, let him comprehend it, but he that cannot, let him believe, and pray that that which he believeth, he may truly understand.†

ARTICLE III.

WHETHER THE HOLY SCRIPTURES CONTAIN ALL THINGS NECESSARY TO SALVATION ?

Two things are requisite to man's better life ; a Faith to believe what he ought, a Knowledge to comprehend what he must believe. For, saith our Saviour, in "this is eternal life, to know thee to be the only very God ; and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ."‡ Because, therefore, the want of this knowledge is the cause of all iniquity amongst men ; as, contrariwise, the very ground of all our happiness, and the seed of whatsoever perfect virtue groweth from us, is a right opinion touching things divine ; this kind of knowledge we may justly set down, for the first and chiefest thing which God imparteth to his people ; and, our duty of receiving this at his merciful hands, for the first of those religious offices wherewith we publicly honour him on earth. Now our Church holdeth, and we most willingly confess, that the Scripture is the true ground of all that holily we believe. But yet for all that, not the only means, concerning God, of all that profitably we know. For that new impression, made into our nature, even by the hand of the Almighty, after the first sin ; and the wise beholding of his excellent workmanship, in the making of all his creatures, are two volumes wherein we may read (though not directly) the mercy of that power, that hath saved us ; yet, the greatness, and the might of that hand that hath first made us ; which though it be not all that we must believe, yet it is not the least part of that which we ought to know. For this, as it maketh us without excuse, so it serveth even to lead us to a better knowledge : and (until it be perfect) to utter out of the light of nature,§ those voices, which

* Vol. II. p. 195.

† Johu xvii. 3.

‡ Aug. Tom. VI. cont. Max. lib. iii. epist. 10.

§ Rom. i. 20.

may argue us, though not to be sons (for by this we cannot cry "Abba, Father*") yet to be reasonable creatures of that power which we do adore; this made Euripides in Troas,† and many of the heathen, to utter those prayers, which had they been offered up in Christ, had not been unbecoming a good Christian: so that though "the Scriptures contain all things, which are necessary to salvation;" and that "our chiefest direction," is from them; yet we are not afraid to confess, that there is besides a "light of Nature" not altogether unprofitable; the insufficiency whereof is, by the light of Scripture, fully and perfectly supplied: and that both these together, as Master Hooker affirmeth, which you mislike, "do serve in such full sort, that they both jointly, and not severally either of them, be so complete, that unto everlasting felicity we need not the knowledge of any thing more than of these two;"‡ I cannot but marvel that men endowed with reason should find any thing in this assertion, which, in the hardest construction, might be wrested as detracting from the sufficiency of the holy Scripture: And only for this cause, by reason that we read darkly, by "the light of Nature," those first elements out of a natural knowledge, which, by the access of a better teacher, serve afterward for the full perfecting of that knowledge which is requisite to man's salvation. For, as the Schoolmen say, man standeth in need of a threefold Law, to a moral uprightness, setting aside that righteousness requisite for his heavenly country. First, an eternal Law (which St. Austin calleth "the chiefest reason"§); secondly, natural; last of all, human; unto which, if we add that man, over and besides these, is in an ordination to a supernatural end,|| then it is manifest, that to make him a heavenly Citizen there is requisite a fourth Law, which man must learn to obey, out of the holy Scripture. But as in the greatest and fairest buildings, even those stones that lie lowest are of an use not be contemned; though peradventure, not comparable to those last, exquisite, perfections, by which the work is finished; so even "the light of Nature," for the acting of moral virtues, hath his [its] use, though not absolutely complete, to make us Christians. And, therefore, in the nature of man's will, the very Philosophers did seldom err; but in the strength of it, often. So that some ascribed more than was fit; others less than they ought; imputing all to a stoical and fatal Necessity. Now that we may truly understand (the ignorance or mistaking whereof, hath been the ground of your exception in this Third

* [Rom. viii. 15.]

† "O terræ vehiculum, et in terrasedem habens. Quisquis tandem es inaccessæ nostris animis Jupiter; sive naturæ ordo sic ferat, sive mens mortalium te venerer: omnia enim secreta, et sine strepitu qui facis incedere via, et justo libramine mortalia et humana." Eurip. in Troas.

‡ Vol. I. p. 136.

§ "Summam rationem." *De Libero. Arbit.* lib. i. cap. 6.

|| Cajetan. ad summam Aquinatis, in quest. 9. 2.

article), what good things man of himself may do or know without the grace of God ; we are taught first, That all actions are of three sorts ; Natural, which are common to man with the brute beasts ; as to eat, sleep, and such like, which appertain to his natural life : Secondly, Civil, which we call political, or moral, human actions ; as to buy, sell, to learn any art, and to conclude any other action, which concerneth the politic, or private society of man : Thirdly, those which belong to the kingdom of God ; to a perfect, happy, and true Christian life ; as, to repent us of our sins, to believe in God, to call upon him, to obey his voice, to live after his precepts, and such like : now the question is, What grace and power is requisite to man, to perform any, or all these ? Where we must observe, that some men (how properly I know not) make the grace of God to be threefold. First that general motion and action divine, of which Saint Paul saith, " in him we live, we move, and have our being."* This the Schoolmen call a " general overflowing ;"† and of the late writers, especially of Luther, it is called " the action of the omnipotency ;" and this grace is common to all, that are within that compass to be called creatures. Secondly, there is a grace of God, which is a special favour of God, by the which he bestoweth and divideth his gifts and moral virtues, both to the faithful and unfaithful, as pleaseth him.‡ To the faithful, that having the help afterward of a better light, they may serve to be means of their salvation ; to the unfaithful, for special uses, and manifold, in the society of man, and to make themselves, in the end without excuse. Such were those gifts in the Romans and others of the heathen, of justice, fortitude, temperance, prudence, which they thought, were from nature ; but we acknowledge to be from the special favour of God : for as Being, so Truth is but one, and by whomsoever it is done, or spoken, it proceedeth from the Holy Ghost ;§ and therefore I both marvel at those, who make an opposition betwixt this light of nature and the Scripture ; being both from one fountain, though running in divers streams ; and that some men peevishly refuse the excellentest truths, of heathen learning, seeing even in them, these have proceeded from the Holy Ghost.|| Thirdly, there is a grace of regeneration, or the grace of Christ, without which, there can be nothing performed of man truly good ; for saith our Saviour, " Without me, you can do nothing ;"¶ and St. Paul, " Not I, but the grace of God which is with me ;"*** so that this must be the perfection of the other two, which is powerful to man's salvation, not razing out that which before was, but finishing that which before was

* Acts xvii. 28.

† Superfluous generalis.

‡ 1 Cor. xii. 11.

§ " Veritas a quocunque dicatur a Spiritu Sancto est." AMBROS.

|| " Si unicum veritatis fontem Dei Spiritum esse reputamus, veritatem ipsam neque respiciemus neque contemnimus ubicunque apparebit." CALVIN. *Inst.* lib. ii. cap. 2. sect. 15.

¶ John xv. 5.

*** 1 Cor. xv. 10.

imperfect. The two first, enduing man with a "passive power" (as the Schoolmen call it), which though actually it can do nothing, yet it is fit to perform that which it hath no repugnancy in his [*its*] own nature to resist; as wood can be made fire, which water cannot. The last only affording that actual power, which maketh him capable of the supernatural work; so that it is true in divinity, that "The possibility to have faith, is from nature; but to have it, it is of grace," (as St. Austin and Prosper hold;)* neither of them understanding an actual having of faith without the grace of regeneration. This made the Fathers, in their sermons to the people, to stir them up to prayer and good works; to tell them often, that we can love God, and do good works; whereunto they only meant that we had a "passive power," which stocks and brute beasts have not. Now for the *active* power, we hold, That man hath not this in natural things, without the general help of God; and in moral actions, or the learning of arts, not with that general help only (which hath been some men's error), but from a more special and peculiar grace: the weakness of those common notions of good and evil, just and unjust, left in our nature by a new impression, after sin, is for the most part such, that they can hardly discern any thing, no not in arts, unless they be enlightened from above. And therefore, that Numa amongst the Romans; Solon amongst the Athenians; Lycurgus amongst the Lacedemonians; and that many other amongst the Gentiles, were wise, and in that kind virtuous; was not so much from nature, as from a special grace: whose moral works, saith St. Austin, "were good in their office and action, but not in their end."† This argument he very learnedly handleth, against Julian the Pelagian; where he concludeth two things; That there can be no true virtues, or truly chaste works in Infidels; and, That those works whatsoever they are, are not from nature, but from a special grace. The having whereof, though it serve not of itself to salvation, yet we are not afraid to affirm, that the want of these do ordinarily exclude from salvation: Justice, fortitude, temperance, and prudence, being the effects of the same grace, but less powerfully working; faith, hope, and charity, only taught by a supernatural truth. So that though "the light of nature," teach a truth necessary to salvation, without the Scripture, yet it teacheth no knowledge, which is not contained in holy Scripture; the difference only being in this, That "the light of nature," doth not teach all that the Scripture doth; but that the Scripture teacheth all (and more perfectly) which is taught by "the light of nature:" herein only neither excluded as unnecessary; the one, being subordinate to the other; and both, means of the same thing. To conclude then

* "Posse habere fidem, est naturæ; habere, gratiæ." AUST. *et* PROSP. *cont. Cassianum*.

† "Officio et actione bona sunt, sed non fine." AUST. Tom. VII. lib. iv. cap. 3.

this point ; we hold (being warranted by holy Truth,) That the Scriptures are the perfect measure and rule of faith ; and, that without Christ, we cannot be complete ;* and yet for all this, that Nature, so enlightened, teacheth those moral virtues, without which, is no ordinary salvation ; but we say not, That matters and cases of salvation be determined by any other law, than warranted by holy Scripture ; or that we are or can be justified, by any other than in Christ, “by faith without the works of the law :”† “for there is no other name, which is given under heaven, amongst men, by which we must be saved.”‡ “The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God ; for they are foolishness unto him :” § for “except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of heaven.”||

ARTICLE IV.

HOLY SCRIPTURES ABOVE THE CHURCH.

THOUGH the unthankfulness of man be without excuse, even from the *brightness* that riseth from looking upon all the Creatures ; which with their beams shineth into the darkest corners of man's heart, yet in His mercy, he hath not left him altogether destitute of a better guide. The first, serving to teach him, that there is a God ; the latter, what that God is, and how he will be worshipped by man. This *light* we call the Scripture ; which God hath not vouchsafed to all, but to those only whom he gathereth more nearly and familiarly to himself, and vouchsafeth that honour to be called his Church ; that, as men through infirmity seeing weakly, provide unto themselves, the help of a better sight ; so, what man cannot read, by the dimness of his seeing, out of the Creatures, he may more apparently read them, in the holy Scriptures. For as there is no salvation without religion ; no religion without faith ; so there is no faith without a promise, nor promise without a Word : for God, desirous to make an union betwixt us and himself, hath so linked his Word and his Church, that neither can stand where both are not. The Church for her part, in her choice allowance, testifying, as well that it is the Scripture ; as the Scripture, from an absolute authority, doth assure us that it is the Church. For as those who are converted, have no reason to believe that to be the Church, where there is no Scripture ; so those who are not converted, have no great reason to admit that for Scripture, for which they have not the Church's warrant. So that, in my opinion, the contention is unnatural and unfit, to make a variance, by comparison, betwixt those two who are, in reason and nature, to support each other. It was a memorable atonement that Abraham made with Lot, “Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me, neither

* Deut. iv. 2. Gal. i. 8. John xx. ult. 2 Tim. iii. 16. Rom. x. 17 ; xv. 4. Eph. ii. 20.

† Rom. iii. 28.

‡ [Acts iv. 12.]

§ 1 Cor. ii. 14.

|| John iii. 3.

between thy herdsmen and my herdsmen, for we be brethren ; " * so, undoubtedly, may the Church and the Scripture say : it is, then, to be feared that those who treacherously make this contentious comparison betwixt both, are, in very deed, true friends to neither. For though we dislike of them by whom too much, heretofore, hath been attributed to the Church ; yet we are loath to grow to an error on the contrary hand, and to derogate too much from the Church of God : by which removal of one extremity with another, the world, seeking to procure a remedy, hath purchased a mere exchange of the evil, which before was felt. We and our adversaries confess, that the Scriptures in themselves have great authority ; inward witness from that Spirit, which is the author of all Truth ; and outward arguments, strong motives of belief, which cleaveth firmly to the Word itself. For what doctrine was ever delivered with greater majesty ? What style ever had such simplicity, purity, divinity ? What history, or memorial of learning, is of like antiquity ? What oracles, foretold, have been effected with such certainty ? † What miracles, more powerful to confirm the truth ? What enemies ever prevailed less or laboured more violently to root it out ? To conclude, What witnesses have died with more innocency or less fear, than those that have sealed the holiness of this Truth ? This the Scripture is, in itself ; but men who are of less learning, than these Reformers are, do not unworthily make question, How that which ought thus highly to be esteemed for itself, cometh to be accounted of thus honourably by us ; for the weakness of man's judgment doth not ever value things by that worth which they do deserve. For, undoubtedly, out of that error hath proceeded your suspicion of him, whose inward worthiness must now be content to receive testimony from a witness by many thousand degrees inferior to himself. To them of Samaria the woman gave testimony of our Saviour Christ ; ‡ not that she was better, but better known ; for witnesses of less credit, than those of whom they bear witness, but of some more knowledge than those to whom they bear witness, have ever been reputed to give a kind of warrant and authority unto that they prove. Seeing then the Church, which consisteth of many, doth outwardly testify what every man inwardly should be ; to swerve unnecessarily from the judgment of the whole Church, experience as yet hath never found it safe. For that which by her ecclesiastical authority she shall probably think and define to be true, or good, must, in congruity of reason, overrule all other inferior judgments whatsoever. And to them (that out of a singularity of their own) ask us Why we thus hang our judgments on the Church's sleeve ? we answer with Solomon, " Two are better than one ; " §

* Gen. xiii. 8.

† John iv. 39.

† 1 Kings xiii. 2. Isai. xlv. 28 ; xlv. 1.

§ Eccles. iv. 9.

for even in matters of less moment, it was never thought safe, to neglect the judgment of many, and rashly to follow the fancy and opinion of some few. If the Fathers of our Church had had no greater reason to avouch their forsaking of the "Antichristian Synagogue," (as you call it) than this point; we might justly have wished to have been reconciled to the fellowship and society of their Church. For this point, as it seemeth rightly understood, affordeth little difference betwixt them and us; and therefore there was no mention of it in the last Council their Church had.* And Bellarmine himself doth, apparently, complain, that we wrong them in this point; for doubtless it is a tolerable opinion of the Church of Rome, if they go no further (as some of them do not) to affirm that the Scriptures are holy and divine in themselves, but so esteemed by us for the authority of the Church; for there is no man doubteth but that it belongeth to the Church (if we understand as we ought those truly who are the Church) to approve the Scriptures, to acknowledge, to receive, to publish, and to commend unto her children. And this witness ought to be received of all as true; yet we do not believe the Scriptures for this only; for there is the testimony of the Holy Ghost, without which the commendation of the Church were of little value. That the Scriptures are true to us, we have it from the Church; but that we believe them as true, we have it from the Holy Ghost.† We confess it is an excellent office of the Church, to bear witness to the Scriptures; but we say not, that otherwise we would not believe them. We grant that the Scriptures rightly used, are the judge of controversies; that they are the trial of the Church; that they are in themselves a sufficient witness for what they are: but yet for all this, we are not afraid, with Master Hooker, to confess, that "it is not the Word of God which doth or possibly can assure us, that we do well to think it is the Word of God."‡ For "by experience we all know, that the first outward motion leading men so to esteem of the Scripture, is the authority of God's Church,"§ which teacheth us to receive Mark's Gospel, who was not an apostle, and refuse the Gospel of Thomas who was an Apostle, and to retain St. Luke's Gospel, who saw not Christ, and to reject the Gospel of Nicodemus that saw him. For though, in themselves, they have an apparent and great difference (as there must needs be betwixt Scripture and no Scripture) yet to those that are unable to discern so much, the matter stands overruled only by the authority of the Church. For though, as Master Hooker saith, the "Scriptures teach us that saving truth which God hath discovered to the world by revelation; yet it presumeth us taught otherwise, That itself is divine and sacred:"|| and therefore, the reading of the

* Of Trent.

§ Vol. I. p. 228.

† Dr. Whitaker.

|| *Ibid.* p. 227.

‡ Vol. I. p. 158.

Scripture in our Churches, is one of the plainest evidences we have of the Church's assent and acknowledgment that it is the Scripture : and yet, without any contradiction at all, whoso assenteth to the words of eternal life, doth it in regard of his authority whose words they are. Those with whom the Church is to deal are, often, heretics ; and these will much sooner believe the Church, than the Scriptures. Therefore saith St. Austin, (in that known place) " I had not believed the Scriptures, if I had not been compelled by the authority of the Church." * And howsoever the Church may seem now little to need her authority, because the greatest harvest of heresies is past ; yet we must not condemn her for all that, because even the weeds of heresy being grown unto a ripeness, do even in their very cutting down scatter, oftentimes, those seeds which for awhile lie unseen and buried in the earth, but afterwards freshly spring up again, no less pernicious than at the first. Therefore the Church hath, and must have, to the end of the world, four singular offices towards the Scripture.† First, to be a *witness* and keeper of them, as it were a faithful register : whose fidelity, in that behalf, unless we be bastard children, we have no reason at all to suspect ; witnesses of less truth and authority, having oftentimes the credit to be believed. Secondly, to discern and *judge* between false and adulterate, and that which is true, and perfect ; in this respect, it hath a property which other assemblies want ; to hear, and discern the voice of her Husband ; neither can she be thought a chaste spouse, who hath not the ability to do that. But as the goldsmith either in his balance, or with his touchstone, discerneth pure gold from other metals of less value, yet doth not make it ; so dealeth the Church, who hath not authority to make Scripture, that which is not ; but maketh a true difference from that which did only seem. Neither in this respect, is the Church above the Scriptures, but acknowledgeth in humility, that she is left in trust, to tell her children which is her husband's voice ; and to point out to the world (as John Baptist did Christ) a truth of a far more excellent perfection than herself is : as, if I doubted of a strange coin, wherein I rest satisfied in the resolution of a skilful man ; but yet valuing the coin for the matter and the stamp of the coin itself. The third office of the Church is to *publish*, and divulge ; to proclaim as a crier, the true edict of our Lord himself ; not daring (as Chrysostom saith) to add any thing of her own ;‡ which she no sooner doth, but the true subjects yield obedience, not for the voice of him that proclaimeth, but for the authority of him whose ordinances are proclaimed. The last is to be an *Interpreter* ; and in that following the safest rule (to make an undivided unity of the Truth incapable of contradiction) to

* Contra epist. fundamenti. cap. 5.

† Testis, Vindex, Præco, Interpres.

‡ Homil. i. ad Titum.

be a most faithful expositor of his [*its*] own meaning. Thus whilst the Church for that trust reposed in her, dealeth faithfully in these points, we are not afraid to acknowledge, that we so esteem of the Scriptures, as rightly we are led by the authority of God's Church. Those that are of that judgment, that they dare give credit without witness, though we follow not their example in overmuch credulity, yet we blame not their judgments in that kind. Touching therefore the Authority of the Church and the Scriptures, though we grant (as you say), that the Church is truly distinguished by the Scriptures; that the Scriptures (which is a strange phrase) "warrant the trial of God's word;"* and that it was ever believed for the Word's sake; yet without fear of "underpropping" any "popish principle" (as you term it) we say, that we are taught to receive it, from the authority of the Church; we see her judgment; we hear her voice; and in humility subscribe unto all this; ever acknowledging the Scriptures to direct the Church, and yet the Church to afford (as she is bound) her true testimony to the Scripture. For the verse of Menander, Aratus,† or Epimenides,‡ was, and had been ever but the saying of poets; had not the Church assured us, that it was uttered since, by an instrument of the Holy Ghost.

ARTICLE V.

OF FREEWILL.

IN searching out the nature of Human Reason, whilst we reach into the depth of that excellency which man had by creation; we must needs confess, that by sin he hath lost much who now is unable to comprehend all that he should; but we dare not affirm that he hath lost all, who, even in this blindness, is able to see something; and, in this weakness, strong enough, without the light of supernatural justifying grace, to tread out those paths of moral virtues which have not only great use in human society, but are also not altogether of a nature oppositely different from man's salvation. And therefore, the natural way to find out Laws by Reason, guideth, as it were by a direct path, the Will unto that which is good, which naturally having a freedom in herself, "is apt to take, or refuse, any particular object whatsoever being presented unto it."§ Which though we affirm, yet we neither say that Reason can guide the Will unto all that is good (for though every good that concerneth us hath evidence enough for itself, yet reason is not diligent to search it out); nor we say not, that the Will doth take or refuse any particular object; but is apt rather, noting the nature whereby it hath that power, than shewing the ability whereby it hath that strength. For though sin hath given

* [See Vol. I. p. 158.]

† Acts xvii. 28.

‡ Tit. i. 12.

§ Vol. I. p. 90.

(as the schoolmen observe) four wounds unto our nature ; “ Ignorance, Malice, Concupiscence, and Infirmity ;” the first, in the understanding ; the second, in the will ; the third, in our desiring appetite ; the last, in the irascible ; yet the Will is free from necessity and coaction ; though not from misery and infirmity. For (as St. Bernard saith) there is a threefold freedom ; from necessity, from sin, from misery : the first, of nature ; the second, of grace ; the third, of glory.* In the first, from the bondage of coaction, the Will is free in it [*its*] own nature, and hath power over itself. In the second, the Will is not free, but freed from the bondage of sin. And in the third, it is freed from the servitude of corruption. Now that freedom, by which the Will of man is named free, is the first only : and therefore we dare say, that the wicked, who have not the two last (being captives to sin in this life, and to misery in the life to come), yet for all this, want not the freedom of Will. Now this freedom of nature, as Aristotle noteth, is two-fold ; that which is opposite to a simple coaction, and that to which not only a coaction, but a necessity is opposite.† The first is of those things, which cannot by any means but be willed of us, and yet freely and voluntarily are willed ; as to be happy, which none can choose but will, though most do fail in the means : the second, when we can either will, or not will ; as to walk, speak, sit, or such like. Now because nothing is the proper, or the chief object of the Will, but that which either is, or seems to be, good, as all learned men affirm ;‡ therefore in our Wills, there is this usual error, That our understandings are deceived by the inferior appetite of the flesh, which maketh that seem good, in the particular proposition, which it pronounceth to be evil, in the general.§ And therefore, being by nature to will good, willeth that which is directly opposite ; because reason growing idle, in the sloth of an inferior appetite, wanteth diligence to search it out. Few men but think drunkenness in general to be evil ; which notwithstanding themselves do embrace, because in particular they think it good. This being the difference in all sin, that then it seemeth to be none, when it is—this sin. Thus, the conclusion, by the rules of Logic, being from the particular (wherein reason corrupted hath failed), the Will hath reason enough to follow that ; and therefore saith St. Austin, “ man using amiss the freedom of this Will, hath both lost it and himself ;” || not in respect of

* “ De gratia et libero arbitrio, &c.” P. LOMB. Sent. lib. ii. dist. 25. 1 Cor. vii. 36. Libera sed liberata. Rom. vi. 7. *Ibid.* iii.

† Aristot. Ethic. lib. iii. cap. 4, 5.

‡ Clem. Alexan. in Strom. Aug. Confess. lib. ii. cap. 6. Boeth. de Con. lib. iv. Damasc. de Fide, lib. ii. cap. 22. Arist. Eth. lib. i. cap. 1. Senec. de Ben. lib. iv. cap. 7.

§ “ In hypothesi bonum, in thesi malum.”

|| Aug. in Ench. cap. 30.

the natural liberty from coaction, but in respect of the liberty which is from sin, as Aquinas answereth.* St. Ambrose (or whosoever was the author of that book of The calling of the Gentiles) saith, That in man there is a threefold Will; Sensitive, Animal, Spiritual; the two first, he holdeth to be free; the last, to be the work of the Holy Ghost. For as one noteth, "There is in man an understanding of earthly things, and of heavenly:—*earthly* things, as of a policy, governing of families, arts, liberal and mechanical, and such like, which pertain not directly to God, to his kingdom, to the righteousness of it, to eternal happiness; *heavenly*, as the knowledge of the Divine Will, and framing our lives according to it. Of the first, we say, That because man is a sociable creature, and naturally inclineth to all that concern the preservation of that; there are left in him certain universal impressions, wherein, in all ages, wise men have conspired for the making of good Laws."† Which in my opinion is not much less, than that which you reprehend, being affirmed by Mr. Hooker. But the understanding of heavenly things, we confess, by the corruption of original sin, wholly to be taken from us. For natural things are corrupted, and supernatural taken away.‡ For we think not as some of the ancient Fathers did, especially the Greeks (who were loath to dissent too much from the Philosophers), That man was corrupted only in his sensual part, and that he hath Reason sound, and his Will also for the most part. For saith St. Austin, "Adam had that he might if he would; but not to will that he could."§ And therefore, in supernatural things (which are the works of piety, pleasing and acceptable to God), (of which is understood all that you allege out of the Tenth Article of the Church of England) we say, "The Will of man hath not obtained grace by freedom, but freedom by grace:"|| yet for all this, neither doth the Will want in his [*its*] own nature a potential freedom in all things, nor an actual powerful freedom in some things;¶ for the blow that sin gave, made not an equal disability to all actions; seeing all actions are not in equal distance from man's nature. For the thoughts and the actions of man, we know are of three kinds; natural, moral, supernatural; now there are many truths theoretical, and mechanical, contained in natural and human arts, which by man may be compre-

* Part I. quest. 83. art. 2.

† Calv. Inst. lib. ii. cap. 2. sect. 13. "Inspersum est universis semen aliquod ordinis politici." [*Ib. in fin.*]

‡ "Naturalia corrupta; supernaturalia ablata."

§ De Corrept. et gratia, ad Valent. cap. 2.

|| "Humana voluntas non libertate gratiam, sed gratia consequitur libertatem." AUG. *ubi supra.*

¶ "Cum vult non potest, quia quando potuit noluit: ideo per malum velle perdidit bonum posse." AUG.

hended, only by the light of nature: for though some divines are of opinion that no moral truth can be known of the understanding of man, in the state of nature corrupt, without the special help of God;* others contrary (as Albertus, Bonaventure, Scotus, Aquinas and divers others) yet all agree in this, That a man can know a moral truth in general, without any special grace; but that good that directly belongeth to eternal life he cannot. Now what, I pray you, doth our Church say less when it saith, That "without the grace of God (which is by Christ) preventing us, that we will, and working together while we will; we are nothing at all able to do the works of piety which are pleasing and acceptable to God?" Or, what in your opinion doth Mr. Hooker say more, when he saith That "there is in the Will of man naturally that freedom, whereby it is apt" (not able) "to take or refuse any particular object whatsoever, being presented to it?" or when he saith, "there is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath enough for evidence in itself if Reason were diligent to search it out:" the fault of man's error in election, arising out of the sloth of reason, not out of the nature of the good. And this sloth being nothing else but that heavy burthen wherewith we are laden by our first corruption. And therefore, in mine opinion, the accusation is directly false, whereby you would make him to say contrary to his words: that "Reason by diligence is able to find out any good concerning us." For he that saith that there is virtue enough in the pool to heal, if a man had power enough to put himself in; doth not affirm that man hath strength enough to do it; but that the pool had virtue, if he were able to do it.† But doubtless "we are dead in our sins, and trespasses;"‡ "we are not sufficient of ourselves to think any thing;"§ and yet, as Seneca saith, It is the gift of God that we live, for that he hath done without us; but it is an act of our own (not simply, but of ourselves helped) that we live well."|| "For many other things may unwillingly be done by us, but the act of believing, as it must be done in us, so it must be done willingly, and with us. And, therefore, saith St. Austin, there are three things necessary that supernatural mysteries may be perceived by us; first, a divine revelation from the Scriptures; a persuasion of that truth by miracles, or some other means; and last of all, the rule of the Will.¶ For, saith he, "a man may enter into the Church unwillingly; he may receive the sacrament unwillingly; but no man can believe but willingly." Now there is no difference betwixt the will, and the free-will (both being the rational power of desiring), but that the one

* Calv. Instit. lib. i. cap. 2. et lib. ii. cap. 2. Grego. Arimi. in Sent. 2. dist. 26. quest. 1. art. 1. Gaspar. Cassalius, de Quadripartita justitia, lib. i. cap. 32.

† John v. 7.

‡ Ephes. ii. 5.

§ 2 Cor. iii. 5.

|| "Deorum munus est quod vivimus, nostrum quod sancte vivimus." SENECA.

¶ Rom. x. "Imperium voluntatis." AUG. in Joham. tract. 36.

respecteth the end, and then it is called Will: the other respecteth the means, and then it is called Free-will. So the same power of understanding, as it respecteth the first principles, is called Understanding; as it respecteth the conclusion which is gathered by a discourse, from the principles, it is called Reason. Now this Reason concerning things doubtful, hath naturally in itself, a way to both opposites; but leaneth to that for the most part whereunto either appetite, ignorance, or grace sway it. So that though freely and without constraint, it follow naturally the wisdom of the flesh; yet without a supernatural grace, "the wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.* This being duly weighed with understanding, and considered of with a charitable humility, such as the cause requireth, every man may see (notwithstanding your accusation) that our Church in this neither differeth from the truth, nor Master Hooker at all from our Church.

ARTICLE VI.

OF FAITH AND WORKS.

WHERE charity hath not power enough to guide reason, there malice, out of ignorance, is able to make conclusions against sense. For the eyes being blinded, which, naturally, are to perform the best offices of seeing; the colours that are discerned otherwise, are little better than the false errors of a troubled fancy. For "where the light is darkness, how great must that darkness be?"† To attain, by a supernatural power, to that felicity, which is an act of the greatest mercy, as infinite numbers fail in the thing; so there are not a few, which utterly mistake the means. And whilst all that are Christians, acknowledge it to be a grace; eager contentions are stirred up, Whether it be imputed, or inherent, in us? And seeing in this act of justification, by the consent of all, man doth receive from God what he hath, the question is, What virtue must be in that hand, to enable weakness to receive such strength: and, how that faith must be accompanied, that is able to clothe our souls with the righteousness of another's merit? Here we have adversaries, whom peradventure we mistake, as they mistake us; making (as in other points) a misconstruction, to be the ground of a great difference; and the strongest opposition, to arise from hence; that neither part is willing to understand each other. Here, if we should but discover the least means of reconciliation, some hasty spirits would not stick to accuse us as more than partial; and that treacherously we sought to betray the cause. In that we purpose to set down what Truth warranteth in this behalf, it is rather to free him from suspicion whom

* Rom. viii. 7.

† Matt. vi. 23.

you do accuse, than that he in that wherein you accuse him, any way standeth in need of our weak defence. If man rightly value but the merit of the Son of God; and, how so humble, and innocent obedience, to so low a state, must needs in justice, make a full satisfaction, for so great a sin; he cannot choose but confess that "Only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ through faith, and not for works and our merits, we are accounted righteous before God."* If the soul of man, did serve only to give him being in *this* life, then things appertaining to this life would content him, as we see they do other creatures; which creatures, enjoying those things by which they live, they do seek no further, but in this contentation, do shew a kind of acknowledgment that there is no higher good which, any way, doth belong unto them. With man it is far otherwise; for although all inferior things were in the possession of one, yet he would ever with a desire thirst for something above all those; so that nature, even in this life, doth claim a perfection, higher and more divine than any thing in itself,† which man must receive in the reward: now rewards do always presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable;‡ our natural means unto blessedness are our Works, nor is it possible, that nature should ever find any other way to Salvation, but only this. Yet seeing that no man can say, since the foundation of the world, that his Works are pure, but that all flesh is guilty of that, for which God hath threatened eternally to punish; there resteth either no way unto salvation, or a way which must needs be supernatural, and above man's reach. Had Adam continued in his first estate, man's absolute righteousness and integrity in all his actions, had been the way of life to him and to all his posterity; though, peradventure, not in so large a manner as heavenly felicity doth import; the possession whereof, even the least moment, were too abundant a retribution. Yet now, we failing in that which was our duty, it were a thing impossible in nature, to obtain the other. The light of nature is never able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of bliss, but by performing exactly the works of righteousness. Therefore God hath prepared a supernatural way, namely that we do "believe;"§ "not that God doth require nothing unto happiness, at the hands of men (as Master Hooker saith), saving only a naked Faith (for Hope and Charity we may not exclude) but that without Faith all other things are as nothing;" this "being the ground of those other divine virtues." "The principal object of Faith, is that eternal verity, which hath discovered the treasures, of hidden wisdom in Christ; the highest object of Hope, is that everlasting goodness, which in Christ

* Art. 11. Eccles. Angl. de Hominis justificat.

† "Summa merces est ut ipso perfruamur." AUG. *de Doct. Christi*, cap. 6.

‡ Matt. vii. 11.

§ John vi. 29.

doth quicken the dead; the final object of Charity, is that incomprehensible beauty, which shineth in the countenance of Christ, the Son of the living God. The first beginneth here, with a weak apprehension of things not seen, and endeth in the beholding of God in the world to come. The second beginneth here, with a trembling expectation of things far removed, and as yet, but only heard of; and endeth with a real and actual fruition, of that which no tongue is able to express. The third beginneth here, with a weak inclination of heart towards him, unto whom, we are not able to approach, and endeth with an endless union; the mystery whereof, is higher, than the reach of the thoughts of men.* And howsoever the apprehension of that righteousness whereby man is justified, be properly but the work of one, yet we dare not (neither do any learned in our Church) make Faith to be naked of other virtues; and therefore it is so much the more strange, that you follow the error which our adversaries have accused us for, as though it were an opinion holden by our Church. In this article against Master Hooker, you say, that God requireth no more at the hands of men, unto happiness, than "a naked belief." And a little after; "We claim nothing, by any duty we do, or can do, or any virtue which we find in ourselves, but only by that naked faith," &c. In these assertions (which in my opinion are repugnant to our Church), and, in the best construction, make but a harsh sound; what do you else, but discover that error which they of the Church of Rome, by a mistaking, have thought us to hold? as though it were our doctrine, that we could be justified, by a Faith that were merely "naked?" Luther striving to shew how little our Works did, in the merit of man's Salvation, speaketh somewhat harshly, when he saith, "Faith without and before we have charity, doth justify."† And in another place (both which are not unjustly called in question by those of the Church of Rome) he saith; "Faith unless it be without even the least good Works, doth not justify; nay, it is no faith.‡ But Master Calvin speaketh in this, better than either Luther or you; Faith alone justifieth, but not that faith which is alone.§ For if our Church held a "naked" Faith (which none that were wise ever did), might not all the world justly accuse us as enemies to good Works? The most of the learned in Germany held a necessity of good Works; "not a necessity of effecting, but a necessity of presence;"|| for we are saved doubtless by grace, but

* Vol. I. p. 125, 6.

† "Fides et sine et ante charitatem justificat." LUTH. *in* 2. *ad Gal.*

‡ LUTH. Tom. I. prop. 3. "Fides nisi sit sine ullis etiam minimis operibus non justificat, imo non est fides."

§ In Anti Concil. ad art. 11. sess. 6.

|| Melancthon. Brent. Chemnis. Calvin. Inst. lib. iii. cap. 16. "Necessitas presentie, non efficientie."

(having years) we cannot ordinarily be saved unless we have good Works.* For Faith which we teach to justify, is not void of good Works; as Dr. Fulke answereth to the Rheims' objection.† And therefore, in another place, he saith, "the elect are always fruitful of good Works."‡ From hence, (seeing faith hath no assurance for itself either to God or to man) we exhort in our sermons to good Works, we persuade to humiliation, by fasting and weeping; which are (if they be truly penitent) means to blot out sin, through God's unspeakable and undeserved mercy. For as St. Paul saith, "Godly sorrow causeth repentance unto salvation, not to be repented of:"§ And therefore, saith St. Jerome, "fasting and sackcloth are the armour of repentance." "And that men please God by fasting (saith Dr. Fulke) as Anna, Tobie, Judith, Hester, we doubt nothing at all while we use it to the right end allowed of God; that is, humbling of ourselves, and chastising of our bodies that it [*they*] might be more obedient to the Spirit, and fervent in prayer."|| Nay, our solemn Fasts are, as Mr. Hooker saith, "the splendour, and outward glory of our religion; forcible witnesses of ancient truth; provocations to the exercise of all piety; shadows of our endless felicity in heaven; and everlasting records and memorials upon earth;"¶ which, it is great pity it is so much neglected, because even therein, they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto what we teach might only by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatsoever we believe. Now, that he saith, the "attainment unto any gracious benefit of God's unspeakable and undeserved mercy, the phrase of antiquity hath called by the name of Merit;"** this is that, wherein you desire to be resolved. And surely, he hath read little, who is ignorant that the heathen Masters of the Latin tongue, and the Fathers for antiquity, nearest unto those times, have used the word (*Merit*) far in another sense, than that whereunto the violence of some constructions have wrested it at this day.†† And Aquinas himself understandeth by the name of *Merit*, not a Work not due, which should deserve a reward; but a Work which mercifully, and by the goodness of God, a reward followeth. The phrase of the Latin doth properly make one to *merit* of another, and, as it were, to bind him to him who doth any thing which pleaseth and delighteth him, for whom it is done. Thus that place in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "To do good, and to distribute, forget not; for with

* "Gratia salvamur, sed non absque bonis operibus." CLEM. ALEXAND. *Strom.* 5.

† In Jac. ii. annot. 11.

‡ In Matt. xxv. annot. 3.

§ 2 Cor. vii. 10.

|| In Rhem. Test. Matt. xv. annot. 3.

¶ [Vol. II. p. 332.]

** [Vol. II. p. 340.] Meriting for obtaining: so in the Confession of Wittenburg.

†† Casaubon. in Pl. Epist. Mereri stipendia. Calv. Inst. lib. iii. cap.—sect. 2. Usi sunt (fateor) passim vetusti ecclesiæ scriptores, atque utinam vooluè unius (abusu) (so that it properly signifieth otherwise) erroris materiam posteris non præbuisent. Mark, the word (præbuisent) gave but only occasion.

such sacrifice God is *well pleased*.* Where they of Rhemes, following the Latin, *promeretur*, say "promerited;" shewing that they meant nothing else in ancient time, by Merit, but that delight, allowance, and contentment, which God taketh in those good things we do, and so rewardeth them. And Dr. Fulke confesseth that Primasius, who was St. Austin's scholar, used the same word, *promeretur*,† as it was taken amongst the vulgar at that day, far differing from the sense wherein it is now used. Thus much briefly, may serve for answer in this point; That Faith is not alone, though alone it justify; that though a man sin, (if he repent) his Faith may save him; that there are uses (nay excellent uses) of good Works, though they do not save us; and last of all, if posterity had not corrupted the word *merit*, that we would not be afraid to speak in the phrase of antiquity, and call our virtuous attainment (by mercy of grace) by the name of *merit*.‡

ARTICLE VII.

THE VIRTUE OF WORKS.

As goodness, so Truth being but one, whatsoever is opposite (be it never so carefully observed) in the course of a long stream, at the last foldeth itself in a contradiction. For falsehood hath no more strength to prove a truth; than truth hath weakness to beget a lie. Then, the ground of all true assertions concurring immoveably in that one first truth, of which all other inferior are but branches; whatsoever goeth about to disprove that, must of necessity, in his [*its*] own parts be divers, and imply a contrariety, seeing it laboureth to infringe the certainty of that which, eternally and unchangeably, is

* Heb. xiii. 16.

† Pleased.

‡ ["It cannot be denied by any modesty, but that the words *εὐαρεστῆσαι ὁ Θεός* signify that 'God is well pleased,' or God is pleased; and, therefore, that our translation is true, and the Vulgate not so, or at the least not so due. And the Vulgate, and the Jesuits after it, having so translated it before (in chap. xi. 5, 6), it is so much the greater fault there (in chap. xiii.) not to give the same weight of words in the translation, where the same valuation is in the original. And although the ancient writers, as Primasius following this translation, and Cyprian as they have alleged him before (p. 18 of their Pref.), use this word (*promeretur*), yet that they vary from this Popish sense of Meriting, this one sentence of Jerom doth notably declare; so much the more to be regarded as the Jesuits will needs have this translation [the Vulgate] Jerom's. Let therefore Jerom himself, the father, as they say, of this translation, expound himself. 'It is,' saith he (in Epist. ad Rom. cap. iv.), 'a great blessedness to deserve the grace of God without the labour of the Law and of Repentance, as when one receiveth a dignity of nought;' than which, what can be more pregnant to the advancement of God's free Grace, without all manner of Work? Look also at Pontianus (in Vita Cyp.) which was Cyprian's Deacon, who useth the same word that Cyprian declareth that his meaning is no other than that God is *pleased* with such good duties."—CARTWRIGHT'S *Confut. of the Rhemist Test.* p. 650.]

but one. Hence cometh it, that unskilful men (the grounds of whose opinions are but the uncertainties of their own ignorance) are thought to want memory whilst they contradict themselves; when indeed, the defect is in judgment, which cannot make Truth the ground of their knowledge; from which, if they swerve never so little, they do not sooner oppugn others, than cross themselves; truth admitting no coherence of contrarieties, seeing itself is but only one. From this hath proceeded that oversight of a great number, who speaking first against a truth uttered by others; come at length to speak even directly against themselves. Thus you that in the former Article, disputed of Faith, "naked" and destitute of all good Works, make your next step to those good Works that do accompany Faith. Where I understand not (but perhaps you do) why you call them good, if they arise not naturally out of Faith; or, why you call that Faith "naked," which is accompanied with these good Works. But, doubtless, there being a moral goodness, even where there is want of supernatural light; and the most certain token of that goodness being—if the general persuasion of all men do so account it; it cannot choose, but seem strange, that the approbation of these, should, in your opinion, be applied to those works that are done out of faith, after man is justified; seeing there is a good (as Mr. Hooker saith) that doth follow unto all things by observing the course of their nature; yet natural agents cannot obtain either reward, or punishment: for amongst creatures in this world, only man's observation of the law of his nature (because he hath will) is righteousness; only man's transgression sin. For even to do that, which nature telleth us we ought (howsoever we know it) must needs be acceptable in God's sight. How this, uttered out of great judgment to another purpose (namely, that good things are done, and allowed, whereof we have other direction than Scripture)* is by you wrested against the Articles of our Church, either concerning the perfection of Works which are with Faith, or the goodness of Works without Faith; to say plainly, I cannot yet understand! Therefore, as the dealing is unequal, to make him say what you list, so the advantage is too great, to make him an adversary to a cause of your own making; when the whole scope of his speech is to another purpose. For there is no indifferent reader but had he considered what Mr. Hooker speaketh, and to what end, in those places by you alleged; he must of necessity have wondered at your sharp and acute judgments, that would, without blushing, adventure to allege him to that end. But an opinion, doubtless, that these things would never be examined, gave that confidence to your first motion; which consideration would have

hindered, if you had but once dreamed to have been called in question. We should not, therefore, need in this, much to defend him; but, briefly resolve you, what our Church holdeth (and fitly) in this point. The "Articles of our Church which ye think are oppugned, are two; first, that "the fruits of Faith, cannot abide the severity of God's justice;" that man out of Faith, doth good Works, which, though they make us not just, yet are both acceptable, and rewardable:* I doubt not but it is a truth, whereof if ye had not been persuaded, this Letter of yours (profitable, as you think, to the Church, and pleasing to God), as all the rest of your writings in that kind, had lain buried, unborn, in those rotten sepulchres from whence into the world they did first come; whilst we are by that intermediate justice of Christ, made righteous, and have obtained a free remission of our sins, that we are termed just; there is with this mercy joined the Holy Ghost; which dwelling in us, maketh us fruitful to good Works; this reviving all parts from our natural corruption, reformeth us to a pure and willing obedience unto that revealed Will, which is the rule of all that we ought to do: yet, seeing we are clothed with corruption, there are, even in our best actions, those remainders of imperfection which serve to teach us thankfulness and humility, both arising from the consideration of our own weakness. And I doubt not, but even in this point, many of the Church of Rome (whose humiliation in their penitency of heart, seemeth far to exceed ours) are of this opinion, That even the best action performed in their whole life (as there are yet some few monuments spared from the covetous hand) if all points of it were considered with a straight view, sifting even the least circumstances which closely insinuate themselves out of our corruptions into our actions; they would (I say) confess, that there is something which tasteth of the flesh: which corruption, if either for want of a strict consideration we see not, or through a self-love could pardon, yet it is not able, in the feebleness of his [*its*] own nature, to abide the exact trial and severity of God's judgment. That law, the least transgression whereof is sin, is said to be fulfilled three ways; first "in Christ;"† and so all the faithful are said to fulfil the law, having his obedience imputed to them. Secondly, it is fulfilled by a divine acceptance; for God accepteth our obedience begun, as if it were perfect; seeing what imperfections are in it, are not imputed to us. For it is all one, not to be, and not to be imputed; "blessedness"‡ being the reward of both: and we know that there is no condemnation to those that are in Christ Jesus."§ Thirdly, it is fulfilled by us: an error I think scarce any do hold, saving only the Anabaptists. For that eternal

* [Vol. I. p. 94.]

† Rom. viii. 1. 1 Cor. i. 30.

‡ Psal. xxxii. 1.

§ Rom. viii. 1.

Wisdom, which hath led man by the Law unto Christ, hath set those bounds, which all men have broken, (the first commandment and the last*) to include all, as guilty of the breach of the whole law: For "our knowledge being but in part, it is not possible (saith St. Austin) that our love can be perfect."† And therefore, we conclude the first point, according to the Article of our Church, from which there is no syllable in Master Hooker that is different; That our Works, though they be good, and so esteemed and rewarded, yet they cannot abide the justice of the law, and the severity of God's judgment. The second point is, Whether the Works which are done before the grace of Christ, are not only not acceptable to God, but also have the nature of sin. In this we must use some care; for whilst men, justly disagreeing, have equally laboured to be different one from another; both in the end, have been equally distant from the truth. That there are excellent graces in the heathen, no man doubteth; and he must needs be far from reason and sense, who maketh no difference betwixt the justice, moderation, and equity of Titus and Trajan, and the fury, violence, and tyranny of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian; betwixt the unclean lusts of Tiberius, and the continency, in this respect, of Vespasian; in one word, betwixt the observation, and the breach of LAWS. For there is that difference betwixt just and unjust, that even the frame of nature (where sense wanteth) acknowledge a well being, by the observation of what it ought: and therefore, much more in those good Works, which because they missed of the right scope, we dare not call by the name of true, perfect, Christian virtues; yet for their very action, we are content (so long as they swerve not from the righteousness of the law of nature) to give them leave to be called by a better name, than only sins; and yet for all this, no man taketh them to be much better in the true severity of a hard construction; for those that are not regenerate, although they sin in their best observation of the moral law, yet it is much better to perform those offices than to perform them not; seeing "a part of that endeavour, though it be not mere righteousness, yet it is less sin."‡ We must, therefore, remember, that a Work is considerable, either in respect of the substance; or in regard of the manner of doing. In respect of the Work, all the actions of infidels are not sin; seeing they perform those things which are commanded, by the law of nature, of nations, of God; nay they are so far, in this respect, from being sins, that (as St. Austin saith) God doth plenteously reward them. But concerning the manner of working, all their actions are sin; as proceeding from a corrupt fountain; a heart that

* 1. Diliges Dominum Deum tuum, &c. 2. Non concupisces, &c.

† Aug. Tom. III. de Sp. et lit. cap. ult.

‡ Zanch. de Relig. lib. i. cap. 6.

wanteth true Faith; and directed to an end of less value than He is, whose glory ought to be the end of all we do. This is confessed even by our adversaries themselves, with whom seeing we do agree, there can be no suspicion that we should dissent from that which our Church holdeth; and this may serve rather to tell you what, in these points, is the judgment of our Church, than to defend him whose words you have wrested, to a far different sense.

ARTICLE VIII.

WORKS OF SUPEREROGATION.

THE nearness, oftentimes to evil, is warrant enough for suspicion, to accuse of evil; and because all errors are not equally distant from truth, some men, in their true assertions, are supposed, by weak judgments, not to differ at all from error. From hence cometh it, that those men (who have no other judgment but zeal; which is the best excuse I can make for your accusation in this article) have run so far, with a desire of safety, from those opinions that were thought dangerous, that they have come at length unto those that were much more dangerous, in truth. Which practice, though it argue a good care, yet it proceedeth from a timorous nature, wanting the ability to put a difference in the causes of true fear; so that this circumspection is but cowardliness; as he that were loath to be taken amongst his enemies' trenches, would get himself so far distant that he would outrun even the utmost limits of his own army. Thus have you dealt in this article; fearing to approve any thing that might tend to Supererogation, you have misliked even the allowance of those Works, which are good, and yet not commanded; for (say you) to hold, as Master Hooker doth, that God approveth more than he commandeth, what is it else, but to scatter even the grains of Popery, and to lead men, to those arrogant Works of Supererogation. Herein your fear, if it would have given you leave to have looked behind you, it may be peradventure, you would not have run away in such haste; especially in cases of no great danger. And therefore give me leave to tell you, that there is no treachery, no danger, no cause of flying, from this opinion. All the unforced actions of men, are voluntary; and all voluntary actions, tending to their end, have choice; and all choice presupposeth the knowledge of some cause, wherefore we make it; and, therefore, "It is no absurdity to think that all actions of men, indued with the use of reason are generally either good, or evil. And although whatsoever is good, the same is also approved of God, yet according to the sundry degrees of goodness, the kinds of divine approbation are in like sort multiplied: for some things are good, yet in so mean a degree of goodness, that men are only not disproved, nor

disallowed of God, for them: as that 'no man hateth his own flesh;'^{*} it is a matter of approbation, and allowance, but of no great, or singular acceptance. So saith our Saviour, 'if you do good unto them that do so to you; the very Publicans themselves do as much:.'[†] Wherein to come short of them, as it were a great vice, so not to exceed them, is no great virtue. "Some things in such sort are allowable, that they be also required as necessary to Salvation, by way of direct, immediate, and proper necessity final; so that without performance of such we cannot by ordinary course be saved; nor yet by any means be excluded from life, if we observe those."[‡] As nature gave light unto the former, so the Scripture is a guide to teach these; wherein, because all fail, it is the obedience and merit only of one, that must make all righteous, that must be saved. "Some things there are, although not so required of necessity, that to leave them undone excludeth from Salvation; yet notwithstanding, are of so great dignity and acceptance with God, that most ample reward in heaven is laid up for them. Of these we have no commandment in nature, or Scripture, that doth exact them, in particular, at our hands; yet those motives there are, in both, which may serve to draw our minds most effectually to the performance of them. In this kind there is not the least action but it doth somewhat make to the accessory augmentation of our bliss;"[§] which men have as much reason to desire, as to desire that they may be blessed; no measure of blessedness having power to content, saving only where the blessed wanteth capacity to receive greater. "Upon this dependeth, whatsoever difference there is between the states of saints in glory. Hereunto we refer whatsoever belongeth unto the highest perfection (for all perfection in this life is not equal) of man, by way of service toward God: hereunto that fervour and first love of Christians did bend itself, causing them to sell their possessions, and lay down the price at the blessed Apostles' feet;|| hereunto St. Paul, undoubtedly did aim, in so far abridging his own liberty, and exceeding that which the bond of necessary and enjoined duty tied him unto, to ease those Churches, to whom he preached,"[¶] with his handy labour:^{**} knowing that although it were not a duty which he was commanded, yet it was an advantage to his preaching, and acceptable to God; who doubtless approveth much more than he doth command. Thus when a man may live in the state of matrimony, seeking that good thereby which nature principally desireth; to make rather choice of a contrary life, in regard of St. Paul's judgment; he doth that which is manifestly allowed, and yet not commanded in

^{*} Ephes. v. 29.

[§] [Vol. I. p. 189.]

[†] Matt. v. 46. Vol. I. p. 188.

^{||} Acts iv. 31.

[¶] [Vol. I. p. 189.]

[‡] [*Ibid.* p. 189.]

^{**} 1 Thess. ii. 9.

God's Word;* because without any breach he might do otherwise. Thus, when a man—who might lawfully possess his riches, yet willingly doth bestow them to religious uses, virtuously embracing that poverty which he esteemeth as an advantage to eternal riches—doth that which argueth a greater perfection, and for which he hath warrant, though no precept at all; because that which is a great virtue in him, is not a fault simply in those that do not the like. Precepts and counsels having this difference, that the one is of absolute necessity, the other left unto our free election; where both tending to the same end, yet in this differ, That both tend not after the same manner: both looking at the means, but the one after a more exquisite, and excelling perfection. For every man being placed in this life betwixt the things of this world and spiritual good things, the more he cleaveth to these, the more perfect and excellent he is; and yet to cast them away wholly, is no precept of necessity, but an advice of greater perfection. He that obeyeth not a precept, is guilty of deserved punishment; but he that faileth of these counsels, only wanteth, without sin, that measure of perfection. “For it is not a fault not to vow, but to vow and to perform, it is a praise.”† He that performeth the one, shall have greater glory, but he that faileth in the other (without repentance) shall have certain punishment. Neither is it said, saith St. Austin, as thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill; so thou shalt not marry, for “those are exacted, this is offered: this if it be done, it is praised; those unless they be done, they are punished.”‡ For saith St. Jerom, where it is but advice, there is left a freedom; but where there is a precept, there is a necessity.§ Precepts are common to all; counsels the perfection of some few. The precept being observed, hath a reward; being not observed, a punishment: but a counsel, or advice, not observed, hath no punishment; and being observed, hath a greater reward. In these points all have not holden the same opinions; some thought these counsels to be of the same necessity with precepts; as those heretics called “Apostolici,” mentioned by St. Austin|| and Epiphanius.¶ Others esteemed them as things indifferent, and of no greater perfection.** Others as things forbidden;†† which error is accused by some of our adversaries, to be an opinion of our Church. He that, amongst us of learning, is most earnest in this point, is Peter Martyr; and all that any of them say, is but this; That these counsels are sin, if we esteem them as

* 1 Cor. vii. 6.

† “Non est criminis non vovisse, sed vovisse et reddisse est laudis.” *Aug. de Virg. cap. 14.*

‡ “Illa exiguntur, ista offeruntur, si fiant ista laudantur, nisi fiant illa damnantur.” *Aug.*

§ Hieron. ad Eustath.

|| Her. 40.

¶ Her. 61.

** Joviniani; Vigilantii.

†† Aug. Her. 82.

meritorious of themselves; That they are not sinful, but sometimes foolish; these men rather looking at the follies, which hath accompanied the superstition of some few, than the virtuous perfection, which attendeth upon the thing itself. Nay, there is none of any sound judgment in our Church, which doth not think, that willing poverty, humble obedience, and true chastity, are things very commendable, and do bring with them great advantage, to the true perfection of a Christian life; not that we can supermerit, by these, more than we ought;* but that by these, we do more, than without these we should: for nature, commonwealths, and religion, as they have a being, so they refuse not a perfection, and a being well.

ARTICLE IX.

NONE FREE FROM ALL SIN.

It cannot choose but seem strange, that this should be an act of many, which, in the most favourable construction, cometh far short of that wisdom which should be in one. But it may be peradventure (that as it falleth out in things natural) actions are then best done, when one doth but one; distraction being a let to a finite power, and usually arising from diversity of judgments. For all not looking with the same eyes, nor following the like principles of understanding, though they agree in the general to reprehend, yet, for the most part, they fail in a particular resolution of what they think worthy to be reprehended. And therefore, as in elections, whilst two of the worthiest are competitors, stiff factions unite themselves in allowance of a third inferior to both. It seemeth that you have dealt so in this article, wherein either all your consents made a hinderance to what you meant; or, a division made you agree to mislike a thing of the least importance. Wherein if you had not discovered a weakness to be pitied, you might justly have expected an answer of more learning; but as men failing, even in those things wherein it is no great virtue not to fail, add little unto any man that shall direct them (because it is small praise to teach that which is a shame not to know), so to omit our direction, even where we wonder that any man should need it, must needs be esteemed, in a high degree, an unexcusable neglect of a necessary duty. No man I think (not of those that are thought to be out of the compass of the Church) maketh a doubt whether all men sin; leaving the redemption of man, and so the freedom from sin, to him only who was eternally the Son of God. It was as necessary that he should be without sin, as it is certain that (except him) in many things we offend all. This is our frailty, That all of us do amiss, which we know; and the best of us do offend, when we

* "*Proficientem coronabo, non proficientem non punio.*" CHRYSOST.

know not; and therefore David with an humble heart, desired to be cleansed, from his "secret faults;" making that even a step, to keep him from "presumptuous sins."* As it is, therefore, an infirmity, that we do amiss in many things; so it is a virtue, that we would do amiss in nothing; this being the perfection of our country, and that the desire of our way: which, because (clothed with corruption) we cannot attain, we say daily (as we are taught) "Forgive us our trespasses." And they pray in vain to have sin pardoned, which seek not also by prayer to have sin prevented; yea every particular sin, except men can have some transgression wherewith they ought to have truce. "For although (saith Master Hooker) we cannot be free from all sin collectively" (that is in general, for so none was free saving only Christ) "in such sort that no part thereof shall be found inherent in us, yet distributively, at the least, all great and grievous actual offences, as they offer themselves one by one, both may, and ought by all means to be avoided; so that in this sense, to be preserved from all sin, is not impossible."† This assertion seemeth in your opinions to be untrue; and for proof, you allege, "that we which are baptized, and regenerated, in many things do offend all;" did ever Master Hooker deny this? Nay in the very same place, are not these his words, "In many things we do all amiss?" But say you, if that be so, how can we avoid all great and grievous sins? Or, if we can, why may we not be preserved also, from all "small" sins; and so being free from both small and great, "preserve our robe pure, to the coming of our Saviour Christ?" In these few words, in my opinion, are three of the most strange and most violent conclusions that I have ever read; and those which are by no means agreeable to any Church. First, we say, "In *many* things we offend all;" therefore say you, In *all* things we offend all. Secondly, we say, we may "avoid some particular great and grievous sins;" therefore say you, why not *less* also? as if it were all one, not to sin all, and not to sin at all. Thirdly, we say, that we are to pray, and hope to be preserved from any and "every special sin;" therefore, say you, "we may keep our robe pure, to the coming of Christ." I would be loath to make evil arguments worse by repeating; and therefore I have used a direct sincerity in rehearsing your own words; wherein I shall not need to bestow any labour to overthrow a ruinous building of such weakness; but only to tell you, in these points, what is the judgment and sentence of the whole Church. First, no man doubteth but that all men are sinners; for "all the imaginations of the thoughts of man's heart are only evil continually."‡ In "iniquity are we born, and in sin are we conceived;"§ "who can understand his faults?"||

* Psalm xix. 12, 13.

† Vol. II. p. 164.

‡ Gen. vi. 5.

§ Psalm li. 5.

|| Psalm xix. 12.

For "the heart is deceitful, and wicked above all things, who can know it?"* For "unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."† And "we are all by nature, the children of wrath."‡ In one word, none are free from sin, but he whom the blessed Virgin conceived, without the law of the flesh rebelling against the law of the mind; as St. Austin proveth most learnedly, by a cloud of witnesses of the ancient Fathers against Julian the Pelagian.§ Nay even they of the Church of Rome, shew by their exorcising before baptism, that they think none to be without sin; where we do not now dispute of the lawfulness of that use, but by that conclude that, in this point, they hold a truth. So that the main thing which you so seem to mislike, is a thing not holden or defended (saving in some particular case, as the Virgin Mary) by any that I know; for even that stream of original sin, hath overflowed all mankind, out of which daily proceed those great and innumerable multitudes of actual sins. Your three false conclusions seem to establish a threefold error, contrary to the doctrine of all Churches that are accounted Christian. First, that all sin is but *one* sin. Secondly, that all sins are *equal*. Thirdly, that all sins are *united*. The first, making no division of the *kinds* of sin; the second, no distinction of the *qualities* of sin; and the third, no difference in *committing* sin. Against these, we say (and we hope warranted by truth), That sins are of divers kinds; of divers degrees; of divers natures; and that all are not, where one is. Sins then may be distinguished—in respect of the object against whom; God, our neighbour, ourself;—of the matter wherein; in the soul, ignorance, heresy; in the body, as the desires of the flesh;—from the manner of committing; of ignorance, infirmity, malice;—from the action itself; or our duty; of omission, of commission.||—From the degrees, by which they rise; in the heart only; in the tongue, in the hands, or the work itself.—From the qualities of the persons; of Saints, which are venial, not imputed; of the wicked, mortal, for which they shall be condemned.—From the guilt; not pardonable, as the sin against the Holy Ghost; pardonable, not crying, or crying-sins;¶ as the shedding of innocent blood; the afflicting of the fatherless, or widow, the sin of Sodom; and last of all, the denying the labourers' wages: these are called crying-sins because, for their greatness, they call aloud for a great punishment. Others make a distinction of the seven Capital, or deadly-sins; which as we have no great reason to admit, so we have as little reason to disallow; knowing

* Jer. xvii. 9.

† John iii. 5.

‡ Eph. ii. 3.

§ Lib. i. et ii. Irenæus, Cyprian, Ræticus, Olympius, Hilarius, Ambros. Innocent, Greg. Naz. Basil, Chrysost. Hieron.

|| Delicta a delinquendo, facinora a faciendo.

¶ Gen. iv. 10. Exod. xxii. 23, 27. Gen. xix. 13. Lam. v. 4.

that even those are the heads and fountains of all sins of the second table. The second assertion which we hold is, That all sins are *not equal*; this was an opinion of the Stoics, who desirous to seem unwilling to commit the least, held an opinion that they were equal to the greatest; a good care, grounded upon an evil reason. If a pilot (say they) overturned a ship full of gold, he sinned no more than if he overturned a ship full of straw; for although there be a difference in the loss, yet the unskilfulness or negligence is all one. Or if two err from the scope, even he that misseth a little, as well erreth, as he that misseth a great deal. But as in the former, of shipwreck, the fault was greater, because he had greater reason to make him circumspect; reason telling us that where we have mo [more] and stronger motives to do any thing, there we have less excuse, and the sin greater if we do it not: for the latter, he erreth as well, but not as much; seeing both shooting at one mark, it is not all one, to be a foot and a rod wide. And therefore, that Law that forbad but one thing ("Thou shalt not kill") forbad three things, as Christ expoundeth it; anger to thy brother; to call him fool; to offer him violence; these having every one as their several degrees, so their several punishment. For who will say that the first is as great a fault as the second; or the third as small as the first; for doubtless, things, that are all forbidden, do in their own nature admit more or less. And howsoever, in some sort, virtues are called equal; yet vices are not: for all virtues, from the vanity of the world, tend but to one perfection (either to reason, as the Philosophers thought; or, to say better, to the revealed will of God, which is the rule of good and evil); but sins departing from this lead unto divers vanities, in divers kinds. Neither are virtues all equal simply, but by a kind of proportion; because they all proceed from the love of God, and all tend unto his glory: otherwise, in itself, faith is better than temperance, and one virtue may, in the same man, be far more excellent than in many others: as faith in the Centurion; obedience in Abraham; patience in Job. The consideration of this inequality of sin, as it acquainteth us with those steps that sin maketh in us; so it causeth us not to despair that we have committed some, but to hope and to be thankful, that we have escaped greater: "assuring ourselves (if we be not ourselves wanting) that though we cannot avoid all sins; yet we may and shall avoid all great and presumptuous sins. This heresy, then, we leave to his [its] first Authors,* Jovinian, and the rest; and so come to the last point: Because St. James saith, "he that keepeth the whole law, and offendeth in one, is guilty of all;"† some thought, all sins to be imputed unto him that committed any one; but St. James only telleth us, that God exacteth

* Aug. Her. 82.

† James ii. 10.

a keeping of them all. The Schoolmen, they interpret this place thus— In all sin, are two things; a departure from God, and a coming to the creature; which made St. Austin call sin, “an using of that which we ought to enjoy, and an enjoying of that, which we ought but to use.”* So that in respect of the departure, it is true that St. James saith, he departeth as well from God, that committeth but one sin, as he that committeth many, but not so far. Therefore, to impose this upon us, were to add, even to those that are oppressed already, a burthen far greater, than the Law doth; for by obedience of the divine law, we tend from many to one; but by disobedience, from one to many; and those divers: and therefore, though virtues have, amongst themselves, their union and consent; yet vices have their dissent, nay their opposition. So that this, then, is the conclusion; That though no man be without all sin, yet many are without many presumptuous sins: which because through prayers and good means they avoid; it followeth not, an utter exclusion of all sin; nor, because they commit the least, it followeth not, that they offend equally, as if they committed all.

ARTICLE X.

OF PREDESTINATION.

LEST you should be like those whose humility ye are loath to imitate, ye have drawn your readers, in this Article, to a serious consideration of a deep point; letting them understand that ye are able, not only to advise sobriety to such rash presumers (as in your opinions Mr. Hooker is), but also to direct them in those points wherein, in your judgments, they are much deceived. That there is no man, how excellent soever, but without humility may easily err; I can as willingly confess it, as I commend such whom I see careful to give advice unto those that have gone astray. The one being the punishment of pride, to teach sobriety; the other the power of their learning, to shew humility; but that either he hath done the one, or you the other, in this Article, it is more than (as yet) I see any just inducements to believe. And I am sorry, that things of principal excellency should be thus bitten at, by men whom, it is like, God hath endued with graces, both of wit and learning, to better uses. For if all men had that indifferency of mind, that the greatest part of their forces were employed for the enlarging of that kingdom whereof all of us desire to be subjects; we should easily discern that a curious searching into that Will which is not revealed, serveth but to breed a contempt of that which is revealed unto us. Man desireth rather to know than to do; nay to know even those things which do not concern him, rather

* “*Peccatum est utendis frui, et fruendis uti.*”

than to do that for the neglect whereof he must give an account. From hence cometh it to pass, that what the Schools have curiously sought out concerning the nature of God's Will; the Pulpits, nay the Stalls of Artificers, have undertaken to decide them all. So that those things which once were but the deep amazement of some few, are now become the usual doctrine, and the vulgar consideration of many: where, that is not so much to be lamented which we search, and cannot comprehend; as that which we might comprehend but do not search: following, even that first evil exchange, for eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, to deprive ourselves of the tasting of the tree of life.* So, that which nature once made a disease, the continuance of that disease hath made it nature; for even that light, which man whilst he wanteth liveth in perpetual darkness, is a light by our weakness not possible to be attained unto;† and those paths, which in our blindness we grope after with so much desire, they are "ways" not possible, by man's weakness, to be found out.‡ For there is "a cloud and darkness which are round about him,"§ and thick mists to cover him; for we are without proportion inferior to that power that hath first made us; not equal, not like. This being the just recompense of him that searcheth out that Majesty, in the end to be overwhelmed with the same glory.|| Our greatest knowledge in this, saith St. Cyprian, is to confess our ignorance; for those acts that are of this nature, there is greater holiness to believe them, than to know them. "Truth lieth in the bottom," as Democritus speaketh; and as Pindarus saith, "about our minds there hang innumerable errors;" therefore, the counsel of the son of Sirach is to be followed; "Seek not out the things that are too hard for thee, neither search the things rashly, which are too mighty for thee; but what God hath commanded thee, think upon that with reverence, and be not curious in many of his works; for it is not needful for thee to see with thine eyes, the things that are secret: be not curious in superfluous things, for many things are shewed unto thee above the capacity of men; the meddling with such, hath beguiled many, and an evil opinion hath deceived their judgment; thou canst not see without eyes."¶ Yet for all this, to be absolutely either ignorant or careless of those things that concern us, are no warrants for humility; but evidences of our sloth. The world at this day hath two sorts of men; whom, though we need not to respect much, yet, we are willing even to give them a reason of what we do; which, though peradventure they challenge at our hands, yet we demand not of them a reason of what

* "Arbor scientiæ complures privat a bore vitæ." BONAVENT.

† "Lux inaccessibilis." 1 Tim. vi. 16.

‡ "Investigabiles viæ ejus." Rom. xi. 33.

§ Psal. xcvi. 2.

|| Prov. xxv. 2.

¶ Eccles. iii. 21—25.

they surmise. The first sort, are sensual and careless; neither respecting the will of God, of us, nor towards us: these, for the most part, understand nothing but earthly things; whom, if you remove to matters of a higher reach, you only arm them against yourself, and awake them to shew an insufferable contempt of all virtue. For that which they think painful to themselves, being idolaters to the belly, that they suppose partly impossible to others; and that which, for their own dulness, they cannot easily learn, that they imagine (but falsely) that others can as hardly teach. The second sort, wiser than these, think that we ought to search what God will have us to do; but, what he will do with us, or, what he hath decreed or determined of us, that they think ought wholly to be neglected by us. In these two errors, there is this difference; that the dangers being equal, the reasons are not equal, that do move both; seeing man hath mo [*more*] reasons to persuade him to know too little, than to know too much. Therefore the Church of England calleth Predestination unto life, "the eternal purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he constantly decreed by his counsel, unto us unknown, to deliver from the curse and destruction them whom he chose in Christ out of mankind; and as vessels made unto honour, through Christ to bring them to eternal salvation: whereupon, they who are endowed with so excellent a benefit of God, are called according to his purpose, and that by his Spirit, working in a fit time."* Wherein, if any thing in his general Will be opposite to that which secretly he hath determined of us, it is neither a contrariety in that essence which is but one; neither any warrant for us to be defective in our charity, which must imitate his general inclination to save all. And howsoever he grant not those prayers which we make for those who are not predestinate, because there is a more secret Will that "hath determined the contrary;"† yet notwithstanding, even these prayers conformable to his general inclination, are in themselves without sin; they are our duties; and acceptable to God. For in God there is a Will revealed, which not to do is sin; and not revealed, which we may do and yet sin. And therefore, it must needs seem strange, that it is made a question by any, "How God eternally predestineth by a constant decree, them whom he calleth and saveth, and yet hath a general inclination to save all?‡ A matter easily answered, if we do but remember a two-fold Will: it is not, then, a foresight of any thing, that occasioned his Will otherwise; it is not any general election, altered upon a special cause; it is nothing either in us, or in himself, that maketh this decree, either to be at all, or to be any other, saving only one. We must know therefore, that the Will of God is secret;

* Art. XVII.

† [Vol. II. p. 168.]

‡ [*Ibid.* p. 169.]

which therefore, in Scripture, is compared to a "deep,"* or revealed; which must be the rule of those actions which we ought to do. We may endeavour to do against the first and not sin, as Abraham in offering Isaac; I say endeavour, for no man can do against it: as also, fulfil the other, and yet sin, as Judas. This division of the Will of God, made by many others (though in other terms), serveth both to answer such doubts as usually arise out of this darkness; as also, fully to satisfy those slender objections which you have framed in this point. Damascene divideth the Will into antecedent and consequent;† Peter Lombard, into his good pleasure, and the sign of it;‡ others, into a Will absolute, or conditional; others, into Will of us, or by us, to be done; St. Austin, into a most omnipotent, and most powerful Will, and into a Will not so powerful, that it ever cometh to pass:§ all these divisions concurring in one and the self-same thing, to teach us, that there be parts some revealed, some secret, of that which in his [its] own nature can no more be divers or many, than it is possible for the essence of the Godhead to be more than one. But how is it then (say you) that God willeth all men to be saved? Is it "a constant decree," or only "an inclination?" That he thus willeth, there is no man doubteth; and although some, with the restraint of the word "all,"|| understand it, of his eternal, unchangeable, secret decree; yet we affirm, that with a conditional Will (which ever implieth faith and obedience); with a Will of the sign, antecedent, uneffectual, revealed, he willeth "all men to be saved." Who therefore that they [sic] are not, it is not his decree, but their own fault. And although we say, as Master Hooker doth, That God willeth many things conditionally; yet if we speak properly, all things that God willeth, he willeth simply; and therefore all things that God willeth, must be: the condition being, not in respect of the Will, but the manifestation of it. For it is no more possible that there should be a Will in God conditional, than that his knowledge and his wisdom should not be eternal: and yet in respect of us, who must be ruled by his Law, it is conditional. God sometimes commandeth what he will not have done; not that he is contrary in his Will, but that his will as yet is not wholly revealed. The matter of Predestination was never fully handled before the time of Pelagius, whose heresies gave occasion to St. Austin and others to confirm us in this point; wherein though I confess I unwillingly labour at this time, yet I doubt not to affirm (which may serve instead of answer to content you) that the Predestination of God is eternal, not conditional; immutable, not for works foreseen, and that those, which God hath determined (though his

* Psalm xxxvi. 6.

† Lib. ii. 46.

‡ Lib. i. dist. 45.

§ In Ench. 102, 103.

|| 1 Tim. ii. 4.

Predestination do not take away second causes) certainly must come to pass.* Neither is that any variableness, as you overboldly seem to insinuate, that he *inclineth* one way, and *decreeth* another; for certainly, saith St. Ambrose, he willeth all men to be saved, if they will, themselves; for he that hath given a law to all, doubtless hath excluded none.† Neither is here any acceptation of persons, That he hath chosen some, and not others; for that is acceptation of persons, saith St. Austin, when things to equals, equally due, are not equally divided; but where those things are divided, that are not due, but only of mere liberality bestowed, there this inequality is without injustice, or acceptation of persons: it being in the power of a creditor, that hath two debtors, to exact his due of the one without injustice, and, merely of his bounty, to forgive the other. If you go further in this point, to lead me into that depth, that lamentably hath swallowed up many thousands, I say with St. Austin; Thou O man, dost thou expect an answer of me, and [*when*] I am a man also? therefore let us rather both hear him, who saith, O man, who art thou, that doth answer God? reason thou, I will marvel; dispute thou, I will believe; and say, "Oh how unsearchable are his ways, and his judgments past finding out!"‡

ARTICLE XI.

THE VISIBLE CHURCH, AND THE CHURCH OF ROME.

IN the vehement dissensions of factions that are opposite, there is not a labour usually that reapeth either less fruit, or less thanks, than a charitable persuasion to a reconciliation; which, peradventure, hath been the principal cause why both parties looking, with a jealous eye, at the indifferent persuasions of a third, have continued both enemies in themselves, and yet the third suspected as a friend to neither. This, whilst men have done in kingdoms, their conclusions of peace have faintly languished; all sides earnestly wishing the thing, but suspecting those who were agents to intreat a persuasion to it: this, in the Church, some men have done, both in former times and of late, with more charity than either learning or success; so that, in the end, both parties have taken offence at the mention of a reconciliation. That the Church is at variance in itself, and so hath continued a long time, I think there is no man doubteth; and surely we are all persuaded, that unity and peace, are not fitter for any society in the world, than for that which is called by the name of "Church:"§ how this might be effected, it hath been the care of very wise men;

* Bell. de Grat. et Lib. Arb. lib. ii. cap. 11, 12. Tom. III. A qui. par. i. quest. 23.

† By his revealed will.

‡ Rom. xi. 33.

§ [Vol. II. p. 301.]

who, though they have found little appearance of success, by reason of those bad offices which uncharitable minds have performed, yet they have not ceased to wish in the behalf of the Church, as David did for Jerusalem, Oh that it were as a City built at unity in itself.* Private contentions are then furthest from all hope of agreement, when both parties, equally standing upon terms of superiority, earnestly contend which is most excellent; and, that neither have committed fault. In what straits the Church is, and hath been in all times, it may easily be gathered in that, as yet, men are not resolved to whom it belongs principally to procure her "peace."† Some are of opinion that Princes must and ought to provide for the good and welfare of the Commonwealth; but as for Religion, they may lawfully permit to every man what his fancy desireth; so that the peace of their realms be not thereby troubled. This, once was the error of the heathen, who, admitting all sects of Philosophers, accounted it their honour that they refused none.‡ Whereupon saith Pope Leo, "This City (speaking of Rome), ignorant of the author of her advancement, whilst she hath ruled almost over all nations, hath basely been a servant to the errors of them all, and seemed to herself to have entertained a great religion, because she hath not refused the falsehood of any."§ This made Themistius the Philosopher (as Socrates reporteth||) to persuade Valens the Emperor, That the variety of Sects was a thing much pleasing to God, seeing by that means he was worshipped after divers manners. This, though Constantine the Great did at the first (whose fact we will not at this time examine), yet, afterward, he commanded all the temples of the Idols to be shut up, and the Christian religion to be only used;¶ whose sons, Constantius and Constantinus, so far followed (as St. Austin saith) the example of their Father, that Constantine threatened banishment to all those who rested not in the determination of the Nicene Council.** The contrary was practised by the Emperors Jovinian, Valens, and Julian; who, giving a liberty to all heretics, sought nothing more, than the overthrow of the Unity of the Church. But wise men have ever seen, that the peace and tranquillity of the Commonwealth seldom or never ariseth but out of the concord and agreement of the Church itself.†† The dissensions whereof, as they serve to hinder Religion, so they kindle that flame wherewithal, doubtless in the end, the Commonwealth itself must needs perish. But, how far all sides are from allowance of reconciliation, both the times present can testify too

* Psalm cxii. 3.

† Ver. 6.

‡ Aug. de Civitat. Dei. lib. xviii. cap. 51.

§ Ser. 1. de SS. Petro et Paulo.

|| Hist. lib. iv. cap. 27.

¶ Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5.

** Optatus, cont. Parmen. lib. ii. epist. 166. et Ruffin. lib. x. cap. 5.

†† Greg. lib. iv. epist. 32.

well, and the ages to come must needs witness, which shall possess a Church, as sons do the inheritance of contentious parents, the best part whereof is wasted in unnecessary suits. The sound knowledge of Religion as well perishing in the midst of dissension, as the true practice doth fail by the plentiful abundance of too much peace. "There have been in the world, from the very first foundation thereof, but three religions; Paganism, which lived in the blindness of corrupt and depraved nature; Judaism, embracing the Law which reformed heathenish impiety, and taught salvation to be looked for through one whom God, in the last days, would send and exalt to be Lord of all; finally, Christianity, which yieldeth obedience to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and acknowledgeth him the Saviour, whom God did promise."* Now the question is, Whether the dissenting parties, in this last religion, be so far (not in opinion, but in the object) differing, as that there is no hope of reconciliation; and, the one part only, hath but the privilege, to be termed the Church? For the matter of reconcilement, it is no business, which lieth within the compass of this labour; and, whether, and how it may be done, we are willing to refer it to the judgments of men who have better ability to decide the cause. A book in Latin was published, in the first beginning of these bitter contentions, without name, bearing the title, "Of the Duty of a godly Man;" but since, Bellarmine saith, that the Author was one George Cassander; this book persuading that Princes ought to make an agreement betwixt the Catholics, the Lutherans, and Calvinists, as he terms them; which, whilst they cannot find out the means to perform, they should permit to all men their several Religions so that they held both the Scripture and the Apostles' Creed: for all (saith he) are the true members of the Church, howsoever in particular doctrines, they seem to differ.† This book was first confuted by Calvin, on the one side, and then by one John Hessels of Lovaine, on the other side; that all the world might see, how loath both sides were, to be made friends. This hath since been esteemed by others, a labour, much like to those pacificants in the Emperor Zeno his time,‡ or the heresy of Apelles, who held, as Eusebius writeth, that it was needless to discuss the particulars of our faith, and sufficient only to believe in Christ crucified.§ But lest any man should think that our contentions were but in smaller points, and the difference not great, both sides have charged the other with heresies (if not infidelities), nay even such as quite overthrow the principal foundation of our Christian faith. How truly both have dealt, those that are learned can best judge; but I am sure

* Vol. II. p. 301.

† Evag. lib. iii. cap. 14, 30.

‡ De Officio Pii Viri, Tom. I. de Eccl. lib. iii. cap. 19.

§ Euseb. Hist. lib. v. cap. 12.

that in the greatest differences there are great mistakings, which if they were not, it is like their dissensions had been much less. Now for the second, Whether both parts may be called the Church? This is that which concerneth the Cause that we have in hand. The Church of England confesseth, that "the Church of Christ, is a company of faithful people, among whom the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments rightly administered according to Christ's Institution;"* so that, as our reverend Fathers say, "without Christ there is no Church;"† and that those particular Churches are more perfect which in their religious worship, have less failed in both these: now, when enemies become judges, sentences are often partial, and each side with bitterness of terms, doth condemn other; whilst neither part is willing to confess their error, or amend themselves. We have not suffered the contemptible revilings of the Church of Rome, without telling her aloud, That her faults are not so few as she imagineth; that her chastity and purity are not so great, that she need to boast; and, That if she will needs be proud and confidently strive to be the chief and the only Church, we must tell her in zeal, that what she was, she is not; that pride and prosperity have corrupted her, as other Churches. This though we speak out of zeal, seeing her faults, and knowing her contempt of us; yet out of judgment, we say (which Master Hooker doth) that "with Rome we dare not communicate, concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations; yet touching those main parts of Christian truth, wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ:"‡ therefore, "we hope that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were before; in the Church we were, and we are so still;"§ as also we say, that they of Rome, notwithstanding their manifold defects, are "to be held and reputed a part of the house of God; a limb of the visible Church of Christ."|| This is that whereat your hot spirits have taken offence; speaking out of the same ignorant zeal against our Church, as ye wish our Church to speak against the Church of Rome; accounting us for perfection of a Church, as far short of you, as Rome is of us; or yourselves of the Angels that are in heaven; and therefore you affirm that our Statute congregations of England, are no true Christian churches. Which error, as you have at last been from an irresistible wisdom taught how to recant,¶ so no doubt, at length upon better advice, you will learn, in judgment, how to censure of the Church of Rome. And yet mistake me not, to give her her due, is not to grant more than

* Art. XIX. de Eccl.

§ [Vol. I. p. 201.]

† [Vol. I. p. 201.]

|| [Vol. II. p. 307.]

‡ [Idem.]

¶ Preface against Dr. Bancroft.

she ought to challenge ; nor, to account her a part of the Church, is not to affirm that she is absolutely perfect. There is no one word, that from the variety of acceptation, hath bred greater difference, in the Church of God, than the word CHURCH. Sometimes, it is taken for any Assembly ;* sometimes for a faithful and religious Assembly ; and then it sometimes noteth out the whole body of the elect in all ages, times, and places, both in heaven and earth ; and only them. So it is in the Article of our Faith, " I believe the Catholic Church," that is, all those who are, or shall be saved, both angels and men ; so it is taken in that speech of our Saviour, " Upon this rock will I build my Church,"† that is, the whole Catholic Church. Sometimes it is taken for that part only which is in heaven : as when it is said, that the Church is " without spot, or wrinkle ;"‡ which can be verified of no part (whatsoever the Anabaptists dream) but of that which triumpheth. Sometimes it is taken for that *part* of the Catholic church, which is militant, " that thou mayst know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God which is the Church of the living God ; the pillar and ground of truth ;§ So, " fear came upon all the Church."|| Sometimes it is taken for the pastors and governors only of the Church, as when it is said, " Tell the Church,"¶ that is, the heads and governors of the Church. Sometimes for the people, " Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with that his own blood."*** Sometimes for particular Churches, professing the doctrine and religion of Christ : as, " To the Angel of the Church of Ephesus ;"†† so we say, The Church of Rome ; The Church of Corinth ; The Church of England. Now, from the mistaking of this word CHURCH, doubtless much harm and needless contentions have come unto the Church of Christ. For in the first great contention (Of what persons the Church consisteth ?) in my opinion *we* dispute of one Church, namely, the true Catholic, all which must be saved ; *they* dispute of the Visible, wherein are hypocrites also. So that the reasons that are brought on both sides, are smally to the purpose, seeing both sides directly mistake the question. Thus, in the judgment of those of the Church of Rome, persons excommunicate (though unjustly) are cut off from the particular Church, but not from the Catholic ; excommunication being only, the censure of a particular Church : Therefore (saith our Saviour Christ) " many are called " (with an external calling to the society of the visible Church) " but few are chosen ;"‡‡ that is, to the Catholic. For though both be a

* Psalm xxvi. 5. " Ecclesia malignantium."

† Eph. v. 27.

§ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

|| Acts v. 11.

† Matt. xvi. 18.

¶ Matt. xviii. 17.

** Acts xx. 28.

†† Rev. ii. 1.

‡‡ Matt. xxii. 14.

fold, yet of the visible Church (saith St. Austin) "In the Church there are many wolves, and out of the Church there are many sheep; but in the Catholic, without any other mixture are sheep only." Now visible and invisible maketh, not two Churches; but the divers estate and condition of one and the same Church. Hence cometh it to pass, that in this question, of the Visibility of the Church, there is the like mistaking as in the former; for they of Rome say, we have this distinction because our Church hath not been always visible; but we say, if our Church had been as glorious and as famous, as any Church in the world, we would have accounted the Catholic Church invisible: which (no doubt of it) they of Rome do, understanding (Catholic and Visible) as we mean. For "the Church of Christ, which we properly term his mystical body, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man; inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth, (albeit their natural persons be visible) yet we cannot discern under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body; only our minds by internal conceit, are able to apprehend that such a real body there is, a body collective, (because it containeth a huge multitude) a body mystical, (because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense). Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and the saving mercy which God shewed towards his Church, the only proper subject thereof is this Church. They who are of this Society have such marks and notes of distinction from all others, as are not subject* unto our sense; only unto God who seeth their hearts and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto him, they are clear and manifest. In the eye of God, they are against Christ, that are not truly and sincerely with him; in our eyes, they must be received as with Christ, that are not to outward shew, against him; to him they seem such as they are, but of us they must be taken for such as they seem. All men knew Nathaniel to be an Israelite, but our Saviour, piercing deeper, giveth further testimony of him than men could have done with such certainty as he did; 'behold indeed an Israelite, in whom is no guile.'† Now as those everlasting promises of love, mercy, and blessedness, belong to the mystical Church; even so on the other side, when we read of any duty, which the Church of God is bound unto, the Church whom this doth concern is a sensible known company; and this visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the world to the last end: which company, being divided into two parts, the one before, the other since the coming of Christ; that part which since the coming partly hath embraced and partly shall hereafter embrace the Christian Religion, we term as by a proper name, the Church of

* [*Id.* "object," *sic* Hooker.]

† John i. 47.

Christ. For all make but one body,* the unity of which visible Body and the Church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that 'one Lord,' whose servants they all profess themselves to be; that 'one Faith,' which they all acknowledge; that 'one Baptism,' wherewith they are all received into the Church. As for those virtues that belong unto moral righteousness and honesty of life, we do not speak of them, because they are not proper unto Christian men, as they are Christian, but do concern them, as they are men. True it is, the want of these virtues, excludeth from salvation; so doth much more the absence of inward belief of heart; so doth despair and lack of hope; so emptiness of Christian love and charity; but we speak now, of the visible Church, whose Children are signed with this mark, 'One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.' In whomsoever these things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her children; them only she holdeth for aliens and strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these, it is that Saracens, Jews, and Infidels are excluded out of the bounds of the Church; others we may not (though you do) deny to be of the visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of necessity either Christians or not Christians; if by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ; and Christians by external profession they are all, whose mark of recognizance hath in it those things which we have mentioned: yea although they be impious Idolaters, wicked Heretics, persons excommunicable, such as we deny not to be even the limbs of Satan, as long as they continue such. Is it then possible (say you) that the self-same men should belong both to the Synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Christ? Unto that Church, which is his mystical body, not possible; because that body consisteth of none but only true Israelites; true sons of Abraham, true servants and Saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body and Church of Christ, those may be, and oftentimes are, in respect of the main parts of their outward profession, who in regard of their inward disposition of mind, yea, of external conversation, yea, even of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hateful in the sight of God himself, and in the eyes of the sounder parts of the visible Church, most execrable. From hence have proceeded those bitter speeches, wherewith many of our reverend Fathers have censured the Church of Rome: as also those violent courses and unseemly, which they have hitherto used against us. Therefore our Saviour compareth the kingdom of heaven, to a net,† whereunto all that cometh neither is nor seemeth fish; his Church he

* Ephes. ii. 16.

† Matt. xiii. 47.

compareth to a field,* where tares manifestly known and seen by all men, do grow intermingled with good corn; and so shall continue till the final consummation of the world. God hath had ever, and ever shall have, some Church visible upon earth. But for lack of diligent observing the difference, first betwixt the Church of God mystical and visible; then between the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed: This deceiveth them, and nothing else, who think that in the time of the first world, the family of Noah did contain all that were of the visible Church of God. From hence it grew, and from no other cause in the world, that the African Bishops in the Council of Carthage, knowing how the administration of Baptism belongeth only to the Church of Christ, and supposing that Heretics, which were apparently severed from the sound believing church, could not possibly be of the Church of Jesus Christ, thought it utterly against reason, that Baptism administered by men of corrupt belief, should be accounted as a Sacrament. Some of the Fathers were earnest, especially St. Cyprian, in this point: (but I hope you have not yet proceeded so far). This opinion was afterwards both condemned by a better advised Council, and also revoked by the chiefest of the Authors thereof themselves:† And therefore as it is strange for any man to deny them of Rome to be of the church; so I cannot but wonder, that they will ask where our Church was, before the birth of Martin Luther; as if any were of opinion that Luther did erect a new Church of Christ. No, the Church of Christ, which was from the beginning, is, and continueth in substance the same unto the end; of which, all parts have not been always equally sincere and sound. In the days of Abia, it plainly appeareth that Judah was by many degrees more free from pollution than Israel: in St. Paul's time the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways re-proved; ‡ they of Galatia much more out of square: in John's time, Ephesus and Smyrna, in better state than Thyatira and Pergamos were; and yet all of them, no doubt, parts of the visible Church; so standeth the cause, betwixt Rome and us; so far as lawfully we may, we have held, and do hold fellowship with them; we acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined, so far forth with them, they may at length, if it be his will, so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we all may 'with one heart and one mouth glorify God, the Father of our Lord and Saviour, whose Church we are.'§ As there are, which make the

* Matt. xiii. 24.

‡ 2 Cor. xiii. 2.

† In Conc. Nicen. vide Hieron. in Di. cont. Lucifer.

§ [Rom. xv. 6. with Heb. iii. 6.]

Church of Rome no Church at all, utterly; so we have them amongst us, who under pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the Church of England itself. But whatsoever either the one sort, or the other teach, we must acknowledge, even Heretics themselves, to be (though a maimed part) yet a part of the visible Church. For as to baptize is a proper action, belonging unto none but the Church of Christ, which is true in the Church of Rome (howsoever some Anabaptists account it but a mockery) so if an Infidel should pursue to death an Heretic, professing Christianity, only for Christian profession' sake, could the Church deny him the honour of martyrdom? Yet this honour all men know to be proper unto the Church; and therefore where the Fathers make opposition betwixt the visible Church, and heretical companies (as oftentimes they do) they are to be construed, as separating Heretics, not altogether from the company of believers, but from the fellowship of sound Believers: for where professed *unbelief* is, there can be no visible Church of Christ; there may be where sound belief wanteth. Infidels being clean without the Church deny directly, and utterly reject, the very principles of Christianity; which Heretics embrace, and err only in misconstruction.* And therefore it is strange that you dare affirm;† the Turk to hold any part of the Christian faith, or to be in that respect comparable to the Church of Rome: for “that which separateth utterly, that which cutteth off clean from the visible Church of Christ, is,” as Master Hooker saith, “plain Apostasy; direct denial, utter rejection of the whole Christian Faith, as far as the same is professedly different, from Infidelity. Heretics, as touching those points of doctrine wherein they fail; Schismatics, as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein they divide themselves from their brethren; loose, licentious, and wicked persons, as touching their several offences or crimes, have all forsaken the true Church of God; the Church which is sound and sincere in the doctrine that they corrupt: the Church that keepeth the bond of unity which they violate; the Church that walketh in the laws of righteousness which they transgress; this very true Church of Christ, they have left, howbeit not altogether left, nor forsaken simply the Church, upon the main foundations whereof, they continue built, notwithstanding these breaches, whereby they are rent at the top asunder.”‡ But peradventure you will say, Why then do we refuse to communicate with the Church of Rome, more than Zachary, Elizabeth, Anna, and others, did with the High Priests; corruptions being in both, and both remaining parts of the Church of God? I answer, That in the time of our Saviour Christ, the synagogue of the Jews

* [Vol. I. p. 194—203.]

† [P. 202.]

‡ Vol. II. p. 304.

although it was not in regard of the High Priests and chief Doctors, in all respects, the true visible Church ; yet in some sort, it was ; because the remainders of religion were left, and the worship instituted of God himself was not wholly taken away : so with the Papists we would not be afraid to communicate, in our Liturgy, if it were not in respect of their superstitious order and some prayers which are idolatrous, for which we have some reasons as yet, to doubt that they have no warrant. We must all of us be joined to the true Church, else we cannot be saved ; that is to the catholic, not the visible : for, doubtless, a man may be saved that liveth not in any particular Church ; or, that is excommunicated from all : yet we say, thus much, That we must join ourselves to some particular Church, if we will be saved ; with this twofold caution, If such a Church be known unto us ; or, if it be possible to join unto it. Wherein, because every particular may err yet none absolutely exclude from salvation, all men have reason to join with that that is most sound. This then were the fittest point to be discussed with moderation and learning, That seeing all Churches have some unsound parts in them, which Church is to be reputed at this day the soundest of all the rest ? Doubtless the Church of Rome was once a light to all the Churches of the world ;* but through the corruptions of some, those diseases have somewhat infected the Church which now, to the sorrow of Christendom, like a canker, or leprosy, have enlarged themselves. As there is a contention when Adam fell ; so, histories vary, when this defection began. Some make five or six hundred years to be the continuance of her sound estate ; some, three hundred ; some, to err even from the Apostles' time.† Doubtless in the Apostles' time, there were heretics in the Church ; the Nicolaitans, Simon Magus, Cerinthus, and others. Eusebius reporteth out of Egesippus, That although as long as the Apostles lived, the Church did remain a pure virgin ; yet after those times, immediately, errors crept into the Church.‡ Clemens Alexandrinus, to confirm that there was corruption of doctrine presently after the Apostles' time, allegeth the proverb, " There are few sons like their fathers." Socrates saith of the Church of Rome and Alexandria (the most famous Churches in the Apostles' time), That about the year 430, the Roman and Alexandrian Bishops, leaving their sacred function, were degenerate to a secular rule or dominion. Yet we say not, that all before Gregory were sound, nor all after, corrupt : yet their errors grew on by little and little, even from those men whose reverend names gave warrant to what they held ; they thinking nothing less than by those means, to have corrupted the Church. But she may, when it pleaseth God,

* Rom. i. 8.

† Calvin. Melanct.

‡ Lib. iii. cap. 32.

recover her former soundness again : if we had but so much care of them, as they seem to have of us ; or that all sides, peaceably, with indifferency, would admit the true use of a General Council. But let their errors be as they are ; we leave them to be reprov'd by those whom that business doth concern, and to be judged by the Searcher of all hearts : yet for all that, we affirm them to be *parts* of the Church of Christ ; and, that those that live and die in that Church, may notwithstanding be saved. Of those who are of a contrary opinion in a good meaning, I say with Lactantius, " With how good a meaning these poor souls do evil ! " * To conclude, lest you should think Master Hooker to be " arrogant and presumptuous to make himself (as you say) the only Rabbi ; " † know that he hath said nothing which that honourable Frenchman of worthy memory ‡ hath not said before, with great wisdom, moderation, and learning. But if you cannot be resolved without a miracle, as you scoffingly seem to desire, we can but in our prayers recommend your weakness to the God of all power, and the fountain of all light.

ARTICLE XII.

OF PREACHING.

How hard it is for those, who are in love with themselves, to carry a well tempered indifferency betwixt that which they out of ignorance perform, and others out of judgment avoid ; this Article alone, may serve as evidence sufficient to persuade all. For, even in the matter of greatest use unto God's Church (the dispensation of the Word of Life), a vehement dislike of those things which they cannot attain, hath wrought too violent an opposition, for the overthrow of that course which learning and truth have held not to be the weakest means to support the same. Hence cometh it to pass, that whilst all grant the Word to be powerful and effectual, some, think this is only true, of the Word preached ; which otherwise hath small virtue, except it be in sermons, and those sermons only to have this power, which are of their own making. Causing the Holy Ghost, whose strength is perfected in weakness, § to be necessarily tied to a defect of all outward ornaments ; as though that Almighty power upon whomever excellency depends, even in the weakest means, were of less authority, or less power, when the means which he useth were more excellent : thus depriving the Church of variety of gifts, who, out of obedience and humility, hath learned how to profit by all. But, as to tie the power of converting sinners to that which is eloquently strong in human wisdom were a thing not safe, and injurious to the Church ; so, to be too earnest against all outward ornaments, through an

* Inst. lib. v. cap. 19. " O quam honesta voluntate miseri errant."

† [Vol. I. p. 202.]

‡ In his *Treatise of the Church*, chap. 2.

§ 2 Cor. xii. 9.

VOL. II.

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affectation of pure simplicity, is an error no less dangerous than the former was. For seeing those that teach are not all either capable or furnished with the same gifts; and that, continually, there is no less variety in those that hear; it is the wisdom and discretion of the Church, for a better attainment of a more perfect estate, to learn with thankfulness and reverence how to profit by all. For as it is impossible that any one form of Teaching should please or persuade all men (a prerogative which was not granted to the first and best sermons), whose excellency was that they converted "many," but not all;* so the rest who yet are not but must be converted, are to expect (though not with curiosity to affect) a variety for the manner even of that which in substance and end is but merely one. For the mystical body, as it is full of variety and diversity in his [its] parts, yet, in itself, but one; so the working is manifold and different, though the beginning and the end, God's power, and his glory, be in truth, to and for all men, but one. For sometimes the Word, by being read, proposeth and preacheth itself to the hearer; sometimes they deliver it whom, privately, zeal and piety moveth to be instructors of others by conference: sometimes of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the public either reading thereof, or interpreting; and by them, after a most divers manner, but all tending to one end; for which God hath made his visible Church to be that "congregation of faithful people, wherein the pure Word of God is preached:"† so that in this respect we refuse not, to make the Preaching of the Word (taking the word Preaching for all manner of teaching) to be an essential note of the Church. For doubtless, in that parable of the sower,‡ by you alleged,§ we mislike not much the interpretation of that Reverend Bishop which you bring forth, as opposite to Master Hooker; saying, "God is the husbandman, the Preachers of the Word are the seed sowers, the seed is the Word of God, the ground is the hearts of men;"|| and yet St. Austin differeth a little from this exposition, where he saith, The sower is God, and I, because he soweth, what am I but the seedman's basket?¶ Which even the meanest Christian no doubt is, though never called to the office of Preaching, if he can, by private conference, exhort and instruct out of holy Scripture: which as it is an act of less honour and profit, than the Preaching of those that are worthily called to that office; so even in their sermons that are called, there is no man but must acknowledge, a manifold, and apparent difference. For "seeing speech" (as Master Hooker saith; which you mislike) "is the very image whereby the mind and soul of the speaker conveyeth itself into the bosom of him that heareth; we cannot choose but see great reason wherefore the

* Acts iv. 4.

† [Art. XIX.]

‡ Matt. xiii. 3.

§ [Vol. II. p. 74.]

|| Bishop of Lincol. 1st Sermon upon Matt. xiii.

¶ "Cophinus Seminantis."

Word that proceeded from God (who is in himself very truth and life) should be (as the Apostle to the Hebrews noteth) lively, and, mighty in operation, "sharper than any two-edged sword."* Now, to make our Sermons that strong and forcible Word, is to impart the most peculiar glory of the Word of God, unto that which is not his Word. For, touching our Sermons, that which giveth them their very being, is the will [*wit*] of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taste too much of that over corrupt fountain from which they come."† For even the best of our Sermons (and in Sermons there is an infinite difference) howsoever they oftentimes have a singular blessing, and that the Scripture, the pure Word of God, is the text and the ground of the speech; yet the rest of the discourse, which is sometimes two or three hours long, (a time too long for most preachers to speak pertinently) is but the paraphrastical enlarging of the same text, together with those fit exhortations and applications, which the learning of the Preacher is able to furnish himself withal, and his discretion shall think fit for that auditory to which he speaketh. And therefore, as to equalize "every declamation or oration in Schools," to them, is to wrong sermons; so to make even the best Sermons equal to the Scripture, must be, in apparent reason, a great wrong to that which is immediately God's own Word; whereunto; though the best preach agreeably, yet the Sermons of none; since the Apostles' time, are or ought to be esteemed of equal authority with the holy Scripture: and yet, we are not afraid to ascribe unto them, that blessing from above, to convert, reform, and strengthen, which no "eloquence, wisdom, learning, policy, and power of the world," is able to match. Neither is there contrariety in this, that we that are the Preachers are sent as the Apostles were, in respect of our calling from God; and yet, that the learning and wit of man giveth the very being unto that we teach. Unless (which some overboldly do) you think it unlawful to use either learning or wit in making of Sermons: as though all other helps, purchased with great cost and infinite labour, together with a natural ability, all perfected in those excellent fountains of all learning, the Universities, were to be rejected as wholly unprofitable in this business. Neither doth Master Hooker, nor any other of judgment, say (which you seem to infer) That a man by natural wit, without a supernatural light from the Scripture, is able to utter those mysteries as he ought;‡ which doubtless being a great fault, is rather the error of those who preach most and yet use least helps of learning or wit for that they utter. Wherein it must needs seem strange, that they ever understanding by the Word, the word preached, whereunto they ascribe vital operation; yet they perform this with such negligence, that they come rashly unfurnished to so great a

* Heb. iv. 12.

† [Vol. II. p. 73:]

‡ [*Ibid.* p. 74.]

business; and scarce attentively weigh the dangerous sequel of this construction. Doubtless, our Sermons, even the best, either for sound knowledge, or pure zeal, are not God's Word in the same manner that the Sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguously termed his Word, because his Word is commonly the subject whereof they treat, and must be the rule whereby they are framed. Yet Sermons have sundry peculiar and proper virtues, such as no other way of Teaching besides hath: aptness, to follow particular occasions presently growing; to put life into words by countenance, voice, and gesture; to prevail mightily in the sudden affections of men; these, and such like, are those excellent prerogatives which some few may challenge who worthily deserve the name to be called Preachers. We reject not (as of no use at all in the Church) even the virtuous labours of meaner men, who come far short of the perfection of these few; but earnestly wish the Governors of our Church, for fit employment and maintenance, to respect both: and they, laying aside all comparisons, equally to labour to further that work which, by a blessing from above, knoweth how to profit by the labours of all. It seemeth, by that which you allege,* that only such Sermons have their being, from the wit of man, which "curiously bring into the Pulpit, Poets, Philosophers, Rhetoricians, Physicians, Schoolmen," and other human learning; which "the Reverend Fathers," say you, "and more staid divines, are wary to avoid." In this speech of yours, in my opinion, there are two faults. The first, a particular unjust censure of the Fathers, whether you mean, the holy Fathers of the Church, as St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, St. Bernard, and the rest; or, those reverend Fathers which do live at this day; all which, whilst you seek to commend, directly you dispraise; accounting them to avoid all human learning, and that their Sermons have not their being from the wit of man: which doubtless is false, seeing they excel by infinite degrees, the Sermons of many others which are framed by neither. The second fault, is a general taxation of all those who any way furnish their Sermons with human learning. You may, peradventure, be able to give good direction in other points, but surely in framing of a Preacher, or making of a Sermon, you are much deceived: for I can never persuade myself, that the exactest industry that man can use is unlawful or unnecessary in this work; for sometimes we are to deal with those whose opinions are not easily confuted without human learning, nor their attention gained without wit, nor their affections persuaded without eloquence; where to come unfurnished, and leave the workings, without means, to Him who giveth a power and a blessing to the means we use, is all one to appoint him what means are fittest, or to enjoin him to work without

* [Ubi sup.]

means at all: which, though that Almighty power can do; yet then to refuse them when they are provided, or not to furnish us with as much as we can of the best that he hath provided, it argueth our unthankfulness and our want of choice. This made (when Celsus, Julian, and Porphyry, had written against us) the holy Fathers to confute them with all variety of human learning; that thus the enemies of that Truth which we teach, may say with Julian, We are struck through with our own weapons.* This was the happiness of Epiphanius (which I wish were common to all Preachers) That his writings were read of the learned, for the matter; of the simple, for the words. Thus we should not doubt but to win an attention from all; nay, even for the true discharging of this business, there is a necessary use of Grammar, to teach the original and propriety of words; of Logic, to discern ambiguities; of Rhetoric, for ornament (a good tale being much better when it is well told); of Philosophy, for the unfolding the true nature of causes, the ignorance whereof hath brought much error in expounding the holy Scriptures; of History, for the computation of times; in one word, of all human learning, which, like the spoils of Egypt, we have recovered from the unjust owners; accounting it no more disgrace to be accused of eloquence, wit, or human learning, than St. Austin did by Petilian, to be termed Tertullus the Orator. There be that account incivility of manners, and rusticity of speech, as St. Jerom speaketh, true holiness.† But it is not fit, that those that are toothless should envy the teeth of others; or those that are moles, repine that others see (as the same Father admonisheth Calphurnius).‡ It hath been a trouble of some of our best and most excellent Preachers, that they have been enforced, after their wearisome toiling and unregarded pains, to give a reason and make a defence (as though they had committed a fault) for the use of that for which, in true estimation, they ought to have reaped much praise. And therefore saith one (whom I dare oppose, for eloquence and judgment, against the best in that great city§ of the contrary faction), "I am not of opinion with those men who think that all secular and profane learning should be abandoned from the lips of the Preacher; and, that whether he teach, or exhort, he is of necessity to tie himself to the sentence and phrase of only Scripture. Good is good, wheresoever I find it."|| Upon a withered and fruitless stalk, saith St. Austin, a grape sometimes may hang; shall I refuse the grape because the stalk is fruitless and withered?¶ There is not any knowledge of learning to be despised, seeing that all science whatsoever is in the nature and kind of good things; rather, those that despise it, we must repute rude and unprofitable alto-

* "Propriis pennis configimur." † Ad Marcell. epist. 102. ‡ Epist. ad Rom.
§ London. || M. King upon Jonas, p. 541. ¶ De Baptis. cont. Donat. lib. vi. c. 2.

gether, who would be glad that all men were ignorant that their own ignorance, lying in the common heap, might not be espied. And St. Austin in another place,* saith, Eloquence is not evil, but a sophistical malignant profession, proposing to itself, not as it meaneth, but either of contention, or for commodity' sake, to speak for all things and against all things. What were more profitable, than the eloquence of Donatus, Parmenian, and others of your sect, if it ran with as free a stream, for the peace, unity, truth, and love of Christ, as it floweth against it? For else, it is a venomous eloquence, as St. Cyprian wrote of the eloquence of Novatus;† I know there is much amiss, both in matter, and in the use of profane learning; but this we are sure, if we bring it to the Scripture, if it be faulty, it is condemned; if wholesome, it is there confirmed. And I see no reason, that any man should be bold to offer his own inventions and conceits to the world, when he findeth such in the Fathers and others, as cannot be amended. I am sorry that the Learned of any sort (as my Author saith) that hath but borne a book, should dispraise Learning; she hath enemies enough abroad, though she be justified by her children. It is fitter that Wisdom be beaten by fools, than by those who ought to be esteemed wise; above all other places, a blow given in the Pulpit against Learning (a fault too common) leaveth a scar in the face of Knowledge which cannot easily be cured. It calleth in question the teaching of others, as if they fed the people with acorns and husks, not bread; or because they gather the Truth out of human Authors, they contemned the Authority of the holy Scriptures. Doubtless, it is sometime vanity in those that preach, and itching in those that hear, and a thing not tolerable, or allowable in either; but where it is otherwise, let not a rash conclusion without proof (as though it were young men's faults) be admitted against good Learning. If Asclepiodorus will draw with a coal or chalk alone, I judge him not; if others will paint with colours, neither let them be judged: for those, that are wise and humble in the Church know how, with discretion, to make use of all; and yet, not all of the like authority. For doctrines derived, exhortations deducted, interpretations agreeable, are not the very Word of God, but that only which is in the original text, or truly translated; and yet we call those Sermons, though improperly, the Word of God. To conclude this point; as our Church hath many excellent Preachers, which we wish by good encouragement may increase; so it is too presumptuous a labour for any to prescribe one form necessary to all. But I could wish that all were like him whom you accuse, or like one Marianus Genazanensis, whom Angelus Politianus doth excellently describe,* in my opinion an excellent pattern of a reverend Divine.

* Advers. Cresco. lib. i. cap. 1.

† Epist. ad Cornel.

‡ Epist. Tristano Chalco. lib. iv. epist. 6.

ARTICLE XIII.

OF THE MINISTER'S OFFICE.

IN the actions of this life, whether spiritual or temporal, God and man give their approbation in a diverse manner; the one, looketh only at the thing done; the other, at the mind and disposition of the doer. And therefore, the same things from divers parties are not of the same nor of like value: nay, that which is from sincerity, a worship; is from hypocrisy, a sin: and the defects, which outwardly the manner of doing disproveth, the sincerity oftentimes in the mind of the doer, acquitteth. In the eye of man, it is sometimes a fault which is no sin; and, in the eye of God, a sin which, in the eye of man, was no fault. So that according to laws which principally respect the heart of man, works of Religion being not religiously performed, cannot morally be perfect. Baptism, as an Ecclesiastical work, is for the manner of performance ordered by divers ecclesiastical laws, providing, that as the sacrament itself is a gift of no mean worth; so the ministry thereof might, in all circumstances, appear to be a function of no small regard. The Ministry of the things divine, is a function which as God did himself institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in lawful manner. That God, which is no way deficient or wanting unto man in necessities, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly Truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needs have wandered in darkness, to our endless perdition; and, who hath in the like abundance of mercies, ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requisite parts, and offices, therein prescribed, for the good of the whole world; which men, thereunto assigned, do hold their authority from him, whether they be such, as himself immediately, or else the Church in his name, investeth; it being neither possible, for all, nor for every man without distinction convenient, to take upon him a charge of so great importance: and therefore very fitly, "the Church of England affirmeth, that It is not lawful for any one to take to himself the Office of Preaching publicly, or administering the Sacraments in the Church, except he be first lawfully called to do these things:"* For God who hath reserved, even from the first beginning of the world until the end thereof, a Church unto himself upon earth; against which, the gates of hell shall not prevail; hath likewise appointed, a perpetual Ministry for the service therein; which though for outward calling hath not been ever the same, yet continually it was limited, in those bounds, as a thing most unmeet and unlawful for any man to undertake that was not called. For as it is God's infinite mercy, when he

* Eccl. Ang. Art. XXIII.

could either save us without the Ministry of any, or by the Ministry of Angels ; yet then, to honour man, with this dignity to make him a coadjutor, dispenser, and co-helper in so great a work ; so it is his wisdom to appoint, both for the avoiding of confusion and unfitness, such persons as are truly allotted to so honourable an office ; which neither before, under, nor after the Law, was ever lawful without any calling to undertake. The enemies to this religious order of the Church, have been certain lovers of confusion which, under pretence of the calling of the Spirit, have overboldly intruded themselves into those holy functions for which, lawfully, they had never warrant. Such were the Enthusiasts, Anabaptists, Schwenkfeldians ; who being enemies to all order, under pretence of a calling from the Holy Ghost, which others wanted, have made a passage contrary to that restraint of the Apostle, " Let no man take upon him that honour to himself, but he that is called of God,"* without expectation of lawful warrant, to those duties, that in the Church are greatest : for in the time before the Law, it was not permitted to take the office of Priesthood, unless he either were or had the prerogative of the eldest brother. This was for the sin of Reuben derived to the tribe of Levi ; first, for their zeal in that great idolatry ; and was after confirmed unto him, in the sedition of Corah : and yet not to all of that family, either to serve in that tabernacle,† or to teach throughout all Israel. Neither were all ages equally fit unto this calling ; it being neither lawful before five-and-twenty, nor after fifty, to be admitted to it.‡ As also, those that were admitted had a special consecration, for a personal difference from the rest of that family, to let them understand that although they, and only they of that tribe, were to be employed in those functions, yet it was not lawful to undertake it, without a calling :§ this, afterward, when better notes of eminency gave that allowance which, before, birth did, was with greater reverence to be expected, and to be observed with a greater care, by those whom the Church had invested with Authority to call unto that charge. To these persons, because God imparted power over his mystical body, which is the society of souls, and over that natural which is himself, for the knitting of both in one (a work which antiquity doth call the making of Christ's body), the same power is in such not amiss both termed a kind of mark or Character, and acknowledged to be indelible.|| " For Ministerial Power is a mark of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a special Order, consecrated unto the service of the Most High in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference, therefore, from other men is in that they are a

* Heb. v. 4.

† Levit. xxi. 21.

‡ Numb. viii. 24, 25.

§ Exod. xxix. Levit. viii. Numb. viii.

|| [Vol. II. p. 372.]

distinct Order :” and I call it indelible, because “ they which have once received this Power,” as Master Hooker saith, “ may not think to put it off and on like a cloak, as the weather serveth, to take it, reject and resume it as oft as themselves list ; of which profane and impious contempt these latter times have yielded (as of all other kinds of iniquity and apostasy) strange examples. But let them know, which put their hands to this plough, that once consecrated unto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for ever. Suspensions may stop, and degradations utterly cut off, the use or exercise of Power given ; but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to separate and pull asunder what God by his authority coupleth : neither need there a Reordination for such as were consecrated by the Church, in corrupter times ;” * for “ out of men endued with gifts of the Spirit, the Church chose her Ministers, unto whom was given Ecclesiastical Power by Ordination,” † which they could neither assume nor reject at their own pleasure. Of these, without doubt the “ Apostolic Churches, did acknowledge but three degrees at the first ; Apostles (instead whereof, are now Bishops), Presbyters, and Deacons ; for there is an error (as Master Hooker saith) which beguileth many, who much entangle both themselves and others, by not distinguishing Services, Offices, and Orders Ecclesiastical ; the first of which three, and in part the second, may be executed by the Laity, ‡ whereas none have, or can have the third, namely, ‘ Order,’ but the Clergy. Catechists, Exorcists, Readers, Singers, and the rest of like sort, if the nature only of their labour and pains be considered, may in that respect seem clergymen ; even as the Fathers for that cause term them usually Clerks ; as also in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up ; which was to enter into Orders when years and experience should make them able ; notwithstanding, inasmuch as they in no way differed from others of the Laity longer than during that work of Service, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tied by irrevocable Ordination, we find them always exactly severed from that body, whereof those three before-rehearsed Orders alone are natural parts.” § This will appear more fully (howsoever you mislike it) if we consider but a little, those services, and duties, about which they were employed. The first were Door-keepers, || (for we omit the first tonsor, which was not any order but a preparation) whose office was, as Master Calvin noteth, to open and to shut the doors of the temple ; ¶ we agree in this with the Church of Rome ; ** our difference is, for the Ordination of them. The second were Readers ; †† the duty of these, as Zanchy

* [Vol. II. p. 374.] † [*Ibid.* p. 392.] ‡ Ostiarii. § [Vol. II. p. 393.]

|| Ostiarii. ¶ Instit. lib. iv. cap. iv. sect. 9. [et cap. 19. sect. 24.]

** Bellar. de Cler. Tom. I. lib. i. c. 13. †† Lectores.

saith, was only to read the Bible, without any exposition, in a pulpit or place more eminent than the rest; so that, in the compass of a whole year, it was fully finished and read over: this was to make the people who could not read, more familiarly acquainted with the holy Scriptures. Of this duty, St. Cyprian in his Epistles, hath written most; as of one Aurelius, being made a Reader; of one Saturus; as also of Celerinus, which afterward was a Martyr.* The difference betwixt us, in this point, and the Church of Rome, is, that they make it a certain degree and Order, which Master Calvin doth not;† which, in my opinion, is no material difference, seeing undoubtedly the Church by special Ordination (without Ecclesiastical Order) appointed those whom she used in those places. The next were Exorcists, which did adjure those that were possessed with unclean spirits; but this was rather, doubtless, a peculiar gift, than any ordinary Office in God's Church.‡ The next were Disputers,§ which were appointed with all comers to defend the religion, against the heathen. The next were *Acolouthi*,|| Attendants upon the Bishops, with whom these had their learning and reverend behaviour, that familiarity that they were thought fittest to succeed in the place of Bishops. This, as it was an employment of great respect, so it is retained in the Church of Rome at this day, with too mean a regard for so reverend a place. The next were Singers;¶ for it was thought unfit, that a Bishop, a Presbyter, or Deacon, should do this. The last which we will reckon, were the Catechists,** whose office was to teach children, and others converted, the sum of Christian doctrine.†† This duty was referred to learned men; sometimes Presbyters, Doctors, or Deacons; but not ever. For though Origen and Clemens were both Doctors and Catechists, in Alexandria; yet all that were Catechists, and so allowed to expound and teach the Scriptures, were not of necessity admitted to holy Orders:‡‡ and so, consequently, as the word is *properly* taken by Master Hooker, none of the Clergy. I say, properly, for Clergy is a general name for all those, whose lot and portion is the Lord:§§ More specially for those who are students in divinity and, after, are to enter into holy Orders. Of these, there were Colleges, after the Apostles; as before, Colleges of the Prophets. And out of these were taken such, as the Church (without Ecclesiastical ordination) used in those services which before are mentioned. Out of all which, it is most apparent that

* Epist. v. lib. ii. Epist. xxii. lib. iii. Epist. v. lib. iv.

† Inst. lib. iv. cap. 4. sect. 9.

‡ Exorcistæ. Cal. lib. iv. cap. 19. sect. 24. Zanch. in 4. Præcep. p. 688.

§ Disputatores.

|| Acolouthi.

¶ Cantatores. Greg. in Regist. lib. iv. cap. 88.

** Catechista.

†† Gal. vi. 6.

‡‡ Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 13 et 20.

§§ All Christians. [See Vol. II. p. 373.]

from the Clergy, in respect of Ministerial power, these are justly severed. This is that which you mislike; esteeming it a thing unfit, for any man to preach that hath not a Ministerial calling. Neither doth Master Hooker determine, how fit it is that this should be performed by men who are not entered into Orders; but, that this hath sometimes been the practice of the Church, howsoever now performed by men of another calling, there is no man of any reading can possibly doubt. Neither is the practice in some Colleges of Divines, at this day, altogether unlike; where men are admitted, even for exercise or trial, to interpret and expound the Scriptures, which are not as yet (but hereafter may be) consecrated to an Ecclesiastical Function. Now, whereas you scoff at the word *Character*, as if there were no stamp at all which made a difference betwixt the Clergy and the Laity; know, that where there is a change of estate, with an impossibility of return, there we have reason to account an indelible Character to be "imprinted."* This saith the Church of Rome, is in Baptism, Confirmation, and Order.† Of the last of which, we only contend, at this time. For any thing that I read, Saint Austin was the first that used the word in this sense: and no doubt of it, in Baptism there is that Mark stamped upon us in that we are baptized, that there is a *passive* power, as the Schoolmen call it, which maketh a man, in time, fit to receive the rest which they call Sacraments; and without which,‡ they are truly accounted void. This form, figure, impression, or Character, is called "indelible," because that is not to be reiterated, from whence it cometh. The Character of Order, is an *active* power, as the Schoolmen speak, which giveth an ability, publicly, to administer the Sacraments unto those whom the Church hath esteemed fit. From whence proceedeth the second great exception which you have taken in this Article, namely, that Master Hooker seemeth to grant a liberty, as for Catechists to preach who are no Ministers; so also, for Women, in cases of some necessity, to Baptize;§ contrary, say you, both to that most Reverend Archbishop,§ and others, "who constantly affirm, That God, and well ordered Churches, forbid Women all dispensation of holy mysteries." We are not to dispute, what Laws give allowance to the performance of this office; nor, what care ought to make restraint from too usual a liberty of doing it without great necessity; seeing, weakness is commonly bold, and boldness a presumptuous intruder where it hath least cause. But this we say, which Mr. Hooker hath proved already, That Baptism by Women is truly Baptism; good and effectual to those that have it: neither do all those exceptions of sex, quality, insufficiency, or whatsoever, serve to frustrate such as the Church, of her indulgence, is willing to admit, from being

* [Vol. II. p. 372. Note *.]

† Bell. Tom. II. p. 220.

‡ ["Mark."]

§ My Lord his Grace of Cant. Dr. Whigitt. p. 516.

partakers of so great a benefit. To make Women teachers in the House of God, were a gross absurdity, seeing the Apostle hath said, "I permit not a Woman to teach:"* and if any, from the same ground, exclude them from other public offices in the Church, we are not much against it. "But to women's Baptism, in private, by occasion of urgent necessity, the reasons that concern ordinary Baptism, in public, are no just prejudice; neither can we, by force thereof, disprove the practice of those Churches which ('necessity' requiring) allow Baptism, in private, to be administered by Women. We may not from Laws that prohibit any thing with restraint, conclude absolute, and unlimited prohibitions. For, even things Lawful are well prohibited, when there is fear lest they make the way to unlawful more easy; and it may be, the liberty of Baptism by Women at such times, doth sometimes embolden the rasher sort to do it where no such 'necessity' is. But whether of permission besides Law, or in presumption against Law, they do it (which now is no part of the question in hand), it is not hereby altogether frustrate, void, and as if it were never given."† True it is, that "seeing God, from whom men's several degrees and pre-eminences proceed, hath appointed them in his Church at whose hands his pleasure is that we should receive Baptism and all other public helps medicinable to the soul; perhaps, thereby the more to settle our hearts in the love of our Ghostly superiors; they have small cause to hope, that with him their voluntary services will be accepted, who thrust themselves into Functions, either above their capacity, or besides their place; and, overboldly intermeddle with duties whereof no charge was ever given unto them."‡ In which respect, if Laws forbid it to be done, yet therefore it is not unnecessarily void when it is done. For "many things are firm being done, which in part are done otherwise than positive rigour and strictness did require."§ Actions usurped, have often the same nature, which they have in others, although they yield not him that doth them the same comfort. What defects, then, are in this kind, they redound with restraint to the offender only; "the Grace of Baptism cometh, by donation, from God only. That God hath committed the mystery|| of Baptism unto special men, it is for Order's sake in his Church, and not to the intent that their Authority might give being, or add force to the Sacrament itself. Infants have right to Baptism, we all know; that they have it not by Lawful ministers, it is not their fault: Men's own faults are their own harms."¶ So then we conclude this point, with Master Hooker, that it is one thing to defend the fact for lawfulness in the doer (which few do) and another thing the fact being done, which no man hath reason to disallow; for

* 1 Tim. ii. 12.

† [Vol. II. p. 227.]

‡ [Ibid. p. 234.]

§ [Idem.]

|| "[Ministry," *sic* Hooker.]

¶ [Vol. II. p. 241.]

though it is not lawful for Women to undertake that office to baptize, which peradventure belongs not unto them; yet the Baptism being done, we hold it lawful.*

ARTICLE XIV.

OF THE SACRAMENTS.

It is not a thing less usual in the apprehension of truths, through the weakness of our understanding, to ascribe too little to that, which, in all reason, hath great virtue; than to allow overmuch to that, which hath no virtue at all. It fareth with men, in this kind, as it doth with some deceitful artificers; who bestow most art and outward additions where, inwardly there is least value, whilst they leave that altogether unfurnished, which is able to expose it to sale by his [*its*] own worth. It is our fault, no less violently, to extol what our fancies make us to account excellent, than to dispraise things truly commendable in their own nature, because only they have gained this disadvantage, To be disliked by us. So that whosoever maketh either praise or dispraise, to be a rule of judgment; or the judgment of some few, to be a sign of value; he, with like hazard, equally erreth in both. For times and places, violent circumstances of that which men say with or against, breed infinite variety of alterations where things are the same; and out of Commendation alone (a strange effect!) Dispraise, like a monster, doth spring up. It being cause sufficient, to distempered humours, vehemently to dislike only in this respect, That others do commend the same. Wherein the safest, and most charitable direction will be absolutely, in that violent opposition, to believe neither; but even from both, to derive a truth much sounder than that which either holdeth. From hence, hath it come to pass, that, whilst they of the Church of Rome have, peradventure, ascribed too much to Works; some of us, too little; others, have set down an equality, dissenting from both. Thus, in the matter of the Sacraments, (things of greatest and most hidden virtue left unto the Church, for they are Mysteries) some, have been thought to derive that power to them which belongeth to God only; which, whilst others sought to avoid, they have even deprived them of that grace which God, doubtless in truth, hath bestowed upon them. In this kind, you are of opinion, that Mr. Hooker hath erred; who, as you imagine, hath ascribed to the Sacraments, far more (following therein the steps of the Church of Rome) than either the Scripture, the Articles of our Church, or the exposition of our Reverend Bishops and others, do. For the Fathers (say you) make the Sacraments only "*Seals*"† of assurance, by which the Spirit worketh invisibly, to strengthen our faith: and therefore, they call them "*visible words, seals of righteousness, and*

* [Vol. II. p. 245.]

† [*Ibid.* p. 204.]

tokens of grace."* That they do, and say thus, there is no man doubteth; but we are not yet persuaded that this is all, or "the furthest" (as you allege) "that they say;"† because undoubtedly we are assured, that they have learned both to know and to speak otherwise. For the Sacraments' "chiefest force, and virtue consisteth in this, That they are heavenly Ceremonies which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his Church: First, as Marks to know when God doth impart his vital or Saving Grace of Christ, unto all that are capable thereof; and, secondly, as Means Conditional, which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth Grace."‡ For doubtless, it must needs be a great unthankfulness, and easily breed contempt, to ascribe only that power to them to be but as Seals; and that they teach but the mind, by other sense, as the Word doth by Hearing: which if it were all, what reason hath the Church to bestow any Sacrament upon Infants who as yet, for their years, are not capable of any instruction; "there is, therefore, of Sacraments, undoubtedly some more excellent and heavenly Use. Sacraments, by reason of their mixed nature, are more diversely interpreted, and disputed of than any other part of Religion besides; for that in so great store of properties belonging to the self-same thing, as every man's wit hath taken hold of some especial consideration above the rest; so they have accordingly given their censure of the use and necessity of them. For if respect be had to the Duty which every communicant doth undertake, we may call them truly bonds of our obedience to God; strict obligations to the mutual exercise of Christian charity; provocations to godliness; preservations from sin; memorials of the principal benefits of Christ. If we respect the Time of their institution, they are annexed for ever unto the New Testament; as other Rites were before with the Old. If we regard the Weakness that is in us, they are warrants for the more security of our belief. If we compare the Receivers with those that receive them not, they are works§ of distinction to separate God's own from strangers; and in those that receive them as they ought, they are tokens of God's gracious presence, whereby men are taught, to know what they cannot see. For Christ and his Holy Spirit, with all their blessed effects, though entering into the soul of man we are not able to apprehend or express how, do notwithstanding give notice of the times when they use to make their access, because it pleaseth Almighty God to communicate, by sensible means, those blessings which are incomprehensible. Seeing, therefore, that Grace is a consequent of Sacraments; a thing which accompanieth them as their end; a benefit which he that hath, receiveth from God himself, the Author of Sacraments, and not from

* Jewel. Apol. Ang. cap. 10. div. 1.

† [Vol. II. p. 204.]

‡ [*Idem.*]

§ ["Marks," *sic* Hooker.]

any other natural or supernatural quality in them; it may be hereby both understood, that Sacraments are necessary; and, that the manner of their necessity to life supernatural is not, in all respects, as food unto natural life. Because they contain in themselves, no vital force or efficacy; but they are duties of service and worship; which unless we perform as the Author of grace requireth, they are unprofitable: for, all receive not the grace of God, which receive the Sacraments of his grace. Neither is it, ordinarily, his will, to bestow the grace of Sacraments upon any, but by the Sacraments: which grace also, they that receive by Sacraments, or with Sacraments, receive it from him, and not from them. That saving grace, which Christ originally is, or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by Sacraments he severally deriveth into every member thereof. They serve as Instruments; the use is in our hands, the effect is his.* And this made the schoolmen, and the rest, (which you are afraid to grant) to say, that the sacraments were not only signs, but causes of our justification.† Now agent causes, we know, are of two sorts; principal, which worketh by the virtue and power of his [its] form; as, fire maketh hot: and thus, nothing can cause Grace, but God himself; Grace being a participation of "the Divine nature."‡ Instrumental, which worketh not as the other, by virtue of his [its] own proper form, but only by that motion which it hath from the principal, and first agent. Thus do Sacraments work; and therefore, saith St. Austin, the Sacraments are finished, performed, and pass away; but the virtue of God, that worketh by them, or with them, remaineth.§ Thus for the Use of them, the Church hath God's express commandment; for the Effect, his conditional promise; so that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparent assurance; as contrariwise, where the Signs and Sacraments of his Grace are not, either through contempt unreceived, or received with contempt, we are not to doubt but that they really give what they promise, and are what they signify. For we take not the Sacraments (as it seemeth you do) for bare resemblances, or memorials of things absent; neither, for naked signs, and testimonies assuring us of Grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in truth) for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the Sacraments, delivereth into our hands that Grace, available unto eternal life; which Grace, the Sacraments represent or signify: and yet we acknowledge, as Hugo saith, that the Sacraments, being, as he calleth them, vessels of grace,|| they cure not of themselves, no more than glasses do, the sick; but, the potions contained in them.¶ Neither doth any man

* [Vol. II. p. 203—206.]

† Aquin. Part. III. quest. 62.

‡ 2 Pet. i. 4.

§ Cont. Faust. cap. 19.

|| De Sacr. lib. i. cap. 4.

¶ Bel. de Sacr. Tom. II. lib. ii. cap. 1. Calv. Inst. lib. iv. cap. 14. sect. 17.

say, (no, not the Church of Rome; although they be so accused, by some of us) that the Sacraments work of themselves, by a virtue resigned unto them, without God, merely of the work done actively; but that God worketh by them, as by instruments powerful, and thought in his wisdom fittest. For doubtless, the Church hath authority to use the Word and the Sacraments, as powerful means of regeneration, both having by a divine ordination, a force and virtue to beget Faith: and therefore justly, amongst all the treasures that God hath left unto his Church, we honour and admire most, the holy Sacraments; not respecting so much the service which we do unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that sacred and secret gift which we thereby receive from God. And therefore, when our Church saith, that "Sacraments are not only marks of Christian profession; but rather certain testimonies and effectual signs of Grace, and of the good-will of God towards us, by which God worketh invisibly in us;"* we thereby conceive, how Grace is indeed, the very end for which these heavenly mysteries were instituted; and, besides sundry other properties observed in them, the matter whereof they consist, is such as signifieth, figureth, and representeth their end: for surely Sacraments are the powerful instruments of God unto eternal life.† For, as the natural life consisteth in the union of the body with the soul; so the spiritual life, in the union of the soul with God. And forasmuch as there is no union of God with man, without that mean between both, which is both; nor this participated to us, without the Sacraments; the virtue must needs be great that God by these imparteth unto his Church. For they are Signs, not only signifying, but (as M. Zanchy saith) exhibiting‡ also invisible Grace. For God directly affirmeth, that he giveth that with the sign, which, by the sign he representeth. In the Sacraments, we acknowledge three things: The Word, the Element, the Thing signified by the Word and represented by the element; and all these united, yet not by any real or physical union, that one cannot be received without the other; but, in these, the union is sacramental, and the order mystical, betwixt the signs and the things signified, by an institution from God. Whereby it cometh to pass, that heavenly and spiritual things by signs bodily and earthly, are signified, offered, and by the virtue of the Holy Ghost, really exhibited, and performed unto the elect. Thus, if either the signs, or the thing signified, be wanting, it ceaseth truly to be a Sacrament. Neither is Grace necessarily tied ever to the external Sacrament: for we give the one, and God giveth the other; and, when both are given, then is the Sacra-

* Eccles. Ang. Art. XXV.

† "Alia sunt sacramenta dantia salutem, alia promittentia salvatorem." AUG. in Psalm lxxiii.

‡ Exhibentia. Zanch. in Decal. lib. i. cap. 16. p. 396.

ment faithfully received. Thus God justifieth "by the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost : " * for this being the effect of his promise, the Sacraments apply it unto us, by thus giving it ; Faith by thus receiving ; both, being as instruments. For God doth justify by the Sacraments ; man, by Faith ; but God, one and the same, maketh righteous by both ; he being the author from whence they both come. Therefore "it is a branch of belief" (howsoever you scoff at it as omitted in our Creed), "That Sacraments are in their place," as Master Hooker saith, "no less required than belief itself. For when our Saviour promiseth eternal life, it is with this condition, as health to Naaman the Syrian, 'Wash and be clean.' " † But you are afraid to say that the Sacraments beget Faith, although you confess that they do increase it. ‡ Surely this is a fear like to the disposition of some melancholy humour where fancy, growing strong, forceth an avoidance of things oftentimes that are without danger : for to make Sacraments and the Word to be joined with Faith, both in his [its] generation, and in our justification, is neither to rob Faith of his [its] proper office, nor to ascribe more unto the Sacrament than of right belongeth. For we are not in any doubt to affirm, that the Sacraments, by the work done, actively, do not afford Grace ; though rightly understood, passively, they may, by the work done : for in that justification and means of righteousness, whereof man is made partaker by the Sacraments, many things concur. First, in God's behalf, a Will that we should use those sensible elements ; in Christ's behalf, his Passion, from which the Sacraments have their virtue ; in the Minister's behalf, his Power, his Will ; in the receiver's behalf, Will, Faith, Repentance ; in respect of the Sacrament itself, the external action, which ariseth out of the fit application of the matter and the form of the Sacraments. Now, that which in all this, actively and instrumentally bringeth Grace, is the external action, which is commonly called the Sacrament : this having his [its] virtue from his [its] institution, and not from any merit, either in the Minister or in him that receiveth. For the Will of God, which useth the Sacraments as that means of Grace which it hath ordained, concurrerth actively, but as a principal cause ; the Passion of Christ concurrerth as a cause meritorious ; the Power and the Will of the Minister, necessarily concur, but as causes further removed ; having their use only in effecting the sacramental action ; in whose due circumstances, of administering, he is unwilling to fail. Will, Faith, and Repentance, are necessarily required in the Receiver that is of years ; not as active causes, but as fit dispositions, for the subject ; for Faith and Repentance, make not the sacramental grace, nor give

* Tit. iii. 5.

† 2 Kings v. 14. Vol. II. p. 216.

‡ [*Ibid.* p. 205.]

power to the Sacrament; but only remove those lets, which are hindrances, that the Sacraments exercise not that virtue that is annexed to them. So that in Infants, in whom no such disposition is required, the Sacrament of Baptism is available without these. And therefore, to satisfy your demands in this Article, we conclude, That a man dying without Faith, and receiving the sacramental signs (for Sacraments he cannot receive) shall not be saved; and not receiving them (if his want be not either negligence or contempt) may be saved. Yet the latter to us is fearful, and ordinarily impossible; whereas the former is an evidence of our hope, and giveth most just reason charitably to judge. So that we say with St. Austin, "he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation;* but he that contemneth to eat hath not life, and therefore shall not come to eternal life."† And yet those things that hurt the unworthy Receiver, do much profit him who receiveth them as he ought.

ARTICLE XV.

OF CHRIST'S INSTITUTION.

It is not an apprehension equally incident unto the judgments of all wise men, rightly to conceive the true dependence of things. For those who allow and confess actions to have much virtue, oftentimes do mistake from whence that virtue cometh: this, as it happeneth in causes of more usual and known nature, so it is sometimes even in those things where the author is but one, and he incomparably the best; because he vouchsafeth to admit instruments of a lower condition, to be agents in the performance of things of so great an use. This maketh men, in the Sacraments—those holy institutions of God left unto the Church—often to fail, in a due estimation of them. And, when they do grant their use to be singular; yet even then, to doubt whereupon this dependeth: because the same things, performed by divers, are not the same; and those which admit no difference in respect of substance, yet are subject, in regard of some circumstance, to an alteration, either more or less. From hence, hath proceeded the difference in this article, which, over violently, you urge to be betwixt Master Hooker and our Church; of whom (as usually you do), you carry too jealous a suspicion of too great agreement with the Church of Rome. That Sacraments have a virtue, even more than to be only Signs, is already proved: but, whether this virtue be less where the Minister hath more faults, or none at all, where his intention is not to administer a Sacrament; that cometh now to be

* 1 Cor. xi. 29. Cont. Faustum Manich. Tom. VI. lib. xiii. cap. 16. Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. ii.

† "Dente non corde, foris non intus." AUG. "Habent ad testimonium damnationis, non ad adjutorium sanitatis." AUG. *contra Liler. Petil.* lib. ii. cap. 21.

discussed in this place. To make the Sacraments depend, for their grace, upon the Integrity of men, were to deny the benefit to a great number without cause; and, to punish men for a fault that were none of theirs. The first of these is denied by few; nay, some are so far from opinion, that Sin in the Minister is any let to the Sacrament, that they are not afraid to affirm that Sacraments are effectual, though administered by Satan himself.* Doubtless few (saving only some Anabaptists) deny the efficacy of the Sacraments, for the defects of life in the lawful dispensers of them. They are inestimable favours unto God's Church, not to be measured by the hand from whom immediately we receive them, but by that Almighty Power, the fountain of all goodness, from whence they do first come. For as amongst men it were want either of judgment or civility, or both, less to esteem of the benefit for the meanness of the messenger, where we are undoubtedly assured that it is the Prince's seal; so in the Sacraments, we must esteem them as the seals and favours of God himself, whatsoever the imperfections are, in those Ministers from whom we have them. For the defects of men, being in the Church and Lawfully called to those Functions, no way touch the efficacy of the Sacraments, whose virtue dependeth upon a higher power. And therefore, we deny all reiteration of Baptism, whatsoever the defects, for manners, are in those that do first give it. For we are equally baptized into the "name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," what unworthiness, or inequality soever, remain in the persons that do baptize. For the holiness of the Sacraments is in no way polluted by the uncleanness of the hands that give them. For those Sacraments which unreverently being handled, as St. Austin saith, do hurt the giver, yet, even by their hands, profit those that receive them worthily.† It was, both in Asia and Africa, an error long since, That the Sacraments were not firm, which were administered by Heretics, or Schismatics separated from the unity of the Church.‡ The first author of this, was Agrippinus Bishop of Carthage, whom St. Cyprian succeeded, as St. Austin writeth; and was a little infected with the same error.§ After these, were the Donatists: but we will not labour for confirmation of this point, because you object nothing against Master Hooker in it. And it is no controversy at all betwixt us and the Church of Rome; and therefore, we say with the ancient Fathers, Stephanus, Siricius, Innocentius the First, Leo, Anastasius the Second in his epistle to Anastasius the Emperor;|| with the Councils; first the General Council of Nice, often alleged

* Luth. de Missa privat. Edit. anno 1534.

† Aug. cont. Donatist. lib. iv. cap. 13. Cont. Epist. Parm. lib. ii. cap. 10.

‡ Euseb. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 6. et cap. 2.

§ De Baptis. lib. ii.

|| Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 2. in epist. i. ad Himerium. Epist. xxii. ad Maced. Episc. Epist. lxxvii. ad Nicetam.

by St. Austin to this end ; * the first Council of Carthage, † the last assembly at Trent ; with the testimonies of Fathers and Doctors ; and, according to the Articles of our Church by you alleged, That “ by the malice of wicked men which are over the administration of the Sacraments, the effect of the things ordained by Christ is not taken away, or the grace of God's gifts diminished, as touching them which receive by Faith and orderly the things offered unto them ; which for the institution of Christ, and his promise, are effectual, although they be administered by evil men.” ‡ But, to infer here-upon, that the same actions, howsoever done, scoffingly and in jest, contrary or besides the holy institution of the Church, are truly Sacraments ; it is a conclusion too violent, and not warranted by any truth. For howsoever the grace of Sacraments dependeth not upon the Minister, who may fail of these virtues that are fit to be required in him ; yet it is necessary, that there should be an Intention to administer a true Sacrament, lest we put no difference betwixt that which either derision, imitation, chance, or the Church doth. For, if the conversion of Lucius first Christian king of this Land were to be acted upon a Stage, and that two persons were to represent Fugatius and Damianus, sent by Eleutherius the Pope to baptize Lucius, § could any man in reason think, how orderly soever performed, that this were true baptism ? Were not this, to make the bare action, all, and the Intention a circumstance not belonging to it ? But we must know, as Mr. Hooker saith, that “ Sacraments are actions, mystical and religious (for no man can truly define them otherwise), which nature they have not, unless they proceed from a serious meaning : yet what every man's private mind is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine ; for in these cases, the known intent of the Church, doth generally suffice ; and where the contrary is not manifest (as circumstances will serve easily to discover), we must presume that he which outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God.” || Now, this being a discreet rule, Wisely to put a difference betwixt Sacraments (holy actions) and the like irreligiously and profanely performed ; is that whereat your zealous wisdom doth take offence, and which you pursue with that bitterness of speech, (calling it “ mere Popery, a human invention, and inducement to Fides implicita”) as though the dangers were neither few, nor small, which came unto the Church by this opinion. Let me entreat your patience a little, and vouchsafe to be but advised by him who, in all humility, will be ready to follow the sound directions of the meanest in God's Church ; and I doubt not, to make it apparent that Master Hooker hath delivered that truth, the contrary whereof is no way fit

* De Bapt. lib. ii. cap. 3—7, 9.
§ Circa Ann. 165.

† Circa Ann. 327.

‡ [Vol. II. p. 209.]

|| *Ubi sup.*

to be admitted or allowed by us. Some are of opinion, that no Intention at all is required in the Ministers of the Sacraments, but that if the Thing and the Words be present, though either in jest or otherwise performed, yet notwithstanding it is a Sacrament.* The first Author of this, as Bellarmine saith,† was Luther, whose words I must needs say, are violently wrested, to make him speak that which he never meant.‡ It is like that he, out of whom, by misunderstanding, you have collected this opinion, was Master Calvin; who, rightly deriving the virtue of Sacraments from the Minister to God himself, the author of the first institution, saith thus; "I refer, so much to the holy institution of Christ, that if an Epicure, inwardly deriding the whole action, should administer the Supper, by the commandment of Christ" (mark the words) "and according to the Rule by him given, (which no man could that wanted the Intention of the Church) I would account them," saith he, "the true pledges of the body and the blood of Christ:"§ Where we are willing to confess with him, and with truth itself, That Sacraments for their virtue, depend not upon the Intention of the Minister, though without the Intention of the Church they are not Sacraments. Where, by Intention, we mean not a particular purpose, of all that the Sacraments require (a thing peradventure above the capacity of many Lawful Ministers), but a general Intention, of performing that sacred action according to the meaning of the Church. Where, by Church, we mean not any one particular, but the true Church; or as Mr. Calvin saith, Christ's "Rule," or that Intention which Christians in that action have; and yet, if one in this should follow the Intention of a particular Church that did err, it were not a reason sufficient to make the Sacrament to be none at all: for even his Intention, in following that particular Church though erring, were an Intention of following the True Church, that doth not err. Neither is it required, as the Schoolmen say, That this Intention necessarily be actual; nor it sufficeth not, to be habitual, (which may be in men either drunk or asleep) but virtual, that is, in the power of that Intention which howsoever now distracted, before was actual.|| Neither do we mean, that the Minister should necessarily have the same intent of the end, which the Church hath, but of the action; the end being, perhaps, without the compass of his knowledge, but the action cannot; unless we suppose him to be a Minister weaker than any Church hath. For it is one thing, to intend what the Church intendeth; and another thing, to intend what the Church doth: for those that intend by Baptism, an utter acquittance from original sin, and those that do not,

* But—Sacramentum est Sacra actio.

† De Sacra. lib. i. cap. 27.

‡ Lib. de Missa privata.

§ In Audit. Concilii. Trid. sess. 7. can. 2.

|| Tho. Aquin. part. 3. quest. 64. art. 8.

there is a diversity in the end, but the action is all one; and therefore not reiterated, though the end be diverse. Now, to do the external action, and yet in jest, is no more to do what the Church intendeth to do, than their speech and action, "Hail, King of the Jews,"* was any honour, or true reverence, to our Saviour Christ. The necessity of this Intention (not for grace, but to make it a Sacramental action), will more evidently appear, if we consider what kind of Instrument the Minister is. Man may be the instrument of another agent, many ways. First, in respect only of his bodily members; his hand, his back, or such like; without any use of the will. Secondly, in respect of his outward parts, with the use of sense; as to read, to watch, to tell what he seeth; and to this also, the will is no further required, but to the outward action. Thirdly, in respect of the bodily members, together with sense and reason; as in Judges appointed by Princes to determine causes, wherein wisdom and the will are to be instruments. Now the Ministers of the Sacrament must be of this third kind. And therefore, saith Hugo, "if a father should take his son to a bath, and should say, 'Son, I wash thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' and so dip him in the water, it were ridiculous to think that he were thus baptized."† Where, although such profaners are without excuse, for unreverend imitation of holy things, yet these actions, without the Intention of the Church, can no ways be termed Sacraments. For, if those who hold a sermon read, to be no sermon, and yet a prayer read, to be a prayer, require "that the Spirit of grace and prayer be not wanting in the party reading, and the hearers;"‡ how can we think those actions to be Sacramental, where, in the Minister, there is not so much as an Intention that they should be Sacraments? And therefore, saith Hugo, in the place before alleged, "Alexander the Bishop held the Baptism that Athanasius ministered to other boys in play,§ to be true Baptism, because he did it with an Intention of true Baptism." In those that are but instruments (as the Minister is no more), the virtues of faith, hope, and charity, are not requisite; and yet because they are reasonable instruments, their actions must proceed from election, and Intention. Therefore, we conclude, That this Intention of the Church, is no ground of uncertainty, seeing she 'tendeth but one thing; that is, to perform them as Sacraments; nor giveth any power to the virtue of the Sacrament; and that the Church cannot make a Sacrament; but, to distinguish betwixt actions religious, and the same not religious, there is required the Intention of the Church.

* [Matt. xxvii. 29.]

† De Sacra. lib. ii. part. 6. cap. 13.

‡ Perk. upon the Lord's Prayer. p. 143. Impr. 1596.

§ Ruff. lib. x. cap. 14. Sozem. lib. ii. cap. 16. Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 40.

ARTICLE XVI.

OF THE NECESSITY OF BAPTISM.

WHERE many things are doubted of without reason, it is neither easy, nor usually expedient, to answer all. Wisdom esteemeth it much fitter to pass by, without yielding satisfaction to some apparent truths called in question, rather than by answering, to let the simple understand that men have doubted of those points. For, the first calling in question of unfallible truths, gave strength to evil minds to find out all shews of reason for maintaining of those things which their own weakness, at first, made them simply to mistake. So that, whosoever maketh every doubt to be a contention; or, laboureth to confute errors of long continuance; in the first, kindleth but that spark which, without some breath, would easily die; and in the latter, must arm himself to encounter an obstinate resolution. The consideration of this, made me not willing, either to dispute the new born doubts of your own, in this Article; which being discussed, in time, might grow to be old errors; or, to bestow labour, for the assisting of that truth which, out of great judgment and learning, hath often been defended by other men's pains. But, seeing it is an usual false conclusion, as, to argue a lawfulness from what we do, so, a want of ability from what we do not; I thought it fitter, even following their steps that have gone before me, rather to resolve others what you have doubted of in this point, than that any should conclude, out of silence, an impossibility that you could be answered. For the willingness that some men have to do more than they are able, maketh others suspected to want ability, in whom there appeareth not the same willingness. If all men rightly considered, in those actions that concern man's Salvation, how far we are tied not only in obedience, but for use, to those things that are means to effect the same; few would have been so carelessly resolute, to condemn Good Works, through an opinion of an eternal election; or, so negligently have despised the only door of entrance into the Church (Baptism) through an opinion that God doth save, even where this is wanting. We do all confess, That Baptism is a Sacrament of regeneration, or new birth, by water in the Word of life; that it is a sign, nay, a means of initiation, whereby we are cooped into the society of the Church.* Thus, by this being ingrafted into Christ, we may be taken for the sons of God; and so receive new names to be called Christians:† And therefore learned men have thought it "to be the door of our actual entrance into God's house; the first apparent being of life," as St. Basil calleth it; "the first step of our sanctification," as Master

* Roman Catechis.

† Cal. Inst. lib. iv. [cap. 15. sect. 6.]

Hooker saith.* "For as we are not naturally men, without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church, without new birth;† we say, in the eye of the Church, for we take not upon us, to see as God doth, who knoweth without all means, both to make, and, without visible tokens, is able to discern, who belong unto him: and yet, in our eye, Baptism is that "which both declareth and maketh us to be Christians."‡ Therefore, it is a strange opinion of them, who say, that "he which is not a Christian before Baptism, cannot be made a Christian by Baptism; which is only the seal of the grace of God, before received."§ These, as it seemeth you do, elevate too much the ordinary and immediate means of life; relying wholly upon the bare conceit of that eternal election, which notwithstanding, includeth a subordination of means; without which, we are not actually brought to enjoy what God secretly did intend. And therefore, to build upon God's election, if we keep not ourselves to the ways which he hath appointed for men to walk in, is but a self-deceiving vanity: for all men, notwithstanding their preordination unto life (which none can know but God only) are in the Apostle's opinion, till they have embraced the truth, but "the children of wrath, as well as others."|| And, howsoever "the children of the Faithful, are born holy," as you allege out of that reverend Bishop,¶ and the Elect, are adopted to be the sons of God in their predestination, yet afterwards when they believe, then they are said more properly to be the sons of God indeed: for although it be true as St. Paul saith, that your sons are "holy,"** namely, when they are born, by reason of the promise; yet he saith, that we are sanctified by faith, meaning actually and indeed. For as kings (in those kingdoms that are by election) are first chosen, then designed, then crowned, which last action is that which maketh them full, and complete kings; so whatsoever we were, in that secret election to us unknown, yet then, when we are baptized,†† and not before, we are properly, publicly, solemnly joined unto God, and admitted into his Church.‡‡ Yet we exclude not (neither doth any that I know) these benefits thus bestowed, ordinarily, in and with Baptism; but that extraordinarily (sometimes before, as in Paul and Cornelius; sometimes after, as in many baptized by heretics; sometimes without, as in those who prevent their baptism by martyrdom, and some others;) these benefits may be bestowed. For, it were a "fearful doctrine, injurious to many thousand souls, and blasphemous against the bottomless mercy of a most loving Father,"§§ to exclude all those from eternal life, whom not negligence or contempt, but

* Vol. II. p. 215.

† [*Ibid.* p. 214.]‡ [*Ibid.* p. 215.]

§ T. C. lib. iii. p. 134.

|| Ephes. ii. 3.

¶ Jewel, in the Def. of Apol. par. 2. p. 150.

** 1 Cor. vii. 14.

†† 1 Cor. xii. 13.

‡‡ Zanch. in Decal. p. 400.

§§ [Vol. II. p. 215.]

some other occasion, hath hindered to be baptized. And, therefore, it is strange, that you would make Mr. Hooker to speak for so absolute a necessity (which indeed he doth not) but maketh it limited; or that yourself would dislike a necessity, whereas you confess, this to be the "condition of Baptism, if it cannot be had as it ought."* The matter then principally called in question in this Article, is What kind of Necessity there is of baptism; a thing already fully handled by Mr. Hooker;† and therefore we will be more sparing in this point. All things, which either are known causes, or fit means, whereby any great good is usually procured, or men delivered from grievous evil, the same we must needs confess Necessary: now we know, there is a necessity absolute, and there is a necessity conditional, and even that conditional, for the end in ordinary estimation, is absolutely necessary. Thus, to a man in the sea to escape drowning, we account a ship a necessary means, even of absolute necessity in respect of our judgment, howsoever some few have escaped by other means; so our Saviour saith of Baptism, "unless a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."‡ Which place we understand, howsoever some deny it, of Baptism, by material water, according to the general consent of the ancient Fathers: For it is a rule in expounding the Scriptures, that where a literal construction will stand (as in this place), the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. And therefore, water and the Spirit both concurring in that Sacrament, why should there not be, though not an equal, yet, a necessity of both? For, as the Spirit is necessary to regeneration, so regeneration is necessary to eternal life; which so far dependeth upon the outward Sacrament, that God will have it embraced not only as a sign or token what we receive, as you affirm, but also as an instrument, or mean, whereby we receive it; and this without any enthralling, as you seem to fear, of God's merciful grace. Neither, as Hugo saith, do these give (speaking of the Sacraments) that which is given by these, and yet ordinarily as necessary to receive these,§ as those graces are necessary which we receive by these. For, though Baptism be not a cause of Grace, yet the grace which is given by Baptism, doth so far depend upon the very outward Sacrament, as God will have it embraced as a necessary means whereby we receive the same: and howsoever we dare not judge those that in some cases do want it, yet we may boldly gather, that he whose mercy now vouchsafeth to bestow the means, hath also, long since, intended us that whereunto they lead. For to imagine, nothing Necessary, but Faith, is to come near the error of the old Valentinian heretics, who ascribed all to Knowledge

* [Vol. II. p. 215.]

† *Ibid.* p. 210.

‡ John iii. 5.

§ "Non enim ista tribuunt quod per ista tribuitur." Hugo. lib. *de Sacra.* cap. 3.

only.* So saith Tertullian.† Some account the Sacraments, as, unprofitable, without Faith, so, needless, where Faith is; but no Faith can be profitable, saith St. Bernard, to him, who when he may, yet refuseth to receive the Sacraments.‡ Therefore, if Christ himself which giveth salvation, require Baptism, it is not for us to dispute or examine, Whether those that are unbaptized, may be saved; but, seriously to do that which is required, and religiously to fear the danger which may grow by the want thereof. For doubtless, the Sacrament of Baptism, in respect of God the author of the institution, may admit dispensation; but in respect of us, who are tied to obey, there is an absolute necessity. For it is in the power of God without these to save; but it is not in the power of man, without these to come to salvation.§ And yet the Church holdeth constantly, as well touching other believers, as Martyrs, That Baptism taken away by necessity, taketh not away the necessity of Baptism; but is supplied by the desire thereof. For "what is there in us," saith St. Ambrose, "more than to will and to seek for our own good? Thy servant Valentinian (who died before he was baptized) O Lord, did both."|| For as the visible sign, may be without true holiness, so the invisible sanctification, saith St. Austin, may sometimes be without the visible sign. And yet these are no just reasons, either to make us presume, or to take away the necessity of this holy sacrament:¶ for even those have it in their wish, as the Schoolmen say, who indeed do want the same.** And howsoever, as they of Rhemes confess, "such may be the grace of God towards men, that they may have remission, justification and sanctification before the external sacrament of Baptism; as, in Peter's preaching they all received the Holy Ghost before the Sacrament; yet this is no ordinary thing now in Infants, and, who-soever therefore shall condemn them, cannot be saved."†† Yet "God, who hath not bound his grace, in respect of his own freedom, to any Sacrament, may and doth accept them as baptized which either are martyred before they could be baptized, or else depart this life with wish and desire to have that Sacrament, which by some remediless necessity they could not obtain."‡‡ For "the just, by what death soever he be prevented, his soul shall be in rest."§§ And, whereas you demand, Whether our Sacraments be not the same in nature, virtue, and substance, that the Sacraments of the Jews were under the Law;||| and therefore, Baptism to be of no more necessity, than circumcision; we answer with St. Austin, "The Sacraments

* Iren. Con. Her. lib. i. cap. 18.

† Hug. de Sacra. lib. i. cap. 5.

‡ Quest. Vet. Test. lib. iii. cap. 84.

†† In Act. Apost. x. 47.

§§ Wisd. iv. 7.

† De Baptism.

‡ Epist. 70. ad Hugo.

|| [See Vol. II. p. 218.]

** Aq. part. 3. quest. 68. art. 2. *voto, non re.*

†† Test. in Joh. iii. 5.

||| [Vol. II. p. 216.]

delivered by Christ, are for number, fewer (taking, as Master Zanchy noteth, Sacraments largely for all those ceremonies as he did); for performance, easier; for understanding, more excellent; for observation, more chaste. And therefore, though all Sacraments for their substance be one (that is Christ), and that more particularly Baptism succeedeth Circumcision: yet their difference is great, both in their rites which were divers, and in the manner of the object; the one Christ to come, the other already come;* the one a corporal benefit, to be of that Church which should have her certain seat until the coming of the Messias, in the land of Canaan; the other expecting a spiritual kingdom. The one, bound to an observation of the whole Law, Ceremonial, Judicial, Moral; the other, only to the Moral Law; and for want of true fulfilling of it, to faith and repentance. The one, to Israel only; the other, to the whole Church. The one, to continue till the coming of the Messias in humility; the other, until his coming in glory. The one belonged unto the males only, the other to all.† So that as the differences were many, and not small: even so we doubt not to affirm, that the benefits are far more; and the necessity is much greater. And therefore, as Master Hooker saith, "We have for Baptism no day set, as the Jews had for Circumcision; neither have we by the Law of God, but only by the Church's discretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptism therefore even in the meaning of the Law of Christ, belongeth unto infants capable thereof, from the very instant of their birth; which if they have not howsoever, rather than lose it by being put off, because some circumstances of solemnity do not concur, the Church, as much as in her lieth" (mark the words, for she cannot disappoint God's eternal election) but as far as in her power, by denying the means, "casteth away their souls:"‡ and therefore there is a more absolute Necessity, in the Church to give Baptism, which she can never willingly refuse to do without cruelty, than there is in the Faithful to receive it, who, how willing soever, yet always cannot.

ARTICLE XVII.

OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

SEEING the Church hath nothing left unto it, either more powerful or more reverently to be esteemed, than the holy Sacraments; it hath been the policy of Satan, from the beginning, to darken the clear light of these, with infinite clouds of unnecessary questions, wholly impertinent and unprofitable to that cause. So that out of due consideration of this great evil, wise men have thought it more fit, by application,

* "Petra erat Christus." 1 Cor. x. 4. Coloss. ii. 11—13.

† De Doctrin. Christ. lib. iii. cap. 3.

‡ Vol. II. p. 221.

to make use of that which concerns them, in this kind, rather than, by curious inquisition, to desire to find out what concerneth them not. The whole benefit which the Church hath, is from Christ; and this, by no other means but by participation: For, Christ to be what he is, is not to be what he is to the Church, but only by a participation of all that he is (as a Mediator) betwixt him and us. This we call the mutual, inward hold, which Christ hath of us and we of him; in such sort, that each possesseth other, by way of special interest, properly, and inherent copulation: for whatsoever we are eternally, according to his election, we are actually no longer in God, than only from the time of our actual adoption into the body of his true Church; into the fellowship of his children:* we are therefore adopted sons of God to eternal life by participation of the only Son of God, whose life is the well-spring and cause of ours.† This participation, besides the presence of Christ's person, and besides the mystical copulation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, importeth a true, actual, influence of grace, whereby the life which we live according to godliness, is his,‡ and from him we receive those perfections wherein our eternal happiness consisteth. This is partly, by imputation of his merit; partly, by habitual and real infusion of his grace; the first whereof, as the ground of all the rest, being the Spirit, maketh a blessed union of all those,—howsoever distinguished, by place, or time,—who mystically belong unto that body; and this, being the common union of all Saints, we fitly term, the Communion of Saints. That of imputation, maketh us all sons; in which number, how far soever one may seem to excel another; yet, touching this, that all are sons, they are all equals; some happily better sons than the rest are, but none any more a son than another. Neither doth this participation include any gross surmise of any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours; but is actually derived unto his Church by the use of his holy Sacraments: wherein Baptism doth challenge unto itself the inchoation of those graces, the consummation whereof dependeth upon other mysteries. For the grace which we have by the holy Eucharist doth not begin, but continue life; and therefore, no man receiveth it before Baptism, because nothing is capable of nourishment that doth not live. Now, life being propounded to all men as their end; those which, by Baptism, have laid the foundation, and attained the first beginning of a new life, have, in the Eucharist, food prescribed and given for the continuance of life in them. In both, the same thing being afforded (which is a participation of Christ), “in our infancy we are incorporated into Christ, and, by Baptism, receive

* Col. ii. 10.

† John xiv. 19.

‡ Gal. ii. 20.

the grace of his Spirit without any sense or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth; in the Eucharist, we so receive the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God giveth us; the degrees of our increase in holiness and virtue we see, and can judge of them; we understand, that the strength of our life begun in Christ, is Christ; that his flesh is meat, and his blood drink, not by surmised imagination, but truly, even so truly, that through Faith, we perceive in the body and blood sacramentally presented, the very taste of eternal life; the grace of the Sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink.* And howsoever it was to be feared, that by the means of some, men should be brought to account of this Sacrament but only as of a shadow, destitute, empty, and void of Christ: yet, now at length, for any thing that I can see, all sides are grown, as it is fit, to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely, the real participation of Christ, and of life, in his body and blood, by means of this Sacrament. The manner how, which ought to be the least part of our consideration, is, in this question, the greatest difference. So that, considering the small success that bitter contentions have had in this cause, it were to be wished, "that men would give themselves more to meditate with silence what they have by the Sacrament; and, in humility, less to dispute of the manner how."† This being the true difference betwixt Christ's disciples, and others, That "the one, because they enjoyed not, disputed; the other, disputed not, because they enjoyed.‡" For, doubtless, this heavenly food is given for the satisfying of our empty souls, and not for the exercising of our curious and subtle wits. It is sufficient, that the Sacraments really exhibit what they promise; though they are not really, or do not really contain in themselves, that Grace, which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow. Now the first, by all sides being granted, "why do we vainly," (saith Master Hooker), "trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by Consubstantiation, or else by Transubstantiation, the Sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us, howsoever it stand, because our participation of Christ in the sacrament dependeth upon the co-operation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his body and blood to us; whether with change or without alteration of the element, such as they imagine, we need not greatly to care or inquire for: That being admitted, wherein all agree (which is a real presence), why should not the rest in question, rather be left as superfluous than urged as necessary."§ This is that which being uttered by Master Hooker out of great wisdom, argueth as you surmise, that he maketh "light

* [Vol. II. p. 285.] † [*Ibid.* p. 286.] ‡ [*Ibid.* p. 287.] § *Ibid.* p. 289.

of the doctrine of Transubstantiation;"* whereas the reverend Fathers of our Church, do so much detest it; and that so many blessed Martyrs, have suffered death for denial thereof! Whether the doctrine of Transubstantiation be true or false (howsoever it is plain what Master Hooker thought) yet, that is no part of the contention at this time. The matter in question betwixt you and him, is only this, Whether it be not curiosity, to contend for the manner how, seeing all sides are agreed, that the thing is? For, as in those who were to be cured by our Saviour Christ, we ought not curiously to inquire how the hem of his garment had such virtue, but faithfully to believe that it was able to afford health; so, neither in this, need the Church to be inquisitive after what manner Christ presenteth himself, but truly to believe that he is there present. Which, because some irreligious men, at the first, doubted; men have been driven to find out these reasonable satisfactions, or rather, satisfactions to human reason, from his Omnipotency, Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation, or such like; whereas, indeed, we know, that in many mysteries of our Faith, it is sufficient to believe the thing, though we cannot comprehend the means, how. Of this kind, saith Bellarmine, is the Trinity of persons in the Unity of essence: Christ to be both God, and man; the same bodies in number to rise again; Christ really to be in the Eucharist; and such like, which by reason of our shallow understanding, man's weakness is not able to comprehend.† For, if ignorance be in these things that are below,‡ then how much more in those things that are above! And if Mephibosheth, when he came unto David's table, accounted himself in all humility, so far unworthy; § what ought our contemplation to be, but of His mercy, and our want of desert, when we shall come to be partakers of so inestimable favours? For if the Bethshemites were punished for looking into the Ark,|| what can we expect to be the recompense of our indiscreet folly? Is it not, then, an advice needful, which Master Hooker giveth, and you mislike, rather to seek how to receive it worthily, than to desire to know how it is present with us?¶ For the one importeth a duty that is necessary, and the other bewrayeth a desire, that is superfluous; in the one we perform what God hath commanded, and in the other, affect, what he hath forbidden. Neither is this to make Transubstantiation (for denial whereof so many, as you say, have died) any light matter, but rather to shew the great depth of the mystery, and the small profit that is reaped by the searching of it: for seeing "it is on all sides plainly confest, First, that this Sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himself, even his whole entire person, as a mystical

* [Vol. II. p. 290.]
§ 2 Sam. ix. 8.

† De Sacra. lib. ii. cap. 1.
|| 1 Sam. vi. 19.

‡ Eccles. viii. 17.
¶ [Vol. II. p. 296.]

head, unto every soul that receiveth him, and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as a mystical member of him, yea of them also, whom he acknowledgeth to be his own. Secondly, that to whom the person of Christ is thus communicated, to them he giveth, by the same Sacrament, his Holy Spirit to sanctify them, as it sanctifieth him which is their Head. Thirdly, that what merit, force, or virtue soever, there is in this sacrificed body and blood, we freely, fully, and wholly have it by this Sacrament. Fourthly, that the effect thereof in us, is a real transmutation of our souls and bodies from sin to righteousness, from death and corruption to immortality and life. Fifthly, that because the Sacrament, being of itself but a corruptible and earthly creature, must needs be thought an unlikely instrument to work so admirable effects in man, we are therefore to rest ourselves altogether upon the strength of his glorious power who is able and will bring to pass, that the bread and cup, which he giveth us shall be truly the thing he promiseth.* Now seeing there are but three differing opinions for the manner of it; Sacramentaries, Transubstantiation, and Consubstantiation; and all do plead God's Omnipotency; the first, "to that alteration which the rest confess he accomplisheth; the patrons of transubstantiation, over and besides that, to the change of one substance into another; the followers of consubstantiation, to the kneading up of both substances, as it were, in one lump:"† and that, in this variety "The mind which loveth truth, and seeketh comfort out of holy mysteries, hath not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the wit nor capacity to tread out so endless mazes as the intricate disputes of this cause have led men into, how should a virtuously disposed mind better resolve with itself than thus? "Variety of judgments, and opinions argueth obscurity in those things whereabout they differ; but that which all parts receive for certain, that which every one having sifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter of infallible truth: whereas therefore there are but three expositions made of, This is my body; the first, This is in itself before participation really and truly the natural substance of my body, by reason of the co-existence which my omnipotent body hath with the sanctified element of bread;—which is the Lutheran's interpretation: The second, This is in itself and before participation the very true and natural substance of my body by force of that Deity, which by the words of consecration abolisheth the substance of bread, and substituteth in the place thereof my body;—which is the construction of the Church of Rome: The last, This hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power, is, in verity and truth, unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation, whereby, as I make myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an

* [Vol. II. p. 290.]

† [*Ibid.* p. 292.]

actual possession of all such saving grace as my sacrificed body can yield, and all their souls do presently need ; this is to them, and in them, my body.—Of these three rehearsed interpretations, the last hath in it nothing but what the rest do all approve and acknowledge to be most true ; nothing but that which the words of Christ are, on all sides confest to enforce ; nothing but that which the Church of God hath always thought necessary ; nothing but that which alone is sufficient for every Christian man to believe concerning the use and force of this Sacrament ; finally, nothing but that wherewith the writings of all antiquity are consonant, and all Christian confessions agreeable. And as truth, in what kind soever, is by no kind of truth gainsaid ; so the mind, which resteth itself on this, is never troubled with those perplexities which the other do both find, by means of so great contradiction between their opinions and the true principles of reason grounded upon experience, nature and sense.”* What moveth us to argue, how life should be bread, our duty being but to take what is offered, and most assuredly to rest persuaded of this, that if we can but eat we are safe ? “Such as love piety will, as much as in them lieth, know all things that God commandeth, but especially the duties of service which they owe unto him : as for his dark and hidden works, they prefer (as becometh them in such cases) simplicity of faith before that knowledge, which curiously sifting what it should adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search, chilleth, for the most part, all warmth of zeal, and bringeth soundness of belief, many times, into great hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting myself at the Lord’s Table, to know what there I receive from him, without searching or inquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise ; let disputes and questions,—enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this case but over patiently heard,—let them take their rest ; let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will ; the very letter of the word of Christ giveth plain security, that these mysteries do, as nails, fasten us to his cross, that by them we draw out (as touching efficacy, force, and virtue) even the blood of his wounded side ; that this bread hath more in it, than our eyes behold ; that this cup hallowed with solemn benediction, availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body, in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving ; which [*with*] touching it sanctifieth ; it enlighteneth with belief ; it truly conformeth us unto the Image of Jesus Christ. What these elements are in themselves it skilleth not ; it is enough, that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Jesus Christ ; his promise in witness

* [Vol. II. p. 294.]

hereof sufficeth; his word he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this, "O my God, thou art true! O my soul, thou art happy!"* To dehort, then, from violence of disputing, and curiosity of seeking in a matter needless to know, being (as Master Calvin saith) incomprehensible, what fault can you find, in Master Hooker? Doth he not dissuade from this, in zeal, only to draw to a better contemplation? Can this in reason be termed any "gentle construction of Popish opinions, or privily to rob the truth of our English Creed of her due estimation?"† Think not so uncharitably of one whose principal care was, in the midst of all his knowledge, only to follow that Truth, soundly and uncorruptly, which was available and sufficient to save himself. Many itch with curiosity; they are not few, that do blow contentions, to make them kindle; some desire to know, only that they may know; some others, that they may be known; he doubtless, with humble sobriety both in this and in all other points, to comprehend that which was most available for the true direction of others, and the salvation of his own soul. And therefore, to your objections in this article, which are neither great nor many, I have framed my answer, most out of his mouth who fulliest understood this cause, and ought to be esteemed the best interpreter of his own meaning.

ARTICLE XVIII.

OF SPECULATIVE DOCTRINE.

As wise Physicians, in the curing of some diseases, neglect not that habit of the body which, when the disease is cured, may threaten a relapse; because evils past leave a disposition for the like to come; and, by returning, are so much the more dangerous, by how much the strength of the sick is less able to make resistance;—so fareth it with us, in the labour employed about these articles that follow: wherein if you had well considered, the serious superscription of your Letter, that it was for "resolution in matters of doctrine," and those of no small moment, but such as "seem" (it is well you said *seem*) "to overthrow the foundation of Christian religion, and of the Church amongst us," these articles that follow, might very fitly have been omitted by you. For, though all that you object be far from that mature judgment, which ought to be in such as you desire to seem; yet these, concerning Speculative Doctrine, the naming of Master Calvin, Schoolmen, or Master Hooker's style, how can they be called matters of Doctrine, or in any construction be thought to weaken "the foundation of the Church amongst us?" But seeing, in the former, we have done somewhat to cure that distemper (the effect of too much

* [Vol. II. p. 296.]

† [*Ibid.* p. 290.]

choler) which, being suffered to increase, might grow dangerous; it is not amiss, gently to apply something, even to these, which wanting the malice of any dangerous disease, yet are infallible tokens of a distempered habit. Neither need we in this, to make any other defence for the right use of those sentences which you reprehend, saving only to set down to the reader's eye, the sentence at large, which you have maimed by severing; and challenging him, in those things which are incomparably excellent, you have manifestly discovered your weakness of understanding. But, as in any curious workmanship where the parts are not disjointed, there appeareth the admirable effects of a skilful hand, which rudely being severed, and rashly pulled in pieces, blemish the beauty of the former work, and make many things seem, in the eye of ignorance, to be idle and of no use; so fareth it with those speeches which, in this Article, so unseasonably are distasted by you, which if any indifferent reader will but compare with the places from whence you took them, he must needs be amazed, that things set down with so much eloquence and judgment, should be called in question by so great a weakness of understanding. The sentences by you alleged, "Of Speculative Doctrine" (as you call them*) are only eight, which if you had set down at large, with that coherence that he did, doubtless you could not have devised to have done Master Hooker a greater honour; but being pretermitted, by what reason I know not, you have hazarded the suspicion of intolerable ignorance. And, undoubtedly, this Article alone, giveth full assurance that this Letter could not possibly be the act of many, nor of any one, that had either charity, leisure, or learning in any great abundance. The first "Theorem" (so you term them in derision) not familiar to you common Christians, is this, "Ten the number of Nature's perfection:"† In which place Master Hooker, speaking of paying of tithes, saith, "as Abraham gave voluntarily, as Jacob vowed to give God Tithes, so the Law of Moses did require at the hands of all men the self-same kind of tribute, the tenth of their corn, wine, oil, fruit, cattle, and whatsoever increase his heavenly providence should send: insomuch that Painims being herein followers of their steps, paid Tithes also.‡ Imagine we, that this was for no cause done, or that there was not some special inducement to judge the tenth of our worldly profits the most convenient for God's portion? Are not all things by him created in such sort, that the forms which give their distinction are number, their operations measure, and their matter weight? Three being the mystical number of God's unsearchable perfection within himself; Seven the number whereby our perfections, through grace,

* [In the margin.]

† Vol. II. p. 401.

‡ Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. xii. cap. 14.

are most ordered; and Ten the number of Nature's perfections (for the beauty of Nature is order; and the foundation of order is number; and of number, Ten the highest we can rise unto without iteration of numbers under it) could Nature better acknowledge the power of the God of Nature, than by assigning unto him that quantity which is the continent of all that she possesseth?"* Now, let the Reader judge, what reason you had to mislike that he called "Ten, the number of Nature's perfections." But in this the injury you do to Master Hooker, is not all; for through his sides you wound one, upon whom, as Sixtus Senensis saith, all the commendations of the Christian Fathers are poured out; for he taketh this speech out of Philo Judæus,† in whom there are many excellent things to this purpose, and who was, in all kind of learning, incomparably the most excellent in his time; in honour of whom the ancient Romans placed his Works, as everlasting monuments in their public Library. The second is this; "*Angel's perpetuity*; the hand that draweth out celestial motion:"‡ where, Mr. Hooker speaking of the revolution of time, which bringeth with it, a reiteration of Saints' memories, saith; "As the substance of God alone is infinite and hath no kind of limitation; so likewise his continuance is from everlasting to everlasting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonstrable conclusion being presupposed, it followeth necessarily, that besides him, all things be finite: it cannot be but that there are bounds without the compass whereof their substance doth not extend; if in continuance also limited, they all have, it cannot be denied, their set and their certain terms, before which they had no being at all. This is the reason why, first, we do most admire those things which are greatest; and, secondly, those things which are ancientest; because the one, are less distant from the infinite substance; the other, from the infinite continuance, of God. Out of this we gather, that only God hath true immortality or eternity, that is to say, continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter unto now, whereas the noblest and perfectest things besides have continually, through continuance, the time of former continuance lengthened; so that they could not heretofore be said to have continued so long as now, neither now so long as hereafter. God's own eternity is the hand which leadeth Angels in the course of their perpetuity; the hand, that draweth out celestial motion; the line of which motion, and the thread of time, are spun together."§ What could have been more excellently spoken, to have set down the frame, and dependence of things, even lineally derived from the first Motor? The third thing is this; "Church attire" (meaning Surplices) "with

* [Vol. II. p. 400.]

† Philo Jud. lib. iv. Biblio.

‡ [Vol. II. p. 312. & 401.]

§ [*Ibid.* p. 311.]

us, lively resembleth, the glory of Saints in heaven;" "for it suiteth fitly," saith Mr. Hooker, "with that lightsome affection of joy, wherein God delighteth when his Saints praise him; and so lively resembleth the glory of the Saints in heaven, together with the beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto men, that they which are to appear for men in the presence of God as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would choose any, could not easily devise a garment of more decency for such a service."* Now, whosoever considereth that the Angels are said to come "out of the Temple, clothed in pure and bright linen,"† and, that the Angel at Christ's sepulchre sat "clothed in a long white garment;"‡ and, those Angels that appeared at Christ's ascension, "in white apparel;"§ and, that white is the colour of brightness, and brightness an adjunct of "the glory of Saints," will neither deride nor mislike this speech, "that Church attire with us," "lively resembleth the glory of Saints in heaven." The fourth thing is this: "Daily bruises, Spiritual Promotions use to take, by often falling."|| Here you ask very sillily, "What be the bruises and falls that Spiritual Promotions, ordained by Christ do or can take?"¶ Mr. Hooker weighing the manifold impediments which hinder the usual consultation of providing able preachers in every Parish, to instruct the people; allegeth "the multitude of parishes, the paucity of Schools, the manifold discouragements which are offered to men's inclinations that way, the penury of the Ecclesiastical estate, the irrecoverable loss of so many Livings of principal value clean taken away from the Church long since by being appropriated, the daily bruises that Spiritual Promotions use to take by often falling, the want of something in certain Statutes which concern the state of the Church, the too great facility of many Bishops, the stony hardness of too many patrons' hearts not touched with any feeling in this case;"** who is there now, that considereth this discourse, but seeth easily the propriety of his speech, and, without an interpreter, the truth of it? That even some of the best of our spiritual preferments have received great "bruises" by often falling; where the fault hath been, that they have lighted so hard, some men know, though you and I do not. And I heartily wish, for the good of the Church, that you were able to prove, that he had spoken false in this; to the intent that our reverend Fathers, the Bishops, might be more beneficial to the inferior Clergy; more bountiful in hospitality; more honourable in their attendance; more able in their payments to their Prince; more forward in the memorable works of Devotion, building of hospitals, colleges, and such like; which, no doubt, some yet do, out of their poverty: and last of all, more conveniently

* [Vol. II. p. 100.]

† Rev. xv. 6.

‡ Mark xvi. 5.

§ Acts i. 10.

|| [Vol. II. p. 109.]

¶ *Ibid.* p. 401.** [*Ibid.* p. 109.]

provided for the avoiding of such base means as are a hindrance of Religion, a wrong to the Church and a dishonour to their profession. The next thing is this; "Multiplied petitions of worldly things, a kind of heavenly fraud, to take the souls of men as with certain baits."* Where Mr. Hooker answering those, who dislike in our prayers the multiplied petitions, for earthly things saith; "It must be considered, that the greatest part of the world are they which be furthest off from perfection; such being better able by sense to discern the wants of this present life, than by spiritual capacity to apprehend things above sense which tend to their happiness in the world to come, are in that respect more apt to apply their minds, even with hearty affection and zeal at the least, unto those branches of public Prayer wherein their own particular is moved; and by this means, there stealeth upon them a double benefit. First, because that good affection, which things of smaller account have once set on work, is by so much the more easily raised higher: and, Secondly, in that the very custom of seeking so particular aid and relief at the hands of God, doth by a secret contradiction withdraw them from endeavouring to help themselves by those wicked shifts which they know can never have his allowance whose assistance their Prayer seeketh. These multiplied petitions of worldly things in prayer, have, therefore, besides their direct use, a service, whereby the Church underhand, through a kind of heavenly fraud, taketh therewith the souls of men as with certain baits." I know not, in this point, what could have been spoken, either more soundly, more plainly, or more agreeable to this purpose. And therefore it must needs be in you, either delicacy or ignorance to account this "a *Theorem* of speculative doctrine;" the very metaphor of "baits," being not unfitly applied, even by orators, to the best things. The next is these words: "In Baptism, God doth bestow presently remission of sins and the Holy Ghost, binding also himself to add, in process of time, what grace soever shall be further necessary for the attainment of everlasting life."† Here you ask of Master Hooker, "What warrant he hath of present 'grace' in the very work wrought of Baptism."‡ Where, by the way, you cunningly (with a truth of his) mingle an error of your own; for, who ever doubted but that Baptism doth bestow the "remission of sins," and yet not this, as we have often told you, for the very work wrought of Baptism. The next in these words: "The Sign of the Cross, as we use it, is in some sort a mean to work our preservation, from reproach,"§ "and Christ's mark."|| It seems, that this speech hath made you to forget that civil respect, which had been fit to one whom worthily

* Vol. II. p. 116.
§ *Ibid.* p. 262.

† *Ibid.* p. 252.
|| [*Ibid.* p. 266.]

‡ [*Ibid.* p. 401.]

you ought to esteem, as reverend; for very rudely you say, "When, where, or how, did Christ tell thee, that 'the Sign of the Cross (as we use it)' is 'the mark of Christ,' and 'preserveth from reproach?'"* Be not carried more violently than the cause requireth: for Master Hooker doth not affirm, but saith, "Shall I say?" And addeth, "surely, the mind which as yet hath not hardened itself in sin, is seldom provoked thereunto in any gross and grievous manner, but Nature's secret suggestion objecteth against it ignominy as a bar; which conceit being entered into that palace of man's fancy, the gates whereof have imprinted in them that holy Sign, which bringeth forth-with to mind whatsoever Christ hath wrought, and we vowed, against sin; it cometh hereby to pass that Christian men never want a most effectual, though a silent teacher, to avoid whatsoever may deservedly procure shame."† Let us "not think it superfluous that Christ hath his mark applied unto that part where bashfulness appeareth; in token that they which are Christians should at no time be ashamed of his ignominy."‡ The last words misliked by you, in this article are these; "Assuredly whosoever doth well observe how much all inferior things depend upon the orderly courses and motions of these greater Orbs, will hardly judge it meet or good, that the Angels assisting them should be driven to betake themselves unto other stations; although by nature they were not tied where now they are, but had charge also elsewhere; as long as their absence from beneath might but tolerably be supplied, and by descending, their rooms above should become vacant."§ Here, wholly mistaking Master Hooker, you run into a strange discourse of Angels, of their attendance upon the elect, and ask, "Where it is revealed, that they attend upon celestial 'Orbs;' and, whether it be not sin, to leave their natural charge?"|| And here you ask, whether he mean not "the Angels that fell?" These, and such like, are those collections which your judgment hath gathered, wholly mistaking the scope of this excellent speech. For he sheweth here, that there may be just reasons of Non-residence,—in Universities, in Bishops' houses, and last of all, for their employment in the families of Noblemen, or in Princes' courts. "For assuredly whosoever doth well observe, how much all inferior things depend upon the orderly courses and motions of those greater Orbs, will hardly judge it either meet or good, that the Angels assisting them should be driven to betake themselves unto other stations; although by nature they were not tied where now they are, but had charge also elsewhere; as long as their absence from beneath might but tolerably be supplied, and by descending, the rooms above should become vacant."¶ Who understandeth not now,

* [Vol. II. p. 401.]

§ [*Ibid.* p. 423.]

† [*Ibid.* p. 262.]

|| [*Ibid.* p. 401.]

‡ [*Ibid.* p. 266.]

¶ [*Ibid.* p. 428.]

that by "Orbs," are meant those great persons, which by their motion do carry inferiors with them? And by "Angels assisting them," are meant those grave divines, which are by their wisdom, holiness, and direction, to moderate their motion? Why then, being but a parable, or an allegory, run you to examination of Orbs, of Angels, of Motion; and yet these are things so well known, in the Philosophers' schools, as that Master Hooker had no reason to fear to take a similitude from them without being called to examination of the truth of the thing itself. And this may suffice, for a moderate answer to those things which in this article are termed by you "Speculative Doctrine." Only I must add this, which Master Hooker noteth in a troublesome adversary with whom he had to deal, That in this article, as often in this Letter besides, there are two faults predominant, which would tire out any which would answer to every point, severally; first, unapt speaking of School controversies; and secondly, a very untoward reciting of Mr. Hooker's words; that, as he which should promise to draw a man's countenance and did indeed express the parts, at least the most of them truly, but perversely place them, could not represent a more offensive visage than a man's own would be to himself; so have you dealt with Mr. Hooker, where your misplacing of those words which he hath uttered, hath framed a picture which, as you direct men to look at it, little differeth from the shape of an ugly monster: for answer whereunto, this labour is sufficient; wherein I have set down both his words and meaning in such sort, that where your accusation doth deprave the one, or that either you misinterpret, or without just cause mislike the other; it will appear so plainly, that to the indifferent reader I shall not need to add any further answer; for any man may see, that you have judged his words, as they do colours, which look upon them with green spectacles and think that which they see is green, when indeed that is green whereby they see. The best remedy will be to use charity, where judgment wanteth.

ARTICLE XIX.

OF CALVIN AND THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

WHERE the persons of particular men is the subject of our discourse, we cannot well either be too short or too charitable: for, of the best, if we speak much, something will be wrested to a hard construction, if uncharitably we shall seem to follow the practice of those which have no other skill to overthrow a general cause but by wounding of some particular men. And howsoever that cause must needs be weak, which either bath his *[its]* beginning, or his *[its]* greatest strength, from one private man; yet doubtless, in common reason, it

is no small policy to blemish a truth, by detracting from the sincerity and religion of such as are the principal defenders of it. How much this part of the world hath cause to esteem of Luther, and Calvin, there is no man of any learning that can be ignorant; in which respect, notwithstanding, by some men, a threefold wrong is done unto our Church. First, to make them authors of that religion amongst us, which, by many hundred years, was far more ancient than they both were: Secondly, to lay the infirmities that were in them (as being men it were too great ignorance and flattery to acquit them from all imperfections in that kind) even upon the Religion itself; which had no more affinity with the faults that were in them, than they had with the framing of that Religion which proceeded first from no weaker author than God himself: the last, is that wrong, which our Church hath even from those who, undoubtedly, would seem in their zealous affection exceedingly to favour both. The ground of which wrong proceedeth only from hence, that those persons, and that government which place, time, and other necessities caused them to frame, ought, without exception, to be an absolute pattern to all the Churches that were round about them: insomuch, that that government, which was at the first so weak, that, without the staff of their approbation who were not subject unto it themselves, it had not brought others under subjection, began now to challenge an universal obedience, and enter into open conflict with the most Churches of Europe; but especially with those, which in desperate extremity had been relievers of it. Thus, because some few, who neither in quality nor place were much distant from Geneva, in opinion of Master Calvin, were content to follow their form of Government; others not weighing the riches of that mercy which had made their own Church too great and honourable to be framed to so narrow and poor a scantling, began stormingly to repine that presently all things were not squared to the pattern of those Churches which in their opinions were most reformed. So that, whatsoever any man spake or wrote, in disallowance of that, to be our model to be framed by, or truly to the laying open of those conflicts, (conquered with great policy) which Master Calvin had in the first establishing of that government, all sounded harshly in the ears of these men, and was plainly construed to be a direct disgracing of Master Calvin, which could be nothing else (as you say) but a discovery of a Popish and unsound affection. Where before I answer to this, I must first tell them, that if they should with the like importunity seek to frame us to the example of the primitive Church, in respect of Government, we should tell them that Israel are not bound to the same things in Canaan, that they were in the Desert; nor that those reverend Fathers the Bishops, who succeed in that apostolic charge, are not, for their maintenance and state, (though the authority

be all one) to be framed to that poverty which was the portion of those who planted and governed the first Churches. This being then no such necessity, but that the Church may lawfully use even those benefits wherewith God hath blessed her, setting her feet in a large room, why should men without cause recall her back again to her days of mourning; or, feeding her with the bread of tears, coop her up in those narrow limits of subjection and want;—seeing God in his mercy hath provided for her now, the same government to be administered in a richer manner? Now, how far all men are bound to speak of those whom they reverence and love, and yet in some cases do think not safe to follow, this is that error that hath deceived many. For from hence the private oversights of those (who, how famous and excellent soever, were but men) have grown by the violence of some of their followers, to be stiffly maintained as undoubted truths; as though there were no difference betwixt being a man not always erring, and not erring at all: the one is a worthy happiness granted to some few; the other a special privilege not permitted to any,* merely man, no not to Master Calvin himself. This serveth to teach us, that for those things which we do and believe, we have better warrant than man's invention; and that no man, how excellent soever (except Christ), may, or ought precisely, to be followed in all that he doth. For thus while we add unto men that honour, a great part whereof peradventure they deserve, we detract from that Truth which we make no where to be found, but in those who inseparably are followers of their steps. That Master Calvin (who is made by you, the unpleasing subject of this article) was, (as Master Hooker termeth him,) “the wisest man incomparably, that ever the French Church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him;”† I think there is no man of any reading, that much doubteth: and surely, for learning, and unwearied pains in his calling, men of best judgment and understanding, would be ready enough, to give him that which belonged unto him, if some private men, out of their love and zeal, did not too greatly overload him with it. For doubtless, “we should be injurious to virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things there are of principal moment, which have deservedly procured him honour throughout all the world; the one, his exceeding pains in composing the Institution of Christian Religion, from which most have gleaned, that have written since; the other, his no less industrious travails in the exposition of holy Scripture;‡ in which two things, whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against

* “Aliud est virtutem habere, aliud nihil nisi virtutem habere.” BERN.

† [Vol. I. p. 12.]

‡ He preached yearly 286 Sermons, he read 186 Lectures every year.

them if they gainsaid; and of glory above them if they consented."* Now out of this (so hardly are we taught to keep a mean) proceeded this intolerable fault, That many were desirous, in an opinion of his worth, that all Churches, together with his learning, should swallow up, without making choice, whatsoever other imperfections remained in him. So that "of what account Peter Lombard was in the Church of Rome (whom for singular reverence they called the Master of the Sentences); of the same, and more, amongst the Preachers of Reformed Churches, Master Calvin was: and they only were judged the perfectest divines, which were skilfullest in Calvin's Writings. His Books almost were reputed the very Canon for controversies to be judged by."† To this extremity, and far greater, the partial affection of love carried a number of wise men, who, from approbation, growing to strong praises; from praises, to admiration; from admiration, to a tyrannous opinion, that it was wholly unlawful, in any thing to dissent from him. So that now, it was almost as necessary to dispraise him, as to commend him; because, what with discretion, the Church before might have used with much profit, she scarce now could admit, without a general suspicion, through all Christendom, that we durst not in any thing dissent from him. And doubtless, in some weak minds, that which at first was but praise, in the end was not many steps short of idolatry. So that the practice of Ezekias, in breaking to pieces that serpent of brass, whereunto the children of Israel had burnt incense,* was not altogether unfit to be used in this case. For, in kingdoms, it is high time, either to cut off, or disgrace those, whom the multitude are willing to puff up; when (neglecting their own ruin) they are content to bury the happiness of their country, in the ashes of another's greatness. Thus, God both in mercy and judgment (in mercy to them that die, and in judgment to those that are left behind) doth, before the fulness of years, cut off those men, whom other men's erring affections have advanced too high, conveying that from the presence of unstable minds whereunto desert and weakness whilst it was in our sight, gave strength that it could bewitch. This oftentimes I confess hath been my private contemplation, when I have seen Parents untimely to lose their children, in whom they took most pride; Churches, those persons of greatest ornament; the Commonwealth, those that were worthiest of all honour; as if God had been jealous that these would have stolen our honour and love from him. And therefore, wise was the answer of that mother, who in one day losing both her husband and her two sons, said, "I know, O Lord, what thou seekest, My whole love:" which she thought peradventure might have been less, if those things

* [Vol. I. p. 19.]

† [*Ibid.* p. 20.]

‡ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

had been left unto her which she found herself apt for to love too much. And therefore as virtuous men have voluntarily disclosed their own infirmities (scratching as it were the face of beauty) lest others should too much admire them; so I persuade myself, that Master Calvin, if he now lived, would much worse esteem of your fond commendation, than of those speeches, which Mr. Hooker, out of judgment, doth write of him. He was doubtless, as Bishop Jewel calleth him, "a reverend Father, and a worthy ornament of God's Church;"* and surely, they do much amiss, who have sought by unjust slanders against him† (a thing too usual) to derogate from that truth, whose strength was not builded upon man's weakness. This therefore, being the practice of our adversaries, you ask Mr. Hooker, "What moved him to make choice of that worthy pillar of the Church above all other, to traduce him and to make him a spectacle before all Christians?"‡ Give me leave to answer you for him, who undoubtedly would have given a far better answer for himself, if he had lived; There is not one word that soundeth in that whole discourse, to any other end, towards Master Calvin, but to shew, how his great wisdom wrought upon their weakness; his knowledge, upon their ignorance; his gravity, upon their inconstancy; his zeal, upon their disorders; only, to establish that government, which howsoever not necessary for other places, was fit enough peradventure for that town. Neither need the present inhabitants thereof, take it in evil part, that the faultiness of their people heretofore, was by Master Hooker so far forth laid open, seeing he saith no more than their own learned guides and pastors have thought necessary to discover unto the world. But "what," say you, "hath Master Calvin done against our Church, that he should be singled out as an adversary?" Surely that harm (though against his will) which never will be soundly cured, so long as our Church hath any in it to spurn at the reverend Authority of Bishops. For howsoever those Ecclesiastical Laws, established in Geneva§ (wherein notwithstanding are some strange things) might be fit enough to pass for statutes, for the government of a private College, or peradventure, some small University; yet to make them a Rule, for so great, so rich, so learned a kingdom as this is, must needs be a vain desire of novelty, idly to attempt; and, a thing in nature, impossible to perform. And therefore, he cannot be free, as an occasion, though no cause, of all those troubles which have disquieted our Church for these many years. But it may be Mr. Hooker spake not thus against Mr. Calvin of himself, but persuaded either by "our adversaries, in whose mouth he is an invincible champion," or incited unto it by some of "the Reverend Fathers" of our Church; and

* Defence of the Apol. Part II. p. 149.

† Bolsecus.

‡ [Vol. I. p. 22.]

§ November 12, 1557. November 13, 1561. February 19, 1560.

therefore you desire him to resolve you in that point. Can it possibly be, that you should think him a man of so great simplicity, either to be moved to attempt it, by the persuasion of others, or having attempted it, that he must needs disclose it? Are all those flatterings of the Bishops; that alleging of their authorities, ended in this, To accuse them as Authors of doing that, which your conscience maketh you accuse to be evil done? Could you persuade yourself, that those Reverend Fathers, whose authorities you allege in the praise of Calvin, would be drawn to substitute another to dispraise him whom themselves commended? Is it not a thing differing from sense? void of reason? contrary to religion? And if that be a fault that Mr. Hooker is commended by our adversaries, in no construction, it can be concluded to be his fault. This peradventure, may commend them who are ready to approve learning, judgment, and moderation, even in those who are adversaries, but no way can touch those whom they thus commend: unless we make the conclusion to light heavily upon the best, both for place, wisdom, and learning, that our Church hath. Have not, in all ages, the Heathen thus commended the Christians? And did not Libanius thus think Gregory most worthy to succeed him, if he had not been a Christian? Can we in reason deny Julian his learning, because an Apostata? or Bellarmine, and others, because they have written against us? No, we willingly give them that due that belongs unto them, and hold it not unmeet to receive even from their mouths, without suspicion of treachery, that commendations which are but the recompense of a just desert. The terms of hostility are too violent and unreasonable, which deny us thus far to communicate with our very enemies. But, you say, this was pride in Mr. Hooker, to condemn all those of our own Church, as too weak to encounter with him; and therefore he must raise "Master Calvin out of his sweet bed of rest,"* to contend against him. And here you uncharitably make a comparison betwixt Goliath and Master Hooker; only you say "unlike" in this, that Goliath was content to challenge "one living" and present in the army, "demanded, but chose not; sought for one, that was alive, and vaunted not over the dead;"† in all which respects by your censure, Master Hooker is more presumptuous. To speak the least which is fit to be answered in this place, surely, he which will take upon him to defend that there is no oversight in this accusation, must beware lest by such defences, he leave not an opinion dwelling in the minds of men, that he is more stiff to maintain what he hath spoken, than careful to speak nothing, but that which justly may be maintained. That he hath not shunned to encounter those, even the best of that faction in our land, your-

* [Vol. I. p. 23.]

† [*Ibid.*]

selves can witness: that he named Mr. Calvin, only to this end, To shew the author of that Discipline which he was to handle, you must needs confess; that he rather reprov'd another State, than discovered the violent and uncharitable proceedings to establish it at home, it was his wisdom: for we know that the age present is corrected, when the age past is justly rebuked for the same fault.* And there cannot be a better means to cure our disorder at home, than by discovering the effects that it hath wrought abroad. Now, that which principally discovereth that you are not such as in the Title of this Letter, you term yourselves, is, that you make not Calvin, but Christ himself, the Author of this Discipline; who, as you say, "raised up divers men in divers places," "as Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, Suychius, Philip, Bucer, Capito, and Myconius;" "and taught them, by the same Spirit, out of the same Holy Scripture, the same doctrine and commandment of truth and righteousness."† In this you bewray what you are; and how truly you favour our present State, in giving so honourable testimony of that Church government, which hath been so much oppugned by the Fathers of our Church: nay, so much disliked by the Queen herself, as appeareth by her most eloquent speech against those Reformers.‡ And, I must needs tell you, that those who have taken upon them the defence thereof, are only able to confirm it, not by places of Scripture, but by poor and marvellous slight conjectures collected from them. "I need not give instance in any one sentence so alleged, for that I think the instance of any alleged otherwise not easily to be given. A very strange thing sure it were, that such a Discipline as you speak of should be taught by Christ and his Apostles in the Word of God, and no Church ever hath found it out, nor received it till this present time; contrariwise, the government against which you bend yourselves, to be observed every where through all generations and ages of the Christian world, no Church ever perceiving the Word of God, to be against it. Find but one Church (one is not much) upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered, by your Discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by Episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant. But you complain of it as an 'injury,'§ That men should be willed to seek for examples and patterns of governments in any of those times, that have been before."|| It is to small purpose, that some daughter Churches have learned to speak their mother's dialect. In one word to conclude this article, "such is naturally our affection,

* "*Ætas præsens corrigitur dum præterita suis meritis objurgatur.*" GREGOR.

† [Vol. I. p. 23, *passim*.]

‡ The Queen's Oration; in the Parliament, 29 Martii, 1585.

§ T. C. lib. i. p. 97.

|| [Vol. I. p. 33, 34.]

that whom in great things we mightily admire, in them we are not persuaded willingly that any thing should be amiss. The reason whereof is, 'that as dead flies putrify the ointment of the apothecary, so a little folly, him that is in estimation for wisdom.'* This, in every profession, hath too much authorized the judgments of a few: this with Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other Churches Calvin, to prevail in all things. But thou, O Lord, art only holy, Thou only art just, who permittest the worthiest vessels of thy glory, to be in some things blemished, with the stain of human frailty, even for this cause, lest we should esteem of any man above that which behoveth."†

ARTICLE XX.

OF SCHOOLMEN, PHILOSOPHY, AND POPEY.

PHILOSOPHY telleth us (if it be lawful for me to use so much philosophy) that natural motions in the end are swifter, but violent are more slow; and therefore, heavy things, the lower they descend, do move faster; and, by so much also they move slower, by how much they ascend higher. It seemeth that the accusations in this Letter were such, as had their first motion, rather from the violence of some affection, than from any natural inclination to understand the Truth. For surely, though I take not upon me to censure any man (being myself clothed with so many wants), yet in my weak opinion, those, that would desire a "resolution" of such things, as "overthrow the foundation of the Church amongst us," which in your Letter you profess, should hardly esteem the right use of Philosophers and School learning, to be an accusation of that kind. So that whereas, at the first your objections seemed to move with a greater strength, now in the end, they grow weak like the stroke of a man that is half tired. But I have small reason to complain of this, which is mine own advantage: for without the armour of other learning, only in the strength of reason, I durst encounter a stronger man than myself, in this, wherein you accuse Master Hooker; that the right use of Schoolmen, and Philosophers, is no hindrance, or disgrace to true Divinity. And therefore, whereas you charge him, that "in all his discourse for, the most part, Aristotle and the ingenious Schoolmen, almost in all points have some finger;" and, "that reason is highly set up against Holy Scripture,"‡ and such like: I verily persuade myself, that herein he hath committed no unlawful thing. For those School employments are acknowledged by grave and wise men, not unprofitable to have been invented; the most approved for learning and judgment do use them without blame; the use of them hath been well liked by those that have written in

* Eccles. x. 1.

† [Vol. I. p. 39.]

‡ Vol. II. p. 444.

this kind. The quality of the readers of his books, though not of the most, yet of those whom the matter concerned most, was such as he could not but think them of capacity very sufficient to conceive harder learning than he hath used any. The cause he had in hand, did in my opinion necessarily require those Schoolmen and philosophers that he hath used: for, where a cause is strangely mistaken, for want of distinctions, what other way was there for him, but by distinctions to lay it open, that so it might appear unto all men, whether it were consonant to truth or no? And although you and I, peradventure, being used to a more familiar and easy learning, think it unmeet to admit, approve, or frequent the Schools; yet our opinions are no Canons for Master Hooker. And, although you, being troubled in mind, do think that his writings seem like fetters, and manacles; yet no doubt he hath met both with readers and hearers more calmly affected, which have judged otherwise. But it is a strange presumption in my opinion, for private men, such as profess themselves to be but "common Christians,"* (which your writings, besides your own confession, do make manifest) to prescribe a form, either of writing or teaching, so plain and familiar, or rather indeed so empty and shallow, that no man may doubt, how unlearned soever, to give his censure. Must all knowledge be humbled so low that it must stoop to the capacity of the meanest reader? But the Fathers,† say you, have misliked it.‡ Indeed I confess, there is an overmuch use, which is evil in all things where there is not an absolute necessity. Besides, things comparatively spoken, in regard of true understanding of the Scriptures, is no rule for warrant that they are to be misliked simply. For Stapleton himself confesseth, in his cautions of expounding the Scripture, that the Schoolmen have not a certain, and infallible authority of interpreting; which as to maintain must needs be great simplicity, so to dislike all use of them is intolerable unthankfulness.§ But, in this accusation, it is not apparent what you mean, when you allege out of Luther, "that School-divinity hath banished from us the true and sincere divinity."|| If this were the direct judgment of Luther, to condemn all School-divinity; yet it is a strange opposition to allege the sentence of one man against the practice and authorities of the best Fathers. Neither do we understand which it is (the old or new) that so much offends you; by old, we mean that scholastical kind of expounding, which the most eloquent Fathers lately comen‡ from the Schools of Rhetoricians, and Philosophers, have brought with them, to the interpreting of Holy Scriptures; that thus they might be able to teach, to delight, to persuade; a matter fitting all, but not easy for any that is not excellently

* Vol. II. p. 401.

† Cranmer, Luther.

‡ [Vol. II. p. 444.]

§ Lib. x. cap. 11.

|| [Vol. II. p. 444.]

¶ [The old form of the verb plural.]

furnished with human learning. In this sense Beda calleth Prudentius the most noble Schoolman of the Spaniards,* whom it is like, in the severity of your judgment, you would have dispraised; and Genadius, in the Catalogue of famous writers, reckoneth up Musæus, Julianus, Eucherius, and divers others, amongst the Schoolmen; that is, amongst the chief professors of School eloquence. Saint Jerom affirmeth of himself, that many things in Divinity, he handled with School ornament; and of St. Paul he saith, that when he preached at Athens, upon occasion of the inscription of the Altar to the unknown God, he handled it with a scholastical kind of elegancy.† Is this, then, that which so much offends you? Was it an ornament in these Fathers, and many others, and is it a blemish in Mr. Hooker? But peradventure it is the new and later kind of School interpreting that you mislike; whose method is Philosophical disputing, made of Aristotelian learning; this sprang up about some four hundred and odd years past,‡ in the time of Lotharius the second, Emperor of Rome; who, recovering out of darkness the Roman Laws, caused them publicly to be read, and to be expounded by divers Writers; by this means Divinity began to wax cold, until by imitation of these men, certain devout Monks, and others, undertook the like in expounding the holy Scripture; by which means even until this day, there remaineth in the Schools ten orders of their usual expounding; by Concordance, History, Postil, Question, Lecture, Compendium or Abridgment, Sermon, Metre, Meditation;§ all which, no doubt of it, in your opinion are esteemed unlawful and unprofitable: now, many that were excellent in this kind, the Church both knoweth how to use with great profit, and in recompense of their labour, hath given them titles, with much honour. Thus, Alexander Hales, who made his Summe, that excellent work, by commandment of Innocentius the fourth, was called “the fountain of life,”|| because of that lively knowledge that flowed from him: he was Master to Bonaventure, a scholar not inferior to himself, of whom he was wont to say, That in Bonaventure he thought Adam sinned not; meaning for that illumination, which was in him (and doubtless there was much in him) as though he had not been darkened by the fall of Adam; and therefore the Church called him “the Seraphical Doctor.” To these Aquinas was not inferior, who came so near unto St. Austin, that some thought he had all his Works by heart, and by a common proverb it was spoken, that the soul of St. Austin dwelt in Aquinas; in whom above all the rest, four contrarieties were said to excel; abundance, brevity, facility, security: in respect whereof, he gained the title to be called

* In lib. De Arte metr. nobilissimum Hispanorum Scholasticum.

† In Com. Epist. ad Titum.

‡ Sixt. Sin. Bib. Sanct. lib. iii. p. 180.

§ An. 1130.

|| Fons vitæ.

"Angelical."* Now for any man to follow the steps of these, though treading sure, as having more light, can any man in reason account it to be a fault? Is there no other matter of reproof in Master Hooker's Writings, but that virtues must be faults? But he seeketh to prove matters of Divinity with the strength of "reason:"† Indeed this is a great fault, which if many had not been afraid to commit, the world had not been filled with so many idle and unreasonable discourses. But so it is, that through an ignorant zeal of honouring the Scriptures, the name of "the light of nature," is made hateful with men; the star of reason, and learning, and all other such like helps, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of, than as if it were an unlucky comet; or, as if God had so accursed it, that it should never shine, or give light in things concerning our duty any way toward him; but be esteemed as that "star," in the Revelation called "wormwood:"‡ which, being fallen from heaven, maketh rivers and waters, in which it falleth so "bitter" that men tasting them, die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire, as they ought, the power and authority of the Word of God, if, in things divine, they should attribute any force to man's Reason; for which cause they never use reason so willingly, as to disgrace reason. Their usual and common discourses are to this effect; *Object. 1.* "The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."§—For answer whereunto, we say, That concerning the ability of Reason, to search out and to judge of things Divine, if they be such as those properties of God, and those duties of men towards him which may be conceived by attentive consideration of heaven and earth, we know that of mere natural men, the Apostle testifieth, how they know both God and the law of God;|| other things of God there be which are neither so found, nor though they be shewed, can ever be approved without the special approbation of God's good grace and Spirit: such is the suffering and rising again of our Saviour Christ, which Festus, a mere natural man, could not understand;¶ therefore Paul seemed in his eyes to be learnedly "mad."** This sheweth, that nature hath need of grace,†† to which Master Hooker was never opposite, in saying that grace may have use of nature. *Object. 2.* But Paul chargeth the Colossians to "beware of Philosophy,"‡‡ that is to say, such knowledge as men, by natural Reason are able to attain.—I confess, "Philosophy" we are warned to take heed of; not that Philosophy, which is true and sound knowledge, attained by a

* Moritur, ætat. 48. A. D. 1274.

† [Vol. II. p. 445.]

† Rev. viii. 10, 11.

§ 1 Cor. ii. 14.

|| Rom. ii. 14. ¶ Acts xxv. 19, 20.

** Acts xxvi. 24.

†† 1 Cor. ii. 24.

‡‡ Col. ii. 8.

natural discourse of reason ; but that Philosophy, which to bolster heresy, or error, (which I am sure Master Hooker doth not) casteth a fraudulent shew of reason upon things which are indeed unreasonable ; and, by that means, as by a stratagem, spoileth the simple which are not able to withstand such cunning. He that giveth warning to take heed of an enemy's policy, doth not give counsel to avoid all policy ; but rather, to use all provident foresight and circumspection, lest our simplicity be overreached by cunning sleights. The way not to be inveigled by them that are so guileful through skill, is thoroughly to be instructed in that which maketh skilful against guile ; and to be armed with that true and sincere Philosophy, which doth teach against that *deceitful* and *vain* which *spoil*eth. *Object. 3.* But have not the greatest troublers of the Church been the greatest admirers of human reason ? Hath their deep and profound skill in secular learning made them the more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather against it ?—Indeed, many great philosophers have been very unsound in belief, and yet many, sound in belief, have been great philosophers. Could secular knowledge bring the one sort unto the love of Christian Faith ? nor [or] Christian Faith, the other sort out of love with secular knowledge ? The harm that Heretics did, was to such as by their weakness were not able to discern between sound and deceitful reasoning ; and the remedy against it was ever, the skill of the ancient Fathers to discover it. Insomuch that Cresconius the heretic complained greatly of St. Austin, as you do of Master Hooker, for being too full of logical subtilties. *Object. 4.* But the Word of God in itself is absolute, exact, and perfect, and therefore needless to add any human or School learning ; for those weapons are like the armour of Saul, rather cumbersome than needful ; and with these hath Master Hooker filled his writings.—I answer, there is in the world no kind of knowledge whereby any part of truth is seen, but we justly account it precious : yea, that principal Truth, in comparison whereof all other truth is vile, may receive from it some kind of light ; whether it be that Egyptian, and Chaldean “wisdom” mathematical, wherewith Moses* and Daniel† were furnished ; or that natural, moral, and civil wisdom, wherein Solomon excelled all men ;‡ or that rational and oratorical wisdom of the Grecians, which the Apostle St. Paul brought from Tarsus ; or that Judaical which he learned in Jerusalem, sitting at the feet of Gamaliel :§ to detract from the dignity thereof, were to injure even God himself ; who, being that “light which none can approach unto,”|| hath sent out these lights, whereof we are capable, as so many sparkles resembling the bright fountain from which they rise. And therefore,

* Acts vii. 22.

† Dan. i. 17.

‡ 1 Kings iv. 29, 30.

§ Acts xxii. 3.

|| [1 Tim. vi. 16.]

unto the Word of God, being in respect of that end whereunto God ordained it, perfect, exact, and absolute, we do not add any thing as a supplement of any maim, or defect therein; but as a necessary instrument, without which we could not reap by the Scripture's perfection, that fruit, and benefit which it yieldeth. In respect of all which places alleged, it must needs seem strange, that any for the use of School divinity, and human learning, should incur that hard suspicion, which you seek to fasten upon Mr. Hooker; namely, that he is "a privy and subtle enemy to the whole state of our Church; that he would have men to deem her Majesty to have done ill in abolishing the Romish Religion; that he would be glad to see the back-sliding of all Reformed Churches;"* or, that he means "to bring in a confusion of all things;" a toleration "of all religions;"† these, and such like, are the heavy conclusions that follow the use of Schoolmen and secular Learning; and the least of those evils, which are likely, in your opinion, to be derived into the heart of our Church and Commonwealth, from that dangerous poison which is contained in Master Hooker's Writings. Surely it is great pity, that all men should "think what they list, or speak openly what they think;"‡ but doubtless it did little move him, when you say that which a greater than you certainly will gainsay. His words in this cause have seemed to you as an arrow sticking in a thigh of flesh, and your own as a child whereof you must needs be delivered by an hour; but deliberation would have given, peradventure, more ripeness, which now by haste hath, as a thing born out of time, been small joy to you that begat it. Therefore I will conclude with the speech of the son of Sirach: "He that applieth his mind to the law of the most High, keepeth the sayings of famous men, and entereth in, also, into the secrets of dark sentences: he seeketh out the mystery of grave sentences, and exerciseth himself in dark parables; though he be dead he shall leave a greater fame, than a thousand."§ Doubtless this is verified in him of whom you have published unto the world so hard a censure.

ARTICLE XXI.

THE STYLE AND MANNER OF WRITING.

As it is an honour to perform that which is excellent; so, it is a virtue to approve that which is excellently performed: where to be wanting in the first, may be sloth, or ignorance, but to be wanting in the latter, must needs be malice. Few there are or have been in any age, which reaping the due recompense of their labour, have done

* Vol. II. p. 445.

† [*Ibid.*]

‡ [Vol. III. p. 367.]

§ Eccles. xxxix. 1—3, 11.

that good which they ought, and have not received that reward which they ought not. Wise men have thought no otherwise, but that this common lot might be their portion; yet the fear thereof could not have that power over all, to make them in that respect wholly and unprofitably silent: knowing, that even that which they suffered for well doing, was their honour; and that which they did well and suffered for it, was others' shame. This vice, in my opinion, is not more usual with any, than with us, who by reason of the corrupt quality thereof, have imposed a silence to a great number, who by their writings, doubtless, would have been very singular ornaments unto God's Church. Whereas strangers of less merit, have a twofold advantage. The one, that we read their writings without prejudice of their persons; the other, that with a desire of novelty, we greedily devour (as we do fashions) whatsoever we think to be done by strangers; this only, in all things (how excellent soever) being cause enough of dislike, that it is home-born; but more justly of silence, that it is disliked. So that when we have sifted, whatsoever is likely to be reproved, even the last thing to be examined is the Style itself. Thus have you dealt with Master Hooker, whom, as in all other things, you have set upon the rack; so in this, you have taken upon you far more than beseemeth either the modesty or the small learning that is usually found in such as profess themselves to be but "common Christians."* For certainly to judge of a Style, is not the least point of learning, though it be the least known: but, peremptorily, to dislike, which you do, is more than only to judge. For this is but to deliver special verdict, as we think ourselves; but the other is to take upon us, exactly to tell what the law is. Some I have seen, excellently writing upon the variety of styles; and the best, in my opinion, is one Pascal, who was like enough to judge well, because he himself wrote an excellent style; yet surely there is in no point of learning greater variety of tastes than there is in this: some prefer Sallust, others Cæsar, a third Seneca, a fourth Tacitus; in one word, every man according to his own fancy. This, as it is in Styles, so it is in the several actions of men; where they are no sooner born into the world, but Censure, as a gossip, names them. A thing I confess needful, and unfit to be prohibited, seeing we reap oftentimes, more benefit by our enemies than our friends; yet this sheweth that the world is unhappy, where the best offices are performed by our worst acquaintance. If we come to Authors, some dislike Plato, as Athenæus did, calling him "confused;" others say, I only esteem Plato, who doth so cunningly weave knowledge and virtue together, as if he said, he were content to give you knowledge, upon condition, that you should be

* [Sup. 559.]

honest. Some compared Aristotle to that fish, whose humour is like ink ;* Livy he likes not Trogus, nor Tully, Demosthenes ; Lenæus a servant of Pompey's mislikes Sallust ; Asinius calleth him " an affecter ;" Quintilian calleth Seneca " chalk without sand ;" Caligula dispraised Livy as " full of words," and yet negligent, in suppressing the triumphs of Romulus, gotten by the victory of the Tuscans. Thus Varro (without question a man most learned, even in the opinion of St. Austin,) by one Quintus Rhemius Palemon was called a " hog." Surely emulation of learning, and difference either of opinion or manners, breeds a dislike in scholars. This hath been, is, and shall be that evil, whereunto learned men must be subject in the variety of other men's censures ; nay even those books, which we translate because they are excellent, others wish, because they are excellent not to be translated. Surely it is much easier, saith Dio. Cassius, to reprehend others, than to moderate ourselves.† Some are of so feeble and weak stomachs, that they loathe bread : nay some are of that inconstant humour, that what they commend now, they dispraise the next day ; and what yesterday they dispraised, they commend to-day. For in the beginning of your Letter, you call it a " sweet sound " of Mr. Hooker's " melodious style ;"‡ and in another place, you confess that his books are " very excellently and learnedly penned ;"§ and yet in this Article, your last scruple is, because his Books are so long and tedious, in a Style not usual, and as you think, the like hard to be found.|| Where, it seems, you are desirous to reprehend, if you could but resolve of the manner how. I dare not take upon me to censure those, whom you say he is unlike ; " Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Jewel, Whitgift, Fox, Fulke : "¶ but I persuade myself, that whatsoever their other virtues were, wherein peradventure they were more eminent, yet doubtless the best of them that now liveth, will acknowledge Mr. Hooker's style to be very excellent. And although it is unmeet I should compare him with others whose labours have been profitable in another kind, yet I hope I may say without offence, that as profoundly to judge, with sound variety of all learning, was common to him with divers others ; so, to express what he conceived, in the eloquence of a most pure style, was the felicity almost of himself alone. That honourable Knight, Sir Philip Sidney, gave a taste in an argument of recreation,** how well that style would befit an argument of a graver subject ; which it may be is more displeasing in the taste of some, because the manner is learned, and the subject is not agreeing to their humour. Doubtless, the perfecting of a style, and especially of our English style

* Sepia, a Cuttle. † Hist. lib. xxxvi. ‡ Vol. I. p. 11.
 § Vol. II. p. 446. || [*Ibid.* p. 445.] ¶ [*Idem.*]
 ** [His " Arcadia." See Vol. I. p. xii. Note.]

(which in my opinion, refuseth not the purest ornaments of any language) hath many mo [more] helps than those honourable places of learning, the Universities, can afford. And therefore, in those things, which they conceive (and some of them conceive much) there are found, in the Prince's Court, divers most purely eloquent, whom even the best in the Universities may despair to imitate. And (if I may speak without offence), I am fully persuaded, that Mr. Hooker's style (if he had had less learning; a strange fault, for the weight of his learning made it too heavy;) had been incomparably the best that ever was written in our Church. If our English Story had been born to that happiness, ever to have been attired in such rich ornaments, she might worthily have been entertained in the best Courts that the world hath; but, all Countries know, our actions have been better done, than they have been told. Of things affected we may give a reason, but to ask, as you do, a reason of Mr. Hooker, for his style, it is all one, as if you asked him why he knew so much. For doubtless out of judgment he made this choice (in my weak opinion, or strong fancy) simply the best, and (without comparison) imitable to few. Therefore, your comparison of the bramble was unfit, which by a shew deceived you "afar off;"* for there is much more by a narrow view to be discerned in him, than he seemeth to promise at the first sight. "Three things" you desire "with all instancy: First, to shew what arguments he hath alleged, which are not to be found in the Answer of that Reverend Father unto Mr. Cartwright."† To satisfy you in this demand, if there were no difference, yet the consent of their arguments were reason enough, for you to allow Mr. Hooker, seeing you have given your approbation of the works of that most Reverend Father,‡ whose worthiness no doubt, can receive little honour from your praise; yet you know, that the whole subject of Mr. Hooker's first four Books, is an argument, as, full of learning, so, directly heretofore not handled by any, that I know. Secondly, you desire, that if he "set forth his other books, which are promised, that he would be more plain, and sensible."§ Concerning those three Books of his, which from his own mouth, I am informed that they were finished, I know not in whose hands they are; nor, whether the Church shall ever be bettered by so excellent a Work; for as the Church might have been happy, if he had lived to have written more, so she were not altogether so much harmed, if she might but enjoy what he hath written. But for you to prescribe him a style, as it is an authority unfit to assume unto yourself, so it were a request, if he lived, impossible to obtain. For as once the greatest of place for judgment of Law in our Land|| answered a client of his in my hearing, who was desirous to have

* [Vol. II. p. 446.] † [Idem.] ‡ [Idem.] § [Idem.] || The Lord Keeper.

him take information of his cause, from another lawyer that seemed more fully acquainted with it; "he will speak," saith he, "well himself, by his own direction; but if I should speak by his information I should speak but like a fool:" so I am sure, howsoever you yourself may write, following your own style, yet Master Hooker by your direction could hardly attain the commendations that himself had already gained. Lastly, you wish him to "be careful not to corrupt the English Creed, by philosophy or vain deceit, of Schoolmen's new-born divinity:"* give me leave to exempt you from this fear; for I am fully persuaded, never any man lived, who would have been lother to have been the author of any new and unwarranted opinion which might give but the least shew of contradiction to the Faith which our Church professeth. Things are not to be measured by violence of speech, or uncharitable collections; for who are on God's side, and who against, our Lord, in his good time, shall reveal. And, seeing you doubt of his soundness so far (that because he maketh the Church of Rome a part of the Church of Christ† (which Mr. Saravia, Zanchy, and others do, that you wish him to take heed, that he forget not to give his "lawful Sovereign her right and full due") give me leave to set down his words, and in his words his sound and fervent affection in this point. "When the ruins of the House of God, (that House which consisting of religious souls, is most immediately the precious Temple of the Holy Ghost) were become not in his sight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world so exceeding great, that very Superstition began even to feel itself too far grown; the first that with us made way to repair the decays thereof, was King Henry the Eighth; the son and successor of which famous King, as we know, was Edward the Saint. In whom (for so by the event we may gather) it pleased God, righteous and just, to let England see what a blessing sin and iniquity would not suffer her to enjoy; that work, which the one had begun and the other so far proceeded in, was in short space so overthrown, as if almost it had never been; till such time as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest when they are nearest to be utterly despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darkness a most glorious Star to arise, and on her head settled the Crown, whom he himself had kept as a lamb from the slaughter of those bloody times; that the experience of his goodness in her own deliverance might cause her merciful disposition to take so much the more delight in saving others whom the like necessity should press;"‡ the continuance of which mercy towards us, in the abundance of his favour to her, we wish may happily continue so long as the sun

* [Vol. II. 446.]

† [*Idem.*]

‡ [Vol. I. p. 326.]

endureth. Hitherto Master Hooker. To conclude this small and imperfect work, whereas you join these Books of Master Hooker, with two other which you take to be "bellows to blow the coals of sedition;"* I persuade myself, that the ages which are to come, shall more than the present, esteem them with high honour. For mine own part, what I have done in defence thereof, it is neither from opinion of sufficiency, who know mine own strength in this kind, weaker than many thousands; nor, from a desire of contention, which I hold (howsoever sometimes needful) the worst employment of all learning; nor from a willingness to flatter any, a fault (whatsoever my other infirmities are) whereunto I was never subject; nor that I thought those would have been wanting, who had both far more learning and greater reason, to undertake the Defence than myself had. Wherefore, if there be any thing, either unsoundly, or uncharitably set down (faults, which willingly I would be loath to be accused of) I submit myself to the Judgment of the Church, and the courteous admonition of the Christian Reader. But, if any man without cause, spurn or think himself grieved, and find that contained herein which with judgment and sound learning he is able to confute, and be desirous hereafter to receive my answer, let him set to his name that writeth; otherwise, let him think, that Libels, personal, and of no moment, are to be rather punished by Authority, than confuted by any man's pen. And so I will heartily pray that no strife may ever be heard of again, but this, Who shall hate strife most, who shall pursue peace and unity with most desire.

* [Vol. II. p. 445.] *Querimonia Ecclesiæ*. A Book of Scotizing and Genevatizing.





